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THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1786.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and  
TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of HENRY  
the SEVENTH, from the Year 1485 to 1509.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Fater-noster-Row.  
MDCCLXXXVII.







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# P R E F A C E.

**T**H E farther we proceed in our undertaking, the less occasion there is either to enlarge on its nature, or on the manner in which it is conducted. In both these respects we have had the satisfaction of receiving the approbation of the Public; and we trust, that a similar approbation will attend the present volume. Not to mention that it hath been prepared for the press with a care equal to what has formerly been displayed, we shall beg leave to observe, that one or two parts which, in the last year, were perhaps rather too excrescent, are now reduced to their due compass and proportion: at the same time, it is hoped, that no department of the work will be found defective.

A season of general peace doth not exhibit such striking scenes as when the world is involved in the tumults and devastations of war. But it affords matters equally momentous, and which are more delightful to philosophic minds, and the friends of humanity. The Parliamentary History of Great Britain and Ireland, which comprehends such a variety of political, civil, and commercial concerns, must ever be a very important object: and Europe, in its most tranquil state, will always be productive of events that give scope to speculation. It is devoutly to be wished, that the



nations of the earth could continue to be united in the bonds of peace; but such a happy situation of things is rather to be desired than expected. There is a ferment in the minds of men which seems to prognosticate fresh disturbances, and which perhaps may end in great revolutions. It is not our business to prophesy; but we cannot avoid expressing our apprehensions, that the commotions in Holland will not blow over so lightly as some politicians are ready to imagine.

The Literary Part of our work will explain the State of Knowledge, Science and Taste in the year 1786; and it is a pleasure to find that, amidst a number of insignificant publications, there are so many which can be spoken of with applause. Those who depreciate the learning of the present times, are not acquainted with the subject. In the department of Domestic Literature, we have fresh obligations to the gentleman who hath voluntarily communicated to us the articles that relate to Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Medicine.

On the whole, we present the Seventh Volume of the New Annual Register to our readers, with the agreeable hope, that they will derive from it both instruction and entertainment. Such a hope hath always animated our endeavours, and it will continue to invigorate our future exertions.

C O N-



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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
K N O W L E D G E, L E A R N I N G,  
A N D T A S T E,  
I N G R E A T B R I T A I N,

During the Reign of King HENRY the Seventh. From the Year  
1485, to the Year 1509.

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WE are now approaching to a period, in which the history of knowledge will, by degrees, become more and more interesting and copious. The latter end of the fifteenth century presents us with the dawn of that full light which at length shone upon these kingdoms. But before we proceed in our narrative, it will be expedient to look back on some circumstances, an acquaintance with which will assist us in forming a clearer view of our subject.

In former Articles, we have had occasion to mention, incidentally, the school divines who flourished in Great Britain. But we have promised to consider the scholastic theology a little more distinctly and particularly, as it is a curious phenomenon in the history of the human mind.

It was early the fault of divines to mix a spurious philosophy with religion. This disposition prevailed  
1786. a soon



soon after the propagation of the Gospel, and continued, for several of the first centuries of Christianity, to be productive of evil effects. But that is not the point to which our present enquiry tends. The school divinity, properly so called, had a later origin. It took its rise in those barbarous ages which succeeded the downfall of learning, owing to the irruptions of the northern nations, and to other causes. Perhaps some preparation was made for the introduction of this divinity by John Damascenus, in the eighth century; who, having drawn up an abridgment of the logic and ethics of Aristotle, formed a scheme of theology upon it, in his four books, concerning "the Orthodox Faith." His model, however, in consequence of the general ignorance and barbarity of the succeeding times, was not speedily followed. Towards the close of the eleventh century, something of the same plan was pursued by Lanfranc and Anselm, successively archbishops of Canterbury. In the beginning of the next century, the famous Abelard published three books of an introduction to divinity; by the assistance of which, Peter Lombard, about the middle of that century, compiled his four Books of Sentences, from the writings of the fathers, and especially of St. Austin. This work was long held in prodigious reputation, and the commentaries upon it were almost without number. The author of it was entitled, by way of distinction, "The Master of Sentences," and he has often been represented as the father of the schoolmen. Hence forward Theology assumed a new form, and was resolved into an infinite number of questions, which were debated with all possible subtilty. What contributed, in the highest degree, to this effect was the veneration which was paid to Aristotle; who now came to be regularly studied, and to be made the standard of logic and philosophy.

We are not, however, to imagine that the learned of this period were acquainted with Aristotle in the original.

nal. For what knowledge they had of him they were indebted to the Arabians. It is well known, and has formerly been mentioned, that the Saracens, after they had become settled in the several countries which were conquered by them, applied themselves to literature. Among their other pursuits, being of a subtile genius, the philosophy of Aristotle naturally excited their attention and admiration. His logic was suited to their taste, and from him they learned to multiply distinctions without reason, and without end. In commenting upon him their literary men were employed for centuries; and it was only through the medium of the translations derived from the Mahometans in Spain that an acquaintance with him was obtained by the rest of Europe. With these translations, the divines of the Romish church adopted the barbarous terms of Avicenna and other Arabians, which terms, being introduced into the Latin tongue, formed a most extraordinary jargon. What particularly recommended Aristotle to the theologians was, their belief that they could draw arguments from him which would enable them to confute the tenets of the Mahometans themselves, and to support all the doctrines of popery. Accordingly, his philosophy was eagerly embraced; and although it was only collected from translations ill performed, and worse understood, it reigned triumphant for many ages. Aristotle held the chair of divinity, instead of St. Paul. The persons who principally contributed to this great literary revolution were Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, and especially Thomas Aquinas. He it was who, in the thirteenth century, gave to the scholastic theology its full establishment, and raised it to its highest glory. To him, as the head of the schoolmen, those who have been devoted to that species of divinity have usually looked up with a veneration almost approaching to idolatry. The title bestowed upon him was that of the Angelical doctor, and he has been loaded with innumerable praises. Thomas Aquinas was the father of the Realists, whose distinguish-



ing tenet it was, that universals are realities, and have an actual existence, not being merely ideas or imaginations, but subsisting, as they expressed it, in their own language, “*ex parte rei*.” His disciples were called Thomists.

But though the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas maintained so great a sway, new parties could not be prevented from springing up among the school-men. A very eminent sect was formed by Duns Scotus, who departed in various instances, from the doctrines of Aquinas. The chief points about which they disagreed were, the “Nature of the Divine Co-operation with the Human Will,” the “Measure of the Divine Grace that is necessary to Salvation,” the “Unity of Form in Man,” or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions. But what contributed most to exalt the reputation of Scotus, and to cover him with glory, was his defence of what—is called the “Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.” Hence he was warmly patronized by the Franciscans, in opposition to the Dominicans, who entertained different notions with regard to that matter. The disciples of Duns Scotus were called Scotists. For a long period, the Thomists and the Scotists contended against each other with all the subtleties of distinction they were capable of inventing; nor is the controversy between them entirely excluded from the Latin schools, even at the present day.

Another formidable adversary to the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, was found in William Occam, a Franciscan friar of the severer order, a follower of Scotus, and a doctor of divinity at Paris. This person, in the fourteenth century, was the reviver of the Nominalists, a sect that had long subsisted, but which had now for some time sunk into general neglect. They had received that denomination, because they maintain-



ed that words, not things, were the objects of dialectics. To become learned, it was not enough, they said, to have just ideas of things; but it was likewise necessary to know the proper names of their genera and species, and to be able to express them clearly and precisely, without confusion and ambiguity. The doctrines of the Nominalists were founded upon the philosophy of Zeno and the Stoics; so that, in some respects, Occam and his followers are to be considered as opposers of Aristotle. In the contests which were carried on by them with the disciples of Aquinas, it was not always a war of distinctions and words. The combatants were so enraged at each other, that they often proceeded to blows. The Nominalists were some times triumphant, especially when they happened to be headed by men of great reputation; but, in general, they were far inferior in number to the Realists, and at length became of little consideration. The Realists were supported by the popes, their method of treating subjects being thought more favourable to the doctrines and claims of the church of Rome. There was another sect called the Formalists, who mediated between the extremes of the two grand contending parties, but who, as might be expected, never rose to any high degree of eminence.

However the school-men might be divided, their disputes were idle and ridiculous, and their distinctions absurd, and, for the most part, unintelligible. In their works they discussed an infinite number of theological or philosophical questions, proposed the arguments on both sides, and determined them by subtle and analogical reasonings. In doing this they frequently made use of the authority of Aristotle, and sometimes appealed to that of the Fathers; their quotations from whom, being taken at second hand, were, in many cases, not only inaccurate, but very injudiciously applied. The style of their books was generally dry and barbarous, and almost always involved in obscurity. Their mode



of preaching was adapted to their scholastic method of study. In their sermons they abounded with divisions and low comparisons; and it was very seldom that they treated any point of morality in its proper extent, or established it upon solid principles, or urged it with eloquence and spirit. The more elaborate commentaries on scripture were full of allegories and mystical interpretations. Those who wrote upon the rites and ceremonies of the church, wholly employed themselves in seeking or inventing mysterious reasons for the observance of them. But the grand business of the more eminent schoolmen, was the illustration of Aristotle. On him incredible numbers of comments were written, of which it may justly be said, that they only served to darken counsel, by words without knowledge.

Nothing could be more unfavourable to true theology, and true science, than the school-divinity, and the school-philosophy. That we may judge of the ridiculous purposes to which this divinity and philosophy were applied, we shall mention a few of the questions that were the objects of discussion. No less than twenty-four chapters are employed by Albertus Magnus, in examining “whether the Angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary in the shape of a serpent, of a dove, of a man, or of a woman;” “whether he seemed to be young or old;” “in what dress he was;” “whether his garment was white, or of two colours;” “whether his linen was clean or foul;” “whether he appeared in the morning, at noon, or in the evening;” “what was the colour of the Virgin Mary’s hair;” “whether she was acquainted with the mechanic and liberal arts;” “whether she had any skill in grammar, rhetoric, logic, music, astronomy, &c.” and “whether she had a thorough knowledge of the book of Sentences, and of all the chapters it contains;” a book which was composed above eleven hundred years after her death. Some of the questions discussed by Thomas Aquinas were inde-



cent, as well as ridiculous: such as, “why Christ was not an hermaphrodite;” “why he did not assume the female sex;” “whether there were excrements in paradise;” and “whether the saints will rise with their intestines.” Other topics of disputation, still more scandalous and shameful, we forbear to specify. One enquiry, which was, “whether a million of angels might not sit upon a needle’s point,” is truly laughable.

The absurd veneration in which Aristotle was held by the greatest part of the schoolmen, will appear from the extravagant things which were advanced concerning him. It was asserted, that nature herself had set her signet to what he invented. One divine maintained, that it was impossible for the utmost stretch of human understanding, without the particular assistance of a genius, to penetrate into the secrets of nature so far as Aristotle had done. Another affirmed, that this philosopher, in all his undertakings, used to advise with a spirit, which he had brought down from the sphere of Venus, by the sacrifice of a haltered lamb, and some other ceremonies. A third contended, that he had no need of such assistance; and that he was able, by the mere strength of his natural genius, to arrive at as perfect a knowledge in divinity, as that which was communicated to our first father when he was asleep in paradise, or to St. Paul in his extacy. It was declared by a fourth, that Aristotle was the fore-runner of the Messias in the mysteries of nature, as John the Baptist was in the mysteries of grace. By some persons it was acknowledged, that if he had not been employed in the accurate distinction of all sorts of reasonings, the church would have wanted many articles of faith. “The authority of Aristotle, says Nicus Erythræus, has taken too deep root to be afraid of the power of any man. His doctrine does and will flourish, and the measure of every one’s understanding will be rated by what proportions of knowledge he has imbibed from *his* fountain



fountain of learning : nor will any one who has a grain of sense, not choose, in matters relating to philosophy, to err with the God, if I may so say, of philosophers, than to think right with any other petty retailers of literature."

With all the misapplication of their talents, the school divines and philosophers were many of them great men. Thomas Aquinas, in particular, had extraordinary abilities, which, if they had been properly directed, might have rendered him very useful to mankind. Nor is it to be imagined that every thing in him is trifling and ridiculous. There are, it is believed, parts of his works which might even now be read with pleasure and advantage.

So far as it is an honour to have produced the schoolmen, our own country had its full share in that honour. Not to mention Lanfranc and Anselm, Duns Scotus was a Briton, probably born in Scotland, and William Occam was an Englishman. Alexander Hales, John Baconthorp, Thomas Bradwardine, and a large list of names might be produced, if it were necessary to rescue them from the oblivion in which they have long slept.

At the close of the fifteenth century, the school philosophy still retained its dominion, and continued to do so, among divines in general, to a much later period. It was not, however, so universally followed as it had hitherto been ; for other objects began now to engage the attention of mankind. Some few persons went even so far as to perceive the folly of the scholastic disquisitions and distinctions, and to treat them with contempt and ridicule. Others, who still adhered to the system, wished to strip off the uncouth and barbarous language with which it had been clothed, and to put it in a more easy and graceful dress : but it was not



of a nature to admit of much junction with taste and elegance.

At the time to which we are now arrived, several circumstances had contributed, in various parts of Europe, to open, in a considerable degree, the human mind; and these circumstances were not without their influence in Great Britain. The advantages which some of our own countrymen derived from the more early application of the Italians to polite learning, have already been described. But it was the taking of Constantinople, in 1453, which paved the way for a total revolution in European literature. The learned Greeks of that metropolis, being driven from their native country, took refuge in Italy, and carried along with them their ancient writers. These they interpreted; and the schools which they opened for this purpose were crowded with disciples. Hence an incredible ardour was excited for classical learning; and a new order of things was brought forward, which, in a course of time, was to have prodigious effects in enlarging the human understanding, and in improving the state of society. It was remarkable that this new mode of erudition was encouraged by the popes. They considered it as a fresh expedient for establishing their authority over the minds of men, and extended their patronage to it with uncommon liberality. This policy of the Roman Pontiffs, though it was highly beneficial to the world, was in the end, hurtful to themselves; for it was not possible, that the absurd doctrines and tyrannical claims of popery could long maintain their ground against that spirit of enquiry which was fostered by the revival of ancient Literature. One of the first consequences which resulted from the application to the Grecian authors, was, that many persons were induced to prefer the elegant and captivating philosophy of Plato, to the scholastic subtleties, and the captious logic of Aristotle,

Another



Another circumstance, by which the period we are now speaking of was distinguished, was the spirit of navigation and discovery. This spirit had, at first, principally operated among the Portuguese, owing to the ardent and enterprising mind of Henry, prince of Portugal, whose name will ever stand illustrious among those who, by their efforts, have contributed the most to change the face of the earth.

—For then from ancient gloom emerg'd  
The rising world of trade. The Genius, then,  
Of Navigation, that in hopeless Sloth  
Had slumbered on the vast Atlantic deep  
For idle Ages, starting, heard at last  
The Lusitanian prince, who, heav'n inspir'd,  
To love of useful glory rous'd mankind,  
And in unbounded Commerce mix'd the world.

The same disposition extended itself to different parts of Europe, and it was exerted with peculiar vigour towards the close of the fifteenth century. Hence it came to pass, that the new scenes which were presented to men, and the new objects that engaged their attention, contributed to enlarge their understandings, and to assist the progress of human improvement in general.

Such was the situation of things among the western European nations, when King Henry the Seventh mounted the throne of England; the state of knowledge and literature in whose reign we now proceed to relate. Hitherto, from the scantiness of materials, we have comprehended an extensive period in each article. For the future, we shall confine ourselves to single reigns. The present reign, indeed, being, just in the dawn of the revival of literature, will not detain us long: but ample amends for this defect will be made in our succeeding volumes.

In Henry the Seventh's time, a foundation was laid for such a change in the order of society, and the manners



ners of the people, as, at length, was productive of mighty consequences. The civil wars had greatly weakened the numbers and strength of the feudal lords, and it was the policy and interest of the king still farther to reduce their power, and destroy their influence. But this scheme could not take effect without his paying a regard to the body of his subjects, and endeavouring to promote their general interests. He was induced, therefore, to encourage, in various ways, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, than which nothing could be better calculated to render the bulk of the people less dependent upon the nobility and great landholders. Particular statutes were, at the same time, passed, which co-operated with the natural and gradual improvements that had begun to take place. The dissolution of entails was now fully and finally established, and the prospect of acquiring landed property was opened to those who, in their former state, could never have lifted up their minds to so agreeable an expectation. It was forbidden to the nobles to keep retainers in livery, for the purpose of assisting them in their quarrels; and hence numbers of men, who before had been idle, licentious, and nuisances to the public, were obliged to betake themselves to honest employments. By the exercise of industry they grew to be more independent; and the change in their external circumstances produced an alteration in their views, manners, and sentiments. Their understandings became capable of looking to objects which had not formerly been thought of; and, in particular, the feelings of property awakened a feeling of the value and importance of civil liberty. It is true that it was only the foundation of improvement which was laid in the present reign, and that the progress was comparatively very small. The people were too subservient to the king, on whom they leaned for support; and he so far availed himself of the advantages of his situation, as to carry, in many cases, his prerogatives to a great height. Nevertheless, the government under him was not so abso-

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lute as hath often been represented. No material alterations were made in the ancient constitution. The king was under the necessity of having recourse to frequent parliaments; and his authority, when displayed with the greatest vigour, was still considered as subordinate to that of the national assembly.

With regard to the state of theology in the reign now before us, scarcely any thing can be said in its praise. The popish clergy adhered to the system of the schools; and the followers of Wickliff were too much depressed for their divines to make any striking figure. Their principles, however, were gaining ground by degrees; and the minds of numbers of the people were becoming more and more prepared for the mighty changes hereafter to follow.

John Alcock, successively bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and Ely, stands among the foremost of the divines who flourished in the time of Henry the Seventh. Though he was much engaged in public employments, he found leisure for the prosecution of his private studies, the fruits of which appeared in several theological and devotional tracts. One piece of his, entitled, “*Mons Perfectionis*,” was so much admired and read, as to pass through the hands of different printers. Independently of his character as a divine, bishop Alcock was, in various respects, a man of distinguished abilities. Though he wrote upon the Penitential Psalms in English verse, we cannot presume to rank him as a poet.

A Maurice de Portu, who was appointed archbishop of Tuam soon after the accession of king Henry the Eighth, and who died before he took possession of his see, has been reckoned among the learned divines of this period. His works were certainly written in Henry the Seventh's time; but, as he chiefly resided abroad, it may justly be doubted whether he ought to be classed among the  
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the English, or, to speak more properly, the Irish authors. At any rate there would be no great loss of him, as his excellence lay solely in the scholastic theology.

John Fisher, the celebrated bishop of Rochester, may in part be referred to the present reign. It was in 1502 that he was appointed, by charter, the lady Margaret's first divinity professor in Cambridge. He was undoubtedly one of the most learned men of that age: but his theology was entirely devoted to the support of the doctrines and claims of the Roman pontiffs. His contemporary, dean Colet, was in this respect far his superior. The dean had a liberality of mind which enabled him to despise the subtleties of the schoolmen; and he founded his divinity on the study of the scriptures, and of the primitive fathers. Even among the fathers, he paid but little reverence to the authority of St. Augustin; which was a stretch of freedom very uncommon at the time in which he lived.

The period we are treating of was too short, and the age was yet, comparatively speaking, too dark, to admit of any considerable improvement in general philosophy. That continued, for the most part, on the footing which it had formerly maintained. Nevertheless, there was a tendency, in the disposition of the times, to some enlargement of science. The spirit of discovery, which now began to set Europe in motion, necessarily occasioned an application to those branches of mathematics with which the art of navigation is connected; nor was this spirit without its influence in our own country. The king, in particular, had imbibed it, and felt the power of it in no small degree. Henry the Seventh had sense and policy enough to discern that the ardour for exploring distant countries, and sailing over immense seas in search of new worlds, might be converted to the public advantage. He was very near having the honour of being the patron of the great Columbus; and it was  
only



only by an accident that he was deprived of this honour. That illustrious navigator, after having met with frequent repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew into England, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and to entreat his assistance in carrying them into execution. The king invited Columbus to England; but his brother, in returning to Spain, was unfortunately taken by pirates, and detained in his voyage. In the mean time, Columbus obtained the protection of Isabella, queen of Castile, by whom he was furnished with a small fleet, with which he happily accomplished his enterprize. But though Henry in this instance met with a disappointment, he did not remit in his zeal for the encouragement of navigation. John Cabot, a native of Venice, but an inhabitant of Bristol, was sent out by the king, in search of new countries. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1497, he proceeded on his voyage, accompanied by his son, afterwards the famous Sebastian Cabot, and on the 24th of June following, arrived at the island of Baccalaos, now known by the name of Newfoundland. In pursuit of his object, John Cabot reached the main land of North America. He is understood, therefore, to have discovered the American continent, before it was done by Columbus, who was not acquainted with it till his last voyage, in 1498, when he coasted along a part of the isthmus of Darien. Cabot's discoveries, though important in their consequences, were not productive of any immediate conquests or settlements. A similar voyage was undertaken from Bristol, in 1502. The king was not inattentive to the naval force of England; for he expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the Great Harry. This was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy, as, heretofore, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other method of procuring one, than by hiring vessels from the merchants. Such a man of war as the Great Harry could not have been constructed, unless there  
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had been some improvement in mathematical science, and in naval architecture.

There are scarcely any historians to be taken notice of in the present reign. Robert Fabyan, whom we have formerly mentioned, might here have been introduced, as he continued to flourish, and to write, during a considerable part of Henry the Seventh's Time. But we have seen that he would be little worthy of notice at any period, excepting that he was one of the first of our ancient chroniclers who composed in the English language. It was at the instance of the king that Polydore Virgil began his history, though it was not till the next reign that the work was completed. Hence, however, it is apparent, that Henry was not indifferent to so important a matter as historical composition.

The greatest literary object of the period before us, is the zealous attention that was now paid to classical learning. Some regard had begun to be shown to it previously to the king's accession; but it was not till this reign that it became a point of very ardent pursuit. Several eminent men, whose memories deserve to be held in the highest honour, contributed to a revolution so important in the literature of England. One of them was William Grocyn, who had early made himself master of all the learning of his own country, had risen to great reputation, and obtained several valuable preferments. Not satisfied with the acquisitions he had already attained, he determined to go abroad for farther improvement. Accordingly, he went into Italy, where he perfected himself in the Greek and Latin languages, under three of the most celebrated instructors of the time, Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian at Florence, and Hermolaus Barbarus at Rome. Upon his return to England, he made it his business to promote the knowledge of these languages to the utmost of his power. He publicly taught the Greek tongue at Oxford, and is under-

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stood to have been the first voluntary lecturer in that tongue. Erasmus coming to Oxford at this period, Grocyn had the honour of assisting him in obtaining a more perfect acquaintance with the Greek than he possessed before. Such was Grocyn's delicacy, that he declined appearing in the world as an author. He was of so nice a taste, says Erasmus, that he had rather write nothing than write ill.

William Latimer was another zealous promoter of the study of ancient literature. He, likewise, travelled abroad to acquire a more complete knowledge of it, and resided some time at Padua for this purpose. Erasmus was indebted to him, as well as to Grocyn, for his farther improvement in the Greek language, and was aided by him in preparing for the press his second edition of the New Testament. Though Latimer was one of the greatest men of that age, and esteemed a master of all sacred and profane learning, he never published any thing; and there are only extant a few of his letters, written to Erasmus.

A name still more illustrious than those of either of the two former, was Thomas Linacre. He, too, was not contented with the education which his own country afforded him, though his grammatical instruction was the best that could then be obtained, being under the learned William Tilly, at Canterbury. At Oxford, his progress in literature was very distinguished; and for farther improvement he went into Italy, where the first place of his residence was Florence. Here he was treated with the greatest kindness and respect by duke Lorenzo de Medicis, one of the politest men of that age, and an eminent patron of letters; and here he enjoyed the same masters on whom Grocyn had attended. Such was the use which he made of these advantages, that he acquired a complete knowledge of the Greek tongue, by the instructions of Chalcondylas; and so far did he improve



improve himself in the Latin language, under his preceptor Angelo Politian, that he could write more correctly in that language than Politian himself.

From Florence Linacre removed to Rome, where he put himself under the tuition of Hermolaus Barbarus, for the purpose of studying natural philosophy and physics. In the prosecution of this object he made it his business to get well acquainted with the works of Aristotle and Galen in the original; and he translated and published several tracts of the latter. He had formed a design, in conjunction with Grocyn and W. Latimer, of translating Aristotle; but the scheme was not carried into execution. When Linacre returned to England, he shone in the double capacity of a physician and a polite scholar. As a physician he settled first at Oxford. Here he was created doctor of physics, and appointed public professor of his faculty, in consequence of which he read medical lectures. From Oxford he was called to court by the king, to be physician and preceptor to prince Arthur. Though Linacre possessed all the philosophy of the times, his grand merit lies in having been one of the most zealous restorers and promoters of classical learning; and his book, "*De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*," was of singular service in this respect. This book, however, was not published till some time after the accession of Henry the Eighth; and it was not till that reign that Linacre had the glory of being the founder of the college of physicians, in London.

Another ornament of the period we are treating of, was William Lily, so well known as a grammarian, and whose ardour for improvement carried him beyond the boundaries of Italy. The Greek language was studied by him in the isle of Rhodes, whither several learned men had fled for refuge, under the protection of the  
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knights there, after the taking of Constantinople. From Rhodes he removed to Rome, where he acquired a polished latinity, from the instructions of Johannes Sulpicius, and Pomponius Sabinus. Not long after his arrival in his own country, he became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England. The school over which he was appointed was that of St. Paul's, newly founded by dean Colet. Lily was the head master of it twelve years, during which time he educated a great number of youths, some of whom proved to be very able and eminent men. In a History of the Literature of this period, dean Colet must be mentioned with particular honour, not only as a divine, but as an ardent promoter of knowledge in general. Like several others of his celebrated contemporaries, he travelled into Italy; and he made some stay in France. He was the friend, the patron of Erasmus, and assisted that great man in preparing his New Testament for publication. No one could be more zealous for the advancement of ancient learning; and of this the school which he founded was a noble and successful instance. His munificence was not approved of by all the prelates of that age. One of them, in repute for his wisdom and gravity, severely censured the dean, in a public assembly, for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in his new structure; which, therefore, the bishop styled a house of Pagan idolatry.

The frequency of institutions of this kind exhibited a remarkable evidence that ancient prejudices were gradually wearing off, and that a national taste for critical studies, and the graces of composition, began to be diffused. From the year 1503 to the Reformation, there were more Grammar schools founded and endowed in England than had been for three hundred years before. Though most of these may at present be of little use and importance, they were probably of considerable service at the revival of Literature.

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We come now to the poetry of the period before us. There is one author who ought to have been mentioned in our last number, not indeed upon the account of merit, but for the sake of her sex. This was Juliana Berners, prioress of Sopewell Nunnery, near St. Alban's. Notwithstanding her being a prioress, she did not employ herself in penning devout meditations, and rules of holy living, but, being a woman of rank and spirit, she wrote on hawking, hunting, and fishing. That part which relates to hunting is in rhyme. This lady is the second, at least in point of time, of any of our female writers, and the first who appeared in print. So popular was her work, that it went through two impressions in the space of five years; and this at the most early period of printing in England, when books were neither common nor of rapid sale. But the subjects she treated of were adapted to the taste and employments of a rustic nobility and gentry.

Of the English poets, in Henry the Seventh's reign, the writer that best deserved the name was Stephen Hawes, who was patronized by that monarch. After receiving a literary education at Oxford, he travelled much in France, and rendered himself a complete master both of the French and the Italian poetry. One of his principal productions was entitled the "Temple of Glasfe;" which was founded upon Chaucer's "House of Fame," and derived some assistance from the same great poet's "Assembly of Fowles." Though Hawes was indebted to Chaucer for the picturesque invention which was found in this composition, there was some merit in having recourse to so excellent a model, after it had long been forgotten, and nothing had appeared, for almost a century, but Legends, Homilies, and Chronicles in verse. But Hawes's capital performance was the "Passetyme of Pleasure." In this poem there is an effort of imagination and invention; and it contains some striking instances of romantic and allegoric fic-  
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tion. From the manner in which the personifications are sustained, it is evident that the writer was no mean proficient in the Provençal school. In point of versification, he improved upon Lydgate, and was superior to that poet in genius and fancy. With regard to harmony of numbers, and clearness of expression, Stephen Hawes greatly excelled his immediate predecessors and contemporaries; and, upon the whole, such was the excellence of his “*Pasletyme of Pleasure*,” that its having fallen into nearly a total neglect is somewhat to be lamented.

Another poet, who flourished in the present reign, was Alexander Barclay. From his name it might be conjectured that he was a native of Scotland, and the matter has been disputed; but it is most generally agreed that he was born in the West of England. His education, preferments, and residence, were undoubtedly English. He followed the literary fashion of the times, in travelling into foreign parts; and the countries which he visited were Germany, Italy, and France. After his return to this kingdom, he wrote his principal work, the title of which was the “*Ship of Fooles*.” It was chiefly taken from a German original, and from two translations of that original, one in French, and the other in Latin. Barclay made, however, some additions of his own. It was the design of the performance to ridicule the reigning follies and vices of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a ship freighted with fools of all kinds. The subject was a fine one; but neither the first author nor the English translator and imitator had genius sufficient to conduct it with a proper degree of invention and variety. Character and pleasantry might have been expected from the title; but in vain shall we look for such a delineation of foibles as appears in the *Canterbury Tales*, or such a strength of satire as is exhibited in *Pierce Plowman*. Barclay’s stanza is prosaic and tedious, and his poetry



is often no more than dull versification. But, with all these faults, the "Ship of Fools," as a general satire on the times, will not be found to be wholly void of entertainment. The language too of the writers is more cultivated than that of many of his contemporaries, and he had the honour of contributing something to the improvement of the phraseology of his country. Besides other pieces, Barclay was the author of five Eclogues, which were the first of the kind in the English tongue. They were formed upon the plan of Petrarch and Mantuan, being of a moral and satirical nature, and containing but few strokes of rural description and bucolic imagery.

Three versifiers in this period, William Walter, Henry Medwall, and Laurence Wade, are altogether undeserving of particular notice; neither would it be worth our while to enlarge upon some pageants which were exhibited for the diversion of king Henry the Seventh and his court. The dramatic entertainments called "Moralties," appear to have been carried to their height about the close of the present reign. A great contriver of them was John Rastall, a learned printer, and brother-in-law to sir Thomas More. This sort of spectacle had hitherto been confined either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery; but Rastall formed the design of rendering it the vehicle of science and philosophy.

John Skelton, the poet, might here have been introduced. But, as most of his pieces were written in the time of Henry the Eighth, we shall defer bringing him forward to our next number.

In our last article, we were obliged to look up to Scotland for the glory of poetry; and this is more particularly the case with regard to the short period concerning which we are now treating. To Scotland we



stand indebted for names with which no English ones can be put into comparison. That country produced writers who adorned the age with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not, perhaps, to be found even in Chaucer or Lydgate. These writers exhibited striking specimens of allegorical invention, a mode of composition which for some time had been almost totally extinguished in England. William Dunbar and Gawin Douglas are the two principal persons to whom this high praise belongs.

Dunbar, the chief of the ancient Scottish poets, was a native of East Lothian. Though he seems to have been bred an ecclesiastic, there is no evidence, notwithstanding his high merit, that he ever attained to any valuable preferment. Of the poems written by him, which are numerous, and which, if the whole of them were collected together, would form a considerable volume, the two longest, and the most celebrated, are "The Thistle and the Rose," and "The Golden Terge." The

"Thistle and the Rose" was occasioned by an event which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms; and that was, the marriage of James the Fourth of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, the eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh, of England. Through the whole piece, Dunbar displays a most admirable talent for allegorical invention, and poetical description. His design, in the "Golden Terge," was, to shew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged over reason. This poem is tinged with the morality and imagery of the "Romaunt of the Rose," and the "Floure and Leafe" of Chaucer. But though the natural complexion of Dunbar's genius was of a moral or didactic cast, he had great merits in the comic style of painting. His imagination was not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory; and he was the first who had appeared with any degree of spirit in



in this way of writing since *Pierce Plowman*. According to the language of one who has made Dunbar his particular study, he unites in himself, and generally surpasses, the qualities of the chief old English poets; the morals and satire of Langland; Chaucer's humour, poetry, and knowledge of life; the allegory of Gower; the description of Lydgate.

Gawin Douglas, the other great name in Scottish poetry, during this period, was illustrious by birth, as well as by genius. He was son, brother, and uncle to earls of Angus; and it was to the earl of Angus, his nephew, that Margaret, the queen dowager of Scotland, was married, after the decease of her first husband, James the Fourth. As to Gawin Douglas himself, being bred an ecclesiastic, he rose to great preferments. He was provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles, abbot of the opulent convent of Aberbrothock, and bishop of Dunkeld: but it is on his eminence as a poet that his true fame depends. His education, which commenced in his native country, was finished at the university of Paris; and, to whomsoever he was indebted for it, he attained to great excellence in classical learning. This, in conjunction with the natural vigour of his own mind, enabled him to sustain a new character in the world of letters, which was that of a poetical translator, not from the old French metrical romances, but from the models of the Augustan age. In his early youth, he translated Ovid's *Art of Love*; but he afterwards raised his thoughts to a much nobler and more difficult undertaking, which was a complete translation, in heroic verse, of the *Eneid* of Virgil. The design, which had long been entertained by him, was accomplished in the space of sixteen months; and it is executed with equal spirit and fidelity. Dr. Johnson represents Mr. Pope's version of Homer as a very important object in the history of the literature of this country, though it was performed at a time when learning and taste were in a high state of cultivation



cultivation in England. What, then, are we to think of such a work as that of Gawin Douglas's, in a period so comparatively rude and unpolished? No metrical translation of a classic had yet appeared in English, unless we are disposed to give that appellation to Boethius. Virgil was hitherto generally known only by Caxton's romance on the subject of the Eneid; concerning which Douglas asserted, that it no more resembled Virgil than the devil was like St. Austin.

Gawin Douglas is eminent not only as a translator, but as an original writer. He was the author of an allegorical poem, called "King Hart," and of another, entitled the "Palice of Honour," excelling in the same species of composition, and formed on the design of the Tablet of Cebes. Besides these productions, the several books of his translation of Virgil are introduced with metrical prologues, which display a most extraordinary degree of poetical beauty. His descriptions of winter, of a summer morning, and of a summer evening, have uncommon merit. These descriptions are not the effusions of a mind that was indebted to the images of other poets, but the result of a genius that operated by its own force, in the delineation of the objects that were presented to it by the face of nature. Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* have been reckoned the earliest descriptive poems in English. If that was the case, Scotland produced the finest examples of this delightful species of composition nearly a century and a half before. Notwithstanding Gawin Douglas's excellence as a translator, it appears that his proper walk was original poetry.

With respect to the state of architecture, in the reign of king Henry the Seventh, the Gothic kind, in its finest form, still maintained its dominion. The same style and manner of building, which had subsisted from the time of Edward the Third, continued to be preserved, with relation to the principal parts and members of



of a structure. Some difference, however, took place in regard to the windows, which were less pointed and more open. A better taste of statuary began likewise to appear; and, indeed, a greater care seems to have been bestowed on all the ornamental parts, for the purpose of giving them a lighter and higher finishing. The ribs of the vaulting in particular, which had been large, and apparently formed for strength and support, became at length divided into such an abundance of parts, issuing from their imposts as from a centre, and spreading themselves over the vaulting, that the whole vault (these parts being at the same time intermixed with delicate sculpture) assumed the appearance of embroidery, enriched with clusters of pendent ornaments, resembling the works occasionally formed by nature in caves and grottos, and hanging down from their roofs. Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, exhibits, in its vaulting, the most striking instance, without exception, of the species of beauty now described. Indeed, this whole chapel is one of the finest monuments of the perfection of the Gothic architecture in the present reign. It is also to be remembered, that Henry the Seventh assisted in carrying on the building of King's College chapel at Cambridge, which had been begun by Henry the Sixth. The remainder, to the battlements, was built by his order, and he completed the timber roof.

Concerning the state of the art of painting in this period, there is little to be said. Though that fine art had risen to a very considerable degree of perfection, both in Italy and in Flanders, it had scarcely made its way into England. There was not, at least, a single native of the country who applied himself to the cultivation of it; nor was it likely to be greatly encouraged by a monarch whose ruling character was avarice. However, two foreign painters came into this kingdom, during the reign of Henry the Seventh. The name of  
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one of them was Holbein. It has been questioned whether he might be the father of the famous Hans Holbein; but it is understood that he was more probably his uncle. The few portraits remaining, which are understood to have been executed by him are only worthy of notice so far as they may serve to gratify the curiosity of an antiquary. John Mabuse, a native of Hainault, the other painter who resided some time in England, was an artist of much superior merit. Though there was a stiffness in his manner, he attained to very considerable excellence in his profession. After some practice at home, he travelled into Italy, where he acquired more truth in treating naked subjects, and so far improved his taste, as to introduce poetic history among his countrymen. One of his most admired works was an Altar-piece at Middleburgh, the subject of which was the descent from the cross. It was applauded by Albert Durer, between whose style of painting and that of Mabuse's there was a great resemblance. Another of Mabuse's principal performances abroad, was the decollation of St. John. In this country, not to mention a variety of portraits, and a picture of Adam and Eve, his most celebrated work was the marriage of Henry the Seventh, on board. It represents the inside of an imaginary church; and the perspective and landscape of the country on each side are good. The manner of the picture is hard; notwithstanding which, it has no small degree of merit, independently of its being a curiosity.

From the works which were printed, during this short period, some information may be derived concerning the general State of Knowledge and Literature in England. This information, however, will redound very little to the glory of the present reign. The books that were published were almost solely of the same kind with those which had been the favourites of the people for nearly a century past. These were principally  
devotional



devotional tracts, poetry, and the old tales and romances. It now became an object of importance to print the statutes of the kingdom; and hence such an acquaintance with the laws was introduced, as tended to soften the minds of men, and to promote public peace and order. Though ancient learning had begun to be ardently studied by a few persons, these gentlemen were obliged to have recourse to foreign parts, for copies of the Greek and Roman authors. The first Latin Classic that is known to have been printed in England, solely in that language, was Terence, by Richard Pinson, in 1497. Terence was printed a second time, by Wynken de Worde, in 1504; and it is remarkable that he was the only classical writer that was published in Henry the Seventh's Time; and, indeed, the only classical writer that had hitherto come from an English press, if we except Caxton's edition of Boethius, which, however, was accompanied with Chaucer's translation. There is little to be said with regard to the Literature of the printers of this period, though some of them were men of education. Wynken de Worde has been represented as a man of great literary accomplishments; but this appears to have been advanced without sufficient foundation. John Raftall, before mentioned, who was educated at Oxford, and is described as having been eminently skilled in mathematics, cosmography, history, our municipal law, and theology, did not commence printer till the next reign.

The short term of years which occupies our present attention, was not defective in respect to patrons of learning. Even the king himself was not wholly without a title to this character, though he did not shine in it with any eminent degree of lustre. He was the protector of Hawes the poet, and made him groom of the privy chamber. Nay, his majesty is recorded as possessing some tincture of literature in his own person, and is said to have confuted a Lollard, in a public disputation



tation at Canterbury. The poor Wickliffite would have few to support him in a debate with a royal antagonist.

A much higher degree of praise is due to Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, Henry the Seventh's mother. This illustrious lady must be mentioned as an author as well as a patroness of letters; and in point of time she succeeds Juliana Berners, being the third female writer that England hath produced. By the course of her education, she was tolerably qualified for a studious mode of life. She attained a perfect acquaintance with the French language, and had some skill in the Latin; but lamented that she had not rendered herself a complete mistress of it in her youth. A fine library was collected by her, not for the purpose of ornament, or the gratification of vanity and ostentation, but for use. She wished to enrich her mind with valuable knowledge; and her library contained the best Latin, French, and English books of which she could at that time acquire the possession. Her works were of the devotional kind, and for the most part translations. One of her performances was the fourth book of Dr. John Gerson's *Treatise on the Imitation of Christ*, translated from the French. Another of her productions was entitled, "*The Mirroure of Golde for the finful Soule*." It had been originally written in Latin, under the title of "*Speculum aureum Peccatorum*;" but it was from the French that the countess of Richmond made her translation. She, likewise, drew up, at the desire of the king her son, and by his authority, orders with regard to the precedence of great and noble ladies, at public processions, and especially at funerals.

But it is not on her character as a writer that the countess's real reputation with posterity is grounded. This must be sought for in her munificent institutions for the encouragement of piety and learning. She appointed



pointed and endowed two public lectures in divinity, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge. At the last university she made provision for a preacher, to deliver at least six sermons, every year, in several churches, belonging to the dioceses of London, Ely, and Lincoln; and she founded a free grammar school at Winborne, in Dorsetshire. These were only the beginnings of lady Margaret's benefactions. In 1506, she completed the foundation of Christ's college, Cambridge, and provided so plentifully for it, out of her own lands and possessions, that her revenues alone afford a maintenance for a master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars. A judgment may be formed of the succeeding usefulness and reputation of this institution, when it is observed that, among the other learned ornaments of it, the names may be reckoned of John Leland, Hugh Broughton, William Ames, Joseph Mede, Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, Thomas Burnet, William Outram, John Lightfoot, John Milton, John Howe, and Nicholas Sanderson.

The countess of Richmond, having displayed so much bounty at Cambridge, was disposed to extend her beneficence to distant places, and to other objects. But, through the influence of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who had been her confessor and chaplain, she was prevailed upon to carry still farther her patronage to her favourite university. Accordingly, she became the foundress of St. John's College; but died before the design was completed. Her executors, however, were zealous and speedy in fulfilling the purposes of her will. This college has since had such various endowments, and risen to such extent, as, we believe, to exceed all others in the number of its residents. Besides a master, it has fifty-nine fellows, and a hundred scholars; and the students upon their own foundation are uncommonly numerous. We omit many respectable names and characters, when we take notice that St. John's college can boast of Roger Ascham,



Ascham, John Redman, Thomas Cartwright, John Cheke, Thomas Wyat, William Cecil, William Whitacre, John Boys, John Overall, Ben. Jonson, Henry Briggs, Thomas Gatacre, Kenelm Digby, Lucius Cary, John Williams, William Cave, Edward Stilligfleet, John Smith, Thomas Otway, William Beveridge, Matthew Prior, Richard Bentley, Thomas Baker, Samuel Croxal, John Taylor, and John Powell.

These two colleges were not the only ones which were founded in Cambridge during this period. Jesus College was erected and endowed, some years before the others, by John Alcock, bishop of Ely; and it can reckon, among its literary ornaments, Thomas Cranmer, John Bale, Richard Bancroft, John Duport, Christopher Hatton, Richard Fenshaw, John North, John Worthington, John Pearson, Elijah Fenton, and John Flamsteed.

Oxford will reassume her glory, in respect to collegiate institutions. when we shall come to Wolsey's noble foundation, in the next reign.

Among the encouragers of literature, archbishop Warham, though he did not form any large and permanent establishment, must not be forgotten. He enriched the library of New College, Oxford, with a number of curious Greek books, which were purchased by him of such persons as had obtained the possession of them after the taking of Constantinople. But the principal circumstance which entitles him to be remembered in this place, is, that he was the zealous friend, and the generous patron, of the great Erasmus.

At a time when the nobility in general were involved in gross ignorance, Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, distinguished himself, by being the protector of such genius as the age produced. Skelton



was encouraged by him to write an elegy on the death of his father; but what particularly marked the earl's literary taste, and in an especial manner his love for poetry, was a very splendid manuscript, transcribed for his use, containing a large collection of English poems, finely engrossed in vellum, and superbly illuminated. That he cultivated the arts of external elegance, is manifest from the stately sepulchral monuments which were erected by him, in the collegiate church of Beverley in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father and mother. These monuments are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and exhibit striking proofs of his lordship's taste and magnificence. In the next reign he founded a stipend for a grammatical and philosophical professor at Alnwick. From the earl's household-book it appears, that both he and his lady had distinct libraries; and in the same book it is appointed, that one of his chaplains should be a maker of interludes.

We shall conclude the present article with the mention of a nobleman, who was of the Scottish nation. This was Henry, earl of Sinclair, the friend and patron of Gawin Douglas. It was at the earl's request that Douglas undertook his translation of Virgil's *Eneid*; and certainly that mind must have been cultivated far above the common spirit of the age, which could form the conception, and urge the execution, of so noble a design. \*

\* Great General Dictionary, Biographia Britannica, British Biography, Mosheim, Millar, Hume, Warton, Pinkerton, Walpole, Bentham, Ballard, &c. &c.







BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1786.







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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1786.

## CHAPTER I.

*Second Session of the Irish Parliament. Meeting of Congress. Eleven Commercial Propositions. Their Reception. Parliamentary Reform. Twenty Propositions. Their Discussion. Rejected with Indignation. Parliament prorogued.*

THE parliament of Ireland met for its second session on the twentieth of January 1785. Two subjects at this time occupied the attention, and excited the animadversion of the people of that kingdom. The first of these was the proceedings by attachment against the sheriffs and others, who were concerned in the meetings that were held for the purpose of introducing a parliamentary reform. This measure seems to have been generally regarded by those who were unconnected with the court, as violent, arbitrary and oppressive. The other topic that was now agitated, was a plan for the establishment of a more extensive intercourse of trade between Great Britain and Ireland. The idea was ascribed to the suggestions of Mr. Beresford, first commissioner of the revenues, and still more of Mr. Foster, the chancellor of the exchequer, who was esteemed to be

the person of the greatest ability in the service of government. The more equal representation of the people in parliament had now been long a matter of general discussion, and the idea had been caught with peculiar energy and enthusiasm by the inhabitants of that kingdom. To many of the servants of the crown these notions appeared Eutopian, impracticable and visionary, at the same time that they were conceived to be pregnant with tumult and anarchy: and, if there were any by whom they were regarded in a light less obnoxious, still, as the execution of them was not likely to be permitted, it was deemed more eligible to stifle them in the conception. On this ground the Irish part of the administration imagined they could not adopt a more laudable conduct, than to check this thirst after ideal benefits by the introduction of advantages the most solid, durable and substantial.



The topics that were opened in the speech of the lord lieutenant extended to all those measures which it was intended the parliament should adopt in their present session. The duke of Rutland recommended the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, and a particular attention to the fisheries. He called upon parliament to consider what new provisions might be necessary for the regulation of the police and the better execution of the laws. He observed that the uniformity of policy and religion, and a common interest in treaties with foreign states, formed a sure bond of connection and attachment between Great Britain and Ireland. He recommended, in the king's name, to their earnest investigation those objects of trade and commerce between the two kingdoms which had had not yet received their complete adjustment, and he called upon them to frame a plan with a view to a final settlement. Upon the subject of the late meetings and associations he spoke more at large. While he lamented the lawless outrages and unconstitutional proceedings which had taken place since their last prorogation, he had the satisfaction to perceive that these excesses were confined to a few places, and even there were condemned. And he had now the pleasure to observe that by the salutary interposition of the laws the general tranquillity was re-established.

The political face of the parliament of Ireland in the commencement of the present session, was something different from that which we have traced in our preceding volume. The rich and the sober, men of the utmost moderation, and of the greatest weight in the kingdom, had felt a particular indignation against the late proceedings of

the crown lawyers. Impressed with this feeling, the duke of Leinster, in the house of lords, and his brother, lord Edward Fitzgerald, in the commons, put themselves in the front of the minority. But, if government had lost some of those supporters from whom she had formerly obtained essential service, she had however found means to conciliate others who had lately been very active in the popular party. An amendment was moved to the address to the sovereign by Mr. Flood, expressing the confidence of parliament "that the king would be pleased to extend his paternal care to the people of Ireland, aided by the counsels of ministers who had declared in favour of a parliamentary reform in Great Britain, in compliance with the wishes of the people, and in confirmation of their happy constitution." The amendment was supported by Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Corry and Mr. Molyneux; but it was opposed by Mr. George Ogle, Mr. Dennis Browne, Mr. Robert Boyd, sir Boyle Roche, major Doyle, and Mr. Grattan. The last of these delivered himself in a speech of considerable length, in which he reprobated the late measures that had been pursued for the obtaining a parliamentary reform, though he was a most sincere advocate for the reform itself.

The congress of the nation of Ireland met on the same day as that which was appointed for the opening of the session of parliament. There is a resemblance between the posture of affairs we are describing, and what has been remarked respecting the revival of literature in Europe. When poetry and the fine arts were originally invented, the ideas that suggested them were borrowed from the pure sources of nature;



nature; and thus the first writers, a Homer, a Hesiod, and an Anacreon, were distinguished by a certain simplicity and elegance of manner which has recommended their productions to the latest posterity: but in the revival of letters the earlier authors did not possess the same advantages. Introduced without any previous preparation to all the noblest remains of antiquity, they became as it were, intoxicated with the unbounded draught, their taste was surfeited and vitiated instead of being cultivated, and their style became distinguished for low conceits, despicable puns, and unnatural antitheses; a character from which it was very long before literature completely emerged. In like manner, in the original structure of liberty in the republics of ancient Greece, the ideas of equality appear natural and spontaneous, and encountered very little obstruction in their progress; but in the dissemination of their ideas in modern times, the soil in which they were to be sown seems to have been very ill prepared for their reception. Accordingly in the rising States of America, we have met with some indications of the imbecility of age, confounded and struggling with the efforts of commencing manhood: and in like manner in Ireland the description of the inhabitants and government of the country was particularly inauspicious to the introduction of reform. We have already enumerated three causes, which operated unfavourably to the plans for the melioration of the constitution; the peculiar situation of this country with respect to religion; the riotous proceedings which originated in the non-importation agreement; and the direct discountenance of administration, in the proceedings by

attachment. Of all these causes the first was the most important. If, according to the common computation, Ireland contains three millions of inhabitants, two millions and a half of these are probably disciples of the ancient religion; and while they are deprived of every privilege, and labour under every stigma, the rights of government and the immunities of men are exclusively confined to one sixth part of the nation. It was impossible that any high and generous description of liberty could be obtained, unless this odious distinction were previously removed. And accordingly the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin in concert with several other towns of the kingdom, exerted in the course of the preceding summer several very spirited efforts for its destruction. They were willing to exhibit a single example of unsuspecting confidence, to put power in the hand of their ancient adversaries, and to dare then to be unjust. But these efforts were not seconded; and in the present meeting of the congress which was much more numerous and respectable than that which had preceded it, the plan of the national convention of volunteer delegates of November 1783, which vested the rights of citizens inclusively in protestants, was adopted with a few minute and unessential alterations. The congress sat with a few interruptions, from the twentieth of January to the fourth day of February following; and as an immediate application to parliament was conceived to be now premature, they on that day adjourned their sitting to the twentieth of April.

It had all along been the idea of government, by the firmness and decision of countenance which they should assume, if possible, to over-



bear and to banish the sort of republican enthusiasm by which Ireland had been lately distinguished. In conformity to this scheme an address had been prepared and transmitted to the sovereign on the part of the city of Dublin, immediately previous to the meeting of parliament, which treated the subject in a much higher and more peremptory style of disapprobation than the address to the lord lieutenant of the sixteenth of October 1784. They might justly be deemed insensible to the blessings they had derived under his majesty's auspices, if they omitted this seasonable occasion of declaring their rooted abhorrence of every attempt to create unjust and dangerous discontents, tending to subvert the constitution in church and state. They looked forward with grateful confidence to the system of commercial intercourse that was soon to be made public. They rejected with indignation the interference of any body of men unknown to the constitution: and they were resolved to suffer no assumed authority to dictate to the legislature of the land. This address was signed by 21 peers and 1121 commoners. The ideas and language of this paper were also repeated in the message from the sovereign in answer to the address of both houses of parliament.

It was not till Monday the seventh of February, that Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, laid before parliament the plan which had been framed for finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms. He called upon them with confidence to assist in cementing those materials, which might appear best suited to give strength and solidity to all the parts of the fabric; and to work over it a covering of

perpetual shelter against the capricious gusts of jealousy and interest-edness. This was not the season to portend a principle so injurious to the character and good sense of that country, as that the welfare of Ireland was to be sought only in partial attention and exclusive provisions. The event, he trusted, would prove the best refutation of the seditious papers in which the inhabitants of both countries were calumniated and misrepresented; papers calculated to impose upon popular credulity, and to answer the purposes of men who were alike enemies to England and to Ireland.

Mr. Orde addressed himself to an assembly, the representatives of a nation warm with generous feelings, and divested of narrow partialities. He called upon them to recollect and give indulgence to the force of long accustomed enjoyment. They would, however interested in the change of policy, make allowance for the constant solicitude with which Great Britain had guarded for herself a preference in the laws of navigation. They would attend to the very early period at which that preference had been formed, and by what steps it had since gathered strength. They would form a judgment of the expence of blood and treasure with which she had settled her colonies, and how naturally she might look to them with anxiety as objects of her peculiar care. They would then descend to a period very little removed from the present, when, in the greatest need of every possible assistance and support, she listened to their request, relaxed the principle of interested jealousy, and imparted to Ireland the participation of this exclusive trade. That house had received the gift with due acknowledgment, and had justly greeted



ed the omen, the happy presage of that victory, which affection had since obtained over self-interest and prejudice.

The enlargement of the colony trade was only a part of the great system he had to propose. The next consideration which presented itself was the adjustment of duties upon the commodities of the two countries, for the purpose of facilitating a mutual supply. These equitable principles of commerce were formerly not well understood. Imposts had been laid upon goods in their passage from one district of the same country to another. Partial restrictions had been tried as the means of giving success to partial favour; but local predilections had been found by experience to occasion general distress and impoverishment, with advantage only to a few interested monopolists. Wiser had been those speculations, and more fortunate for the public had been the practice, where a community of interests had encouraged a competition of industry; and it might even be doubted, whether between rival states there were not more of political prejudice than of commercial wisdom, in supposing the strength of the one to be the consequent weakness of the other.

Mr. Orde enlarged with great energy upon the unequivocal liberality and the generous disinterestedness of Great Britain in the structure of this system. It was unnecessary for him to dwell upon those objects of apprehension, which might have been magnified in the eyes of a less liberal nation: the preferable commercial situation of Ireland, its comparative cheapness in regard of the necessaries of life, and the consequent diminished price of its labour. Nor could Great Britain consider as an advantage of any

long duration the present difference resulting from superior capital and perhaps superior habits of industry and invention. These were circumstances which would diminish every year, and which might even be transferred to that country; while, by giving up as she did for ever the unfavourable construction of the navigation act, the British market was open to the subjects of Ireland, and they might supply it on the same terms as the British merchants themselves. There would no longer be any restraint or speculation, that powerful stimulus to commercial vigour. Ireland from her happy situation might become an emporium of trade, and Great Britain might be obliged to have recourse to her for the supply of her own consumption. Thus circumstanced, Mr. Orde conceived, he might rely upon the wisdom of the nation of Ireland, that they would think the trade which was imparted to them an object worth their care, and upon their generosity that they would contribute to the general defence of the empire. He concluded with observing that he did not wish to press the parliament of Ireland to an immediate decision, and he accordingly moved, that the consideration of the system of commercial intercourse should be resumed on the Friday following. The propositions were printed and delivered for the perusal of the members on Wednesday.

It was conceived however by several members of the house of commons, that more time was necessary for deciding upon a question of so extreme magnitude. Administration had been severally called upon by Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Hartley, previously to the production of the propositions, to suggest to the house a general



neral outline of the system in contemplation; but this requisition it had been thought proper to decline. On the Wednesday subsequent to their being opened to the house, it was moved by Mr. Hartley, and seconded by Mr. Griffith, that the order for taking the subject into consideration on Friday, should be discharged, and that a new order should be made for that day seven-night. This motion was opposed by Sir Hercules Langrishe, on the ground of motives derived from the nature of the system. The object of the arrangement was the benefit of Ireland. That kingdom was to be rescued from the state of subjugation and inferiority in which it had long been held, and to be raised to a full and generous equality with Great Britain. Could it then be necessary, as some gentlemen had suggested, that they should consult their constituents? Would they wait to ask the people in the North whether they would consent that a perpetual preference should be given to their linen manufacture? Was it necessary to ask the merchants of Cork, Waterford and Belfast, whether, when their ships returned from the colonies, they would consent to have the market of England opened for their sale? Must they ask the various manufacturers of Ireland, whether they were contented, that an unrestricted vent for their goods should be allowed in every part of Great Britain? The question did not admit of hesitation; and delay in this instance would be as absurd as it was impolitic. To these considerations it was added by Mr. Bushe, that, if they let slip this opportunity, it would be lost for ever. The whole fabric of British monopoly was about to be thrown down in favour of Ireland. Should they then delay till the monopolists were

roused; till the manufacturers of Manchester, Glasgow and Paisley instructed their members to oppose the indulgence of Ireland; till the minister was harrassed with addresses from all parts of Britain, and their hopes were for ever buried in interested and universal clamour? The motion of Mr. Hartley was supported by Mr. Flood, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Molyneux, Mr. Corry, Mr. O'Neil and Mr. Longfield. It was opposed by Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Brooke member for the county of Donegal. The members upon the division were, ayes 37, noes 156.

That we may render more intelligible and perspicuous the sort of debate that arose on the different heads of the system, we shall view the system as consisting of three parts, the intercourse of the two kingdoms relative to the productions of the colonies, their intercourse relative to their own productions and manufactures, and the compensation Ireland was to make for the benefit conferred, by the appropriation of the surplus of her hereditary revenue. To the first part only a trifling demur was suggested by Mr. Corry. As some productions of foreign countries paid a higher duty, as matters stood at present, coming from the place of their growth, than when they came through Britain, he was doubtful which of the two duties it was intended to adopt. Being however informed by Mr. Foster, that the preference would certainly be given to the lower duty, Mr. Corry cheerfully acquiesced in this part of the system.

The objections to the second head of the commercial arrangement were urged with more zeal and pertinacity. These rested chiefly upon two considerations; first, that by the

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the adoption of this system Ireland would of course be for ever excluded from the benefit of those protecting duties, which had been so much the object of her predilection: and secondly, that by these propositions the existing prohibition in Britain upon the raw material of her woollen manufacture was rendered perpetual, contrary to the general spirit of the system. Both these objections were stated with great perspicuity by Mr. Gardiner upon the day on which the system was opened to the Irish house of commons; but he did not lay great stress upon the former, and declared himself willing to recede from the idea of protecting duties. That matter was not so easily yielded by the whole body of the representatives of the Irish nation.

His objections were taken up in two petitions that were presented immediately previous to the debate of Friday, on the part of the Dublin chamber of commerce, and of the manufacturers of wool, worsted, silk and cotton goods of that city. The first of these petitioning bodies declared themselves anxious for the establishment of some such system as that which was proposed, while the second demanded to be heard by their counsel relatively to the provisions of the system.

It was moved by Mr. Flood as an amendment to the system, "that it was highly important to the general interest of the British empire to give due encouragement to the home industry of each kingdom, and that every article of the product, growth, or manufacture of each kingdom should have an effectual preference in the home market of each, reserving to each other an effectual preference over all similar articles from other countries." Mr. Flood observed, that in every country the

home market was infinitely a more important and a greater object than the foreign. In England, which had the trade of all the world, her foreign trade was equal only to the two and thirtieth part of her home consumption. It was therefore the greatest absurdity, to talk of any country's manufacturing for others, while she was unable to supply herself, and thus to give up the greater object for the less, and to take as first in point of time that which ought to be a secondary consideration. The amendment was strenuously supported by Mr. Hartley, Mr. Longfield and major Doyle. By the latter, the system was ridiculed in strong terms. Ireland had asked for bread, and he feared they had given her a stone. She had asked for protecting duties, and she was offered equalization. This was like the proceeding of a company of strolling players, who advertised the tragedy of Hamlet, in which the part of Hamlet was, by particular desire, to be omitted. On the other hand it was asserted by Mr. Foster, that the amendment of Mr. Flood was the most ruinous ever suggested. Did he understand what it was in which he engaged? Instead of laying a ground for mutual intercourse and benefit, he called for mutual prohibition and ruin, at least on the side of Ireland; for Britain could suffer comparatively but little in the contest. Britain might protect herself against the productions of that kingdom to the annual amount of 2,400,000*l*. Would they invite her to this exertion, to exclude only 380,000*l*. worth of her goods by the laying on of protecting duties? The amendment was rejected.

To place the subject of the woollen manufacture together with some other articles in similar circumstances



stances in a more striking light, it was moved by Mr. Griffith, that there be laid before the house a list of those commodities, the importation of which into Britain was prohibited, or their exportation from Britain into Ireland. As there was some difficulty in bringing this paper before the house in compliance with parliamentary forms, Mr. Griffith directly stated what those articles were. Among the first were included hats, soap, candles, starch, and linen checks of more than ten yards in a piece. Among the latter he enumerated particularly live sheep, worsted, linen yarn, and every species of commodity that was constructed from wool not yet manufactured. The spirit of prohibition in this respect, he observed, went so far, that a gentleman would not even be permitted to bring a mattrafs from England for his bed.

In pursuance of the ideas he had stated in the outset, Mr. Gardiner moved as an amendment, that "no prohibition nor any duty whatsoever should hereafter subsist upon the export of the primum of the staple manufacture of either kingdom into the other." The amendment was seconded by sir Edward Newenham, and strenuously recommended to the adoption of the house by Mr. Corry, Mr. Hartley and Mr. Molyneux. Major Doyle reminded the house, that it had been the distress of the woollen manufacturers that had brought forward the question of protecting duties, and that for their relief the various non-importation agreements had been formed. To render both of these remedies unnecessary was the avowed object of the present system; and how did it operate? By making the poor, starving woollen-weaver worse than he was before, and mak-

ing the linen weaver who had no complaints, in appearance better than he was before. And then it was expected that the woollen weaver was immediately to grow fat and content. We might indeed send our woollens to England, and our coals to Newcastle, and that was called equality. If the resolution passed in its present form, he added, it would be necessary to follow it with a law to export 12680 manufacturers of woollen cloth, for whom there would be no longer any occasion; or, which might be a shorter method, to import a certain portion of the plague from the Levant to rid the country of the complaints of these poor fellows. Mr. Griffith remarked, that if the exportation of wool from Great Britain was prohibited, the propositions however permitted to Ireland the law of retaliation: the plain English of which was this. Whenever Ireland shall increase her flocks, improve the quality of her wool, and reduce its price lower than it was in England, which could never be, she might then retort upon the seat of empire, and prevent them from enjoying any advantage from the low price and superior excellence of the Irish wool. Mr. Griffith knew not how to combat so absurd an argument, but by instancing one of a similar nature. An unfortunate smuggler was taken in the fact of carrying tea on shore from an East India ship in the harbour of Cork. He was immediately brought on board and put in irons. Shortly after several lords, privy-counsellors and persons of distinction came on board in a beautiful barge, and began to smuggle at a very great rate. The smuggler, finding that no notice was taken of this by the custom-house officer, began to revile him in a very nervous style,



style, for having punished him a very poor man, for what he suffered lords and privy-counsellors to do with impunity. "Pish, you fool," said the officer, "get yourself made a lord, and then you may smuggle as much as you please." This advice, Mr. Griffith averred, was much more plausible and serious, and the execution of it much more feasible on the part of the smuggler, than to suppose that the wool of Ireland could ever come in competition in quality and price with the wool of England. The amendment of Mr. Gardiner was excepted to by sir Edward Crofton and Mr. Dennis Browne, from the consideration that the province of Connaught, two several counties of which they represented, paid its rent in wool, and that the amendment would prove its total destruction. The house divided upon the question, ayes 33, noes 178.

The last head of the propositions that encountered the animadversion of the house was that relative to the compensation to be made by Ireland in the surplus of her hereditary revenue. This had originally been treated in terms of the severest reprobation by Mr. Brownlow. It had been well for Mr. Orde that he was at present in a civilised country: had he made such a proposition in a Polish diet, he would not have lived to carry back his answer. Mr. Brownlow however afterwards acknowledged, that he had perhaps spoken of the proposition under the influence of misapprehension, and that he had said some things to the British minister which he believed he should not have done in a cooler moment. At the same time he saw no ground for altering his opinion. He did not like the mode of voting money to Great Britain unconditionally; it appeared to him to have all

the features of the odious ship money, or whatever other impositions had been regarded as most oppressive. The measure was equally censured as unconstitutional, by Mr. Griffith, Mr. Longfield and Mr. Molyneux. By Mr. Flood it was set in a still farther light of objection. Every man knew the constant complaint of Ireland had been the drain occasioned by her absentees, a drain equal, in comparison to the rental of Ireland, with the taxes of Great Britain in comparison to the property of Britain. Now should it be asked, will you agree to a measure to increase the number of absentees, instead of decreasing them, the answer would surely be in the negative. But in truth they did increase them when they voted an augmentation of the army; and if they voted for the support of the navy, they must increase them again. Was it possible for Ireland in her present situation, giving with her right hand to the army, and with her left to the navy, and having this drain of absentees, was it possible for her to exist? It was replied by Mr. Mason, to the objection of Mr. Flood, that he was mistaken in his representation. The money was not bound to be sent abroad. They might build frigates at home for the protection of their trade; they might send it in beef, they might lay it out in gun-powder. They might direct every penny of it to be laid out in Ireland; for the whole surplus was to be at the disposal of parliament. This part of the system was voted without any material alteration.

The whole plan of the proposed arrangement was censured by Mr. Montgomery, member for the county of Donegal, Mr. Arthur Browne and Mr. Parsons, the representatives



of Trinity College, Dublin and Mr. Flood. The benefits proposed to be conferred were unsubstantial and imaginary, not real and valuable. The return in the mean time that was to be made was fraught with the most important consequences to the future prosperity of Ireland. She was to appropriate the hereditary revenue, and that for ever. And what was the gratitude so confidently claimed from her? Had England ever entered into a war on her account? Had England ever supported a single ship for her defence, more than she would have done if Ireland had been sunk to the bottom of the sea? But the person who was most pointed in his censure of the general outline of the system was Mr. Molyneux. He wished to do justice to Mr. Orde's abilities in bringing forward the resolutions. Considering his situation and his connections with England, they were such as by no means disgraced him. But he would with confidence declare that every Irishman who supported the measure was guilty of sacrificing the trade and the most important interests of the kingdom. They had heard much of the gratitude and the obligations in which they were held to Great Britain. This was a language he should ever reprobate in that house. Mr. Molyneux was ready to put the merits of the whole question upon one single truth, which, if it could be contradicted, he would allow his objections to be ill founded. Suppose Ireland was entirely independent of England: would not the minister who should form a treaty of commerce with Great Britain on the foundation of these resolutions, deserve to be impeached for having sacrificed the interests of Ireland, and to lose his head? It was advantage on one side, it was

loss on the other. He could not enough condemn the folly and the ruin of a treaty of equality. Considering the different situations of each country, the wealth, the capital of the one, the poverty, the wretchedness of the other, this was to sign the death-warrant of some of their best sources of their prosperity. With respect to the last resolution, he considered it as oppressive, derogating from the independence of parliament, at the same time that it swelled the prerogative and the despotism of the crown. It was suspecting the loyalty of that country and its interest in the safety of the empire; it was declaring that though the hereditary revenue should be more productive, the additional taxes might be increased, but should never be repealed. In fine, he regarded the first part of the arrangement as sacrificing the trade of that country, the last its honour and independence: he should therefore give to the whole his hearty negative.

But the voice of general censure was scarcely heard amidst the applause that was bestowed upon the outline of the plan from every side of the house. Those who were most particularly explicit in their commendations were Mr. Dennis Daly, Mr. George Ogle, Mr. George Ponsonby, sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Hufsey, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Griffith. All of these either acknowledged their entire acquiescence in the whole system, or expressly declared that in a general view its benefits appeared to them greatly to outweigh the defects that might be imputed to it. It was remarked by Mr. Dennis Browne, that the best eulogium he could make upon the propositions would be to read them. But now that ministers had brought forward with great trouble



trouble and difficulty a beneficial and well digested system, a fine story was told the people, that this was a system of which they were not to approve; though the most sanguine of them all, so lately as the last year, never could have expected such liberal concession. What then was next to follow? The people had been already taught to despise the law of the land; they had been instructed to hold in contempt the first court of law in the kingdom, and strangers had been induced to stand far aloof from a country, where tranquillity and order, the only protection of property, were no where to be found. While faction supplied the place of industry, while speculative questions engrossed the public mind, the free trade was but the whistling of a name, and the only fruit that would accrue from their risks and their exertions was poverty and desolation. Mr. Grattan pointed his eulogium principally at the last department of the system. It included in its structure a threefold principle: the first was, after the expences of the nation were paid, to contribute to the general expence of the empire. The second was, by making the surplus not applicable to the general expence till that event took place, to interest both English and Irish ministers in Irish œconomy. The third was to subject the surplus to the control of the Irish parliament. If the other resolutions had not passed, these ought still to be supported. They put an end to debt; they established Irish œconomy: they made the British ministry a guarantee for the integrity of that house, and the patrimony of the resident administration. The plan was open, fair and just, and such as the supreme government could

justify to both nations. It gave to England what she had a right to expect, and perhaps it could not give her more.

The propositions passed the committee of the whole house on Friday, the eleventh of February; and on Saturday they were reported and followed up by an address to the sovereign, expressive of their fervent gratitude, and the sanguine hope with which they looked forward to the complete execution of so liberal an arrangement. On the division upon this address the only persons who appeared against it were Mr. Parsons of the college, and Mr. Montgomery, member for the county of Donegal. It was carried with equal unanimity through the house of lords, and on the Wednesday following a message was sent from the lords to the commons expressing their agreement to the resolutions and their concurrence in the address.

Through the whole course of the business it had been intimated by Mr. Orde, that the commerce of the East Indies was to be brought before the house as a separate consideration; and it was even understood, that a system relative to this matter had been digested into twelve distinct propositions. These propositions were either withheld in consequence of some revolution in the sentiments of ministers, or delayed, and of consequence permitted to be superseded, by the alterations that it was found necessary to make in the system during its progress through the English parliament.

In the mean time the taxes, which were requisite in the execution of the arrangement, in order immediately to raise the hereditary revenue to a level with the demands, were not procrastinated. The esti-

mates



mate of the necessity was taken at the annual sum of 140,000*l.* and the taxes by which this sum was to be raised were a duty upon malt, tobacco, licences, wheel carriages, newspapers, and certain other articles. Very early in the Irish house of commons, the leaders of opposition declared their discontent with the flow, and, as they deemed it, equivocal procedure of the English parliament; and they endeavoured to obtain from administration the suspension of the bills imposing these duties, till they should learn that some peremptory and decisive measure was adopted on the part of England. This demand created a species of debate in which the members took opposite sides according to their preconceived ideas. Mr. Grattan and many others, including all the friends of administration, declared their opinion that the taxes were the only means that could be employed by that kingdom for supporting the expences of government without running into debt. They therefore declared their peculiar favour to that part of the system that related to these taxes, and professed their earnest wish that if all the rest were lost, this part of the system might be preserved. By several on the other hand it was stated in the strict light of a compensation to England for the benefits held out in the preceding articles of the system. If the system were not given, Ireland could take care of her finances in a better and more economical manner, not by raising her revenues to the level of her expenditure, but by sinking her expenditure to the level of her revenues. These debates were farther distinguished by a declaration from Sir John Parnel, one of the commissioners of the Irish revenues,

that he thought every part of the propositions fair and advantageous to that kingdom. That accordingly no change in ministerial politics should have any influence upon him; but that he was determined to support the whole in the manner in which it had been agreed to, regardless of the consequence. Some advantage was afterwards taken of this declaration by the members of opposition. The tax bills received the royal assent on the twenty-fourth of March. On this occasion some difficulty had been made on the part of the house of lords, in complying with the usual mode of sending back money bills to the house of commons, instead of retaining them in their own possession, as was usual in other cases, till they received the last formalities necessary to their passing into a law. The point however was speedily compromised, and matters returned into their old channel.

One of the questions which had been warmly debated by the opposite sides of the house of commons during the pendency of the propositions, was relative to the construction of the laws of navigation of Great Britain. A principal branch of the benefit resulting from the proposed system consisted, according to administration, in the extension of these laws to the kingdom of Ireland, and the permitting the circuitous as well as the direct importation into England of the produce of the colonies by Irish merchants. Opposition on the contrary, including the country gentlemen and many of the lawyers, maintained that the acts of navigation did necessarily and irresistibly include Ireland as a part of the empire, and that of consequence nothing was given under this branch of the system to which Ireland was



not already entitled. To bring this question to an issue, a resolution was proposed to the house on the eleventh of April, by Mr. Corry, declaratory of their construction of the contested laws. The motion was opposed as premature by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Hartley; and Mr. Corry at length consented to withdraw it.

While the measures that related to the commercial system engaged the attention of parliament, the affairs of the projected reform were not entirely neglected by its friends. The last efforts were now expended of that glorious flame, which had once spread over every part of the island, and which had seemed to promise a very different and distinguished success. The congress of the nation of Ireland met pursuant to its adjournment on the twentieth of April. The proceedings that were held, so far as it was thought proper to give them to the public, seem to have tended chiefly to put the plan of a more equal representation into as general terms as it was conceived to admit, and to leave as much as possible to the wisdom and direction of parliament. The congress now declared their meeting to be final, and in a very brief address to the people of Ireland, observed, that, "if the abuses of former parliaments did not inspire a distrust of those which were to come; if the venerable opinion of those illustrious men who were now no more, and the assistance of those whose present labours co-operated with them in the same pursuit, had no influence to awake their fears, to animate their efforts, and to invigorate their hopes, this and every other endeavour must sink into oblivion; and they would shortly repose in indolent acquiescence under such a representation

as would gall themselves and their posterity with increasing taxation and oppression."

It was not till the twelfth of May, that Mr. Flood presented to the house of commons a bill for effecting the purpose of the national congress. To give to the business a greater appearance of deliberation and solemnity, he had so early as the second of March moved for leave to bring in a measure of this kind, which was accordingly granted him. In the mean time he added, that, as the prime minister of England had pledged himself to bring forward resolutions of a similar nature, in a grand and decisive effort before the British parliament, he did not mean to bring in his own bill till he had seen the fate of that undertaking. The discussion of Mr. Pitt's proposal took place in Great Britain on the eighteenth of April. On the twenty eighth of the same month Mr. Flood moved, "that the house resolve itself into a committee to consider of an instruction to the persons who had been ordered to bring in his bill, that the better to promote population in contracted or decayed boroughs, no borough in the province of Connaught having less than forty, or in the other provinces having less than seventy electors, should be permitted to return more than one member to parliament". The motion was opposed by major Doyle and sir Boyle Roche, both of whom had supported the measure in the last session, Mr. Dennis Daly, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and, in a speech of some length, by sir Hercules Langrishe. It was supported by Mr. Grattan, who however did not appear to approve of the particular mode in which the business was brought forward in parliament. The motion



tion was negatived without a division.

The bill itself, which was at length introduced to the house, was supported with considerable earnestness by Mr. Brownlow and Mr. O'Neil. By the former it was observed that he greatly doubted indeed, whether there was virtue enough in that house to pass the bill; but that he was bold to say, that sooner or later the house would give a reform to the people. The latter, in reply to Mr. Monk Mason, who had endeavoured to prove that the measure originated in partial clamour, maintained that the whole sense of the kingdom was for a parliamentary reform, and that nothing but the most extreme blindness and absurdity could cherish a doubt of it. The arguments in favour of the measure were enforced by Mr. Rowley, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Corry, Sir Henry Hartstonge, and Mr. Travers Hartley. It was remarked by Mr. Flood, that though this bill differed materially from the one brought in last year, some there were who said it was the same, and for that reason would justify their opposition. But if it were the same bill word for word, was that a reason? Had the house never rejected a measure in one session and adopted it in another? Did they never vary in their opinion? When first a bill of reform was offered to parliament, the objection was that it was delivered upon the point of an ideal bayonet. It was the air-drawn dagger of Macbeth that appeared to every man who opposed the bill on that day. And why did it appear to him, but that his conscience smote him? Mr. Flood would not speak to the provisions of the bill; but he called upon the house to let it be printed, and then come back with the approbation of the

people, and not like mutes in a seraglio to strangle it on that day. If they proceeded to its discussion, he dared any man to meet him on its principles: he challenged the most informed and the mightiest of them all to enter the lists. The question was put, and the house divided, ayes 60, noes 112.

A bill was introduced, immediately upon the defeat of the bill of reform, by Mr. Forbes, member for the county of Drogheda, to prevent persons holding places, or receiving pensions from government from having a seat in parliament. But this bill encountered the same fate, and like that of Mr. Flood was rejected upon the second reading. In the mean time a motion had been brought forward by Mr. Brownlow, on the twenty-fifth of February, declaring, "that it was the opinion of that house, that the proceedings of the court of king's bench, in the affair of the high-sheriff of Dublin, were highly reprehensible in adopting a mode of punishment, arbitrary in its nature, contrary to the principles of the constitution, and destructive of the trial by jury." This motion was rejected at the instigation of Mr. Fitzgibbon. Another question moved by the popular party was introduced by Mr. O'Hara, member for the county of Sligo, the object of which was the abolition of the office of vice-treasurer of Ireland. This motion had the same fate with that of Mr. Brownlow.

The first notice that was taken of the propositions as they were amended by the British parliament, and increased to the number of twenty, was on the 13th of June. On this occasion, Mr. Orde having moved an adjournment for three weeks, Mr. Rowley suggested an

idea



idea he had formed of moving an address to the lord lieutenant, requesting him to put an end to the session of parliament. Mr. Rowley was followed by Mr. Forbes, who was explicit in his condemnation of the amended system, and proposed as a supplement to the motion of adjournment, that the speaker should write circular letters to the members requiring their attendance as they regarded the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland. An unequivocal disapprobation of the system was at the same time declared by Mr. Corry, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Arthur Browne, sir Henry Cavendish and Mr. Grattan. By sir Henry Cavendish it was asserted that there could be but one sentiment upon the subject. Unless the twenty resolutions came to Ireland materially altered from the state in which he had seen them, it was impossible for the present administration, it was impossible for any administration, to bring them forward in parliament. There was not an Englishman nor an Irishman that would dare to do it; and if there were, he would not find another base enough to second him. The house would rise indignant: the contest would be, who should first move a question of expulsion, on the man who aimed a vital stab at the legislative independence of Ireland. To this it was added by Mr. Grattan, that if the resolutions of the English house of commons were ever laid upon their table, he would oppose them with the last nerve of his strength, and with the last breath of his life. When the settlement of 1782 took place, he conceived that no constitutional question could afterwards arise between the two nations. Upon that ground he had imposed a silence upon himself respecting commercial

matters, because he thought it his duty to cherish the harmony that subsisted. But now since constitutional questions were revived, he should not be wanting. Whenever the time came for that purpose, he should give them battle, and Ireland should be the judge. Mr. Forbes's amendment was rejected, ayes 35, noes 85.

When the house met again, pursuant to the adjournment, Mr. Rowley moved, in conformity to the hint he had thrown out, that the house adjourn to the first of January next. This motion however he withdrew at the request of Mr. Grattan. Mr. Grattan did not wish the country gentlemen to put any question as yet, or to divide their strength. It was better in so eventful a moment, to wait till the advance should be made upon them; it was better to keep themselves firm and compact.

During the whole of these prelusory debates a singular degree of ambiguity was maintained by administration, relative to the question whether or not the fourth amended proposition, concerning which the greatest apprehensions were entertained, would make a part of the system they should bring forward in Ireland. This succeeded so far, that sir Henry Cavendish rose on the twenty-first of July to assure the house, that he understood that nothing injurious to the commercial or constitutional rights of the nation would be introduced under the present administration. So late as the second of August it was observed by Mr. Orde with some warmth, that the delay he demanded was but of short duration; and if he then brought forward any thing injurious to the constitution or commerce of Ireland, let him be censured with the severest marks of indigna-



tion; let him be marked with reproach, and dashed with dishonour! At present he hoped the house would give him credit for the rectitude of his intentions. Mr. Orde's avowed intention, as it appeared on the former of these days, was to bring parliament to an ultimate decision upon the system, previously to the close of its present session.

The system was opened by the British minister on the twelfth of August. On the preceding day a question was moved by Mr. Flood, that the house should come to a resolution "that it would retain undiminished the free and full exercise of the sole and exclusive authority at all times to legislate for Ireland internally, externally, and commercially." This motion was withdrawn for the present, at the request of Mr. Orde. Mr. Grattan declared his preference to the proceeding by address to the throne rather than by resolution; if however Mr. Flood brought forward his resolution, he should concur in its support.

But the spirit of opposition to the propositions in their amended form was not confined to the house of commons of Ireland. On the contrary, it had been widely diffused through all ranks of men, and the most valuable and important interests of the country, constitutional and commercial, were conceived to be involved in the fate of the system. Every other consideration was now lost in the universal alarm. The once favourite ideas of parliamentary reform were forgotten. Petitions were presented from every part of the kingdom, the object of which was to express their jealousy of the plan of commercial intercourse; and to entreat that its discussion might not take place in the present session of parliament. The

earliest petitions were those the town of Waterford and Galway, which were presented on the twenty-first of July. They were followed, among others, by the merchants of Dublin, the freeholders of Antrim and Armagh, and the citizens of Cork, whose petition was presented by Mr. Hutchinson, the secretary of state.

On the day appointed to move for leave to bring in a bill for effectuating the proposed intercourse, Mr. Orde explained the business to the house in a speech of considerable length. He was glad that the time was come, to put an end to doubts and misrepresentations, and to prove the consistency of his conduct in doing nothing contrary to the declaration he had so often made, never to bring forward any measure that should infringe upon the constitution of Ireland. He apologized for saying any thing respecting himself in a discussion of so great magnitude; but the charges of contradiction that had been advanced against him made it necessary; and he now avowed his real responsibility for the measure he should propose. He stood there the asserter of the fairness and justice of the proposition he was to offer; and he begged to be understood not merely as acting officially, but that his heart was in it. In considering it, he said, every man ought to dismiss from his mind what he had already heard, to divest himself of prejudice, and to come to the discussion uninfluenced by bias of any kind. For his part, he would not attempt a parade of words; plausibility was necessary where there was a doubt of the truth; but in the present business there was no reasonable ground for hesitation.

Mr. Orde defended the variations that appeared in the system, by the consideration



consideration of the natural progress of a measure of this sort. What had gone from that house early in the session was to be considered in the nature of the foundation of a treaty, a sketch on the part of the people of Ireland of the agreement they were willing to form. It was next requisite that Britain should consider what it was that she could concede; and should state those restraints and exceptions which she might regard as essential to her welfare. For himself, he could have wished that still more liberal terms of adjustment could have been consonant to the feelings and supposed interests of both countries. His ideas and his hopes had gone to open ports, and a total dereliction of duties between the two kingdoms; but, as the different circumstances of each, and the different maturity of their trade rendered such an adjustment impracticable, it had been necessary to look out for something near it. The difficulties and obstacles, that had suggested themselves in its progress, had been innumerable. Particular interests were naturally alarmed, and it had been necessary to attend to them in some instances, not less to resist them in others. The conduct of the opposition in both houses of the British parliament had been artful, insidious, and indefatigable. They had suggested a variety of amendments hostile to the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland; and it had been their boast, that by their alterations and additions they had effected their grand purpose of perplexing the business, and creating discontents in Ireland, without allaying those of Great Britain. The manner, in which the minister there had extricated himself from these embarrassments, did him the highest

honour; the instances in which he had resisted the demands of importunate complaint greatly outnumbered those in which he had yielded. He had been actuated by the most liberal principles, and had uniformly stood up as the advocate and reconciler of both kingdoms.

Mr. Orde averred with the utmost confidence, that the amendments that had been made to the propositions in England, though calculated to gratify the cautious and circumspect spirit of her revenue laws, did not in reality interfere with the prosperity of Ireland. Notwithstanding all the modifications and alterations that had been adopted, the system was still as advantageous to that country as it had ever been. The natural situation of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial affairs, was a situation of rivalry; but it was their mutual interest not to continue rivals. They could not long remain as they were, and foreign nations only could rejoice at the defeat of the measure. Mr. Orde added, that after bringing in the bill, and printing it, it was his intention to pause, in order to learn the sentiments of the country respecting it. The original outline had been only the overture of a treaty, and there had been no impropriety in coming to a decision upon it at once. But in the present stage he wished to follow the example of mature deliberation that had been given them by the English parliament. It was his desire, that the house should decide upon the best information they could procure. Let them hear every person who wished to be heard: let them receive every petition that could be brought; and let them listen to all the evidence that could be offered.

The speech of Mr. Mason, who  
B 2 stood



stood forward in defence of the system, was particularly directed to the vindication of the fourth proposition. He should not have been surprised, if the commercial regulations of the bill were found to occasion a great diversity of opinion. If in a treaty of this nature every article were in favour of one of the parties, there would be an end of that equality, which must necessarily be the basis of a permanent agreement. It was therefore natural that some of the provisions, when considered singly, and not as composing part of a system, should appear exceptionable. But that men on this occasion should have talked of peril to the constitution, was an objection equally fraught with absurdity and mischief. It was to spread a false alarm through all parts of the kingdom, to irritate the public without just cause against the British parliament, and to persuade the people, that the independence of their country was in danger at the very moment when it was most secure; at the very moment, that all the branches of the legislature in both kingdoms were vying with each other, which of them should assert the independence of Ireland in the strongest terms; when the minister of Ireland had moved for a bill by the clauses of which, this point was expressly declared; when the minister of Great Britain had actually presented such a bill in that country; and when both houses of the British parliament had concurred in presenting an address to the throne, declaring that the parliament of Ireland alone was competent to make laws to bind that kingdom in any case whatever. Mr. Mason went farther in asserting the unimpeachable integrity of the system in this point. He affirmed, that the contested stipulation re-

quired by Great Britain was the strongest acknowledgment of the independence of Ireland. Why had she departed upon that occasion from her established practice, of regulating the commerce of every part of the empire by her own parliament only? Why had she then relinquished a power, which she had exercised without controul for one hundred and twenty years? Because she acknowledged the independence of Ireland; because she well knew that no act of her parliament would be considered as valid by the people of Ireland, if it were not confirmed by the Irish legislature.

Mr. Mason was of opinion, that, if there were any one clause more absolutely necessary than the rest, it was the very clause which had been so loudly and mistakenly reprobated. He contrasted the spirit of the advocates of liberty in the present instance, with that which they had manifested when Mr. Yelverton's bill for adopting all such commercial laws of Great Britain, as conferred equal benefits and imposed equal burthens on the subjects of both kingdoms, was received with so general applause. The spirit of both measures was the same. But he contended that the bill of 1780 was the more offensive stipulation of the two, since by it they adopted the duties as well as the regulations of Great Britain. If ever a country was to be jealous of the interference of a foreign legislature, she ought surely to be most so in matters that related to the imposition of taxes. No man, he said, could be so ignorant, as to imagine they were required to pass a law, rendering it compulsory on future parliaments to register the commercial edicts of Great Britain. Common sense was sufficient to show that



that this was impossible; that it was not in the power of a parliament by any act of theirs to bind succeeding parliaments, or even to bind themselves in a subsequent session. The single engagement into which they entered by accepting these conditions, was to adopt such laws as had been passed by Great Britain since Mr. Yelverton's bill, and then to recommend it to succeeding parliaments to follow their example, and to adopt from time to time such farther regulations, as should be founded upon the same principles of justice and equality. But notwithstanding their recommendation and example, every future parliament would necessarily have its option. How then could this stipulation affect the supremacy of the Irish legislature?

Mr. Foster, without going very largely into the constitutional question, expatiated with great warmth upon the advantages that would result from this system to the commerce of Ireland. The most glorious and inestimable prospect was opened to her manufactures. Were a man to look for a country most advantageous in which to settle a manufacture, what would be his choice? One where labour and provisions were cheap; that is Ireland. And what would he next look for? Why to have a rich, extended and steady market near him; such as England, which would be the genial soil to ripen their productions, and the affectionate mother to bring them forward to the height of wealth, prosperity and glory.

But the member of administration that entered most largely into the defence of the measure was Mr. Fitzgibbon. As to the liberty of sending the Irish manufactures to the British markets, he did not

build upon it any very sanguine expectations of advantage. But the advantages of a relaxation in her navigation laws he highly prized. He thought that, without such a relaxation, they had very little prospect indeed of any foreign trade. If the Irish merchant had not the certain issue of the English market for foreign commodities, he had no spur to enterprize and speculation. But, if England relaxed her navigation laws in favour of Ireland, she had a right to expect to be followed by her in a code of laws, which had been the source of her commercial opulence, and the prime origin of her maritime strength. It had been insinuated, that they could trade to more advantage with the colonies of foreign states. But what foreign states would allow them to trade with their colonies? Who was to protect them if foreign states should refuse to do them justice? or who was to assert their rights, supposing them to be violated? With respect to the East Indies, it appeared to Mr. Fitzgibbon to be a question of no doubt or difficulty, since by a law of Ireland they had confirmed the monopoly of the East India company, and therefore so long as the charter lasted, by that charter they were bound. And were the charter expired, and were it the interest of that country to interfere with Great Britain, he believed their prospect of a trade to India to be very remote indeed. It was not however true, as had been suggested, that Ireland was restricted by the tenor of the present bill, beyond the period of the charter.

When therefore so advantageous an arrangement was proffered to Ireland, for what reason was it, that she was bid to hesitate and demur? Why, the system it seemed was an



insult to Ireland ; it struck at the independence of her legislature. This was the first instance in which Ireland had ever treated ; and it was a new idea to Mr. Fitzgibbon, that England, by opening and carrying on a treaty with her as an independent state, insulted her pride, and undermined her independence. He took great advantage in arguing upon this point of a definition of free trade, as given by Mr. Flood in December 1779. " It was a trade to the whole world, subject to the restraints of their own legislature and that of the country with which they traded. This was a principle clear as the sun which shone on their reviving empire, and wide as the universe." No truth, said Mr. Fitzgibbon, could be more unquestionable than that which had been thus delivered by Mr. Flood. An arrangement of trade could not be agreed upon between two nations, unless they settled at the same time principles of mutual restriction ; and, if the Irish nation would never condescend to promise compliance with any condition of a treaty, the Irish nation must determine never to make any commercial treaty, or any treaty whatever.

Mr. Fitzgibbon treated the objection, as originating in the arts of the opposition in the British parliament. He could not by any means consent to regard them as the friends of Ireland. It was a first principle with them not to make to her any concessions. In the present business, they had in the first instance echoed the clamours and the prejudices of the manufacturers of Great Britain. But, having failed in their prospect of damning the measure in England, they had instantly changed their ground, and applied themselves to inflame the

pride and excite the indignation of that country. Mr. Fitzgibbon had been informed, that they had indulged their merriment, he hoped somewhat prematurely, at the expence of a few individuals whom they supposed to have swallowed the bait, and at the expence of the kingdom of Ireland. That country would become the laughing-stock of every nation in Europe, if she were made the dupe of so palpable and shallow an artifice. Mr. Fitzgibbon concluded with remarking, that, whatever might have been intimated at different times concerning the possibility of Ireland standing alone, he was intimately convinced, that, situated as she was in the neighbourhood of powerful popish countries, with a great majority of her people of the popish religion, she could not exist one hour as a protestant state, if the protection of England were withdrawn.

The person, who on this day first rose in opposition to the system, was Mr. Conolly, who declared against it in the most explicit terms. The house would remember that when the obtaining a free constitution was the matter in question, he had stood in the breach and opposed the measure. The reason he had done so was, that he thought the situation of Ireland, in respect to circulation and capital, by no means sufficient to put her in competition with the sister kingdom, or enable her to embark on a separate bottom. But the question was now entirely altered. That house had asserted the constitution ; it had been recognized and admitted on all hands ; and he was persuaded that no member of that house, nor the house itself had a right to recede from or relinquish the independence they had obtained.

Sir



Sir Henry Cavendish had attended with great anxiety to the opening of the business, and had listened to Mr. Orde with an earnest wish to coincide with him if he possibly could. He was aware of, and he lamented the unpleasant situation into which this business had plunged administration, an administration he had always supported, because he believed that they had abilities equal to their situation, and honesty equal to any thing. The motion for leave to bring in a bill was reckoned very strong ground, and was an excellent motion for quieting the parliamentary consciences of members. It however became them to consider whether the bill contained any thing derogatory to the legislative rights of Ireland. Upon this question he differed from Mr. Orde, and he should therefore vote against giving him leave to bring in the bill, which he thought the most fair and manly way of proceeding, rather than paying him the empty compliment of suffering the bill to be introduced, and then voting against its passing through the house.

Sir Henry Cavendish would say nothing to the commercial part of the bill. Many of the regulations appeared to be beneficial for Ireland; and very possibly they might never have a better offer as to commerce. But what was commerce without liberty to enjoy it? He could not readily suppose that the house would pass the bill. If they did, he would assert, that they would betray the trust reposed in them by their country, and render themselves odious to every honest man in the kingdom. It required no skill, no abilities to rouse the people against this measure. They were already roused, the difficulty would be to appease them. For

himself he had always been an enemy to improper applications from the people, and the spirit of usurpation upon the authority of that house. If he could extend his voice from one end of the kingdom to the other, he would recommend patience and peace; but he would recommend, if the bill should pass, unintermitted applications to parliament and the throne for its repeal. If parliament should not listen to such applications, a question would then come before the public of a serious nature indeed. He should lament the necessity of entering upon the consideration of the origin of government, of the compact upon which societies were formed, by which the people gave up a part of their liberty for the protection of the remainder.

Mr. Burgh, member for Harristown in the county of Kildare, distinguished himself by the speech he delivered upon this occasion. He argued against the admission of the principle of the fourth proposition, by observing that he was called upon by that principle to trust the defence of the Irish constitution to the parliament of Great Britain. "Did not that parliament," it was asked, "declare that they never would infringe the constitution of Ireland?" But before he trusted them, he must consider how far the parliament of Great Britain had been hitherto to be relied on with regard to their commerce. He must recollect what had been the fruits of the former professions and declarations. In the year 1698, the balance in favour of Ireland on account of the flourishing state of her woollen manufacture was 420,000*l*. The parliament of England, desirous to deprive her of this trade, addressed the king, "to declare to his subjects



of Ireland, that they should receive all countenance, favour and protection from his royal influence for the encouragement and promotion of the linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit of which that kingdom should be capable." That the condition of this countenance was complied with by giving up the woollen manufacture of Ireland, was evident. But notwithstanding this, discouragement, rivalry and restriction had been experienced by them in their sail-cloth, in their printed linen, and in their linen manufacture of different species. And now the Irish secretary came forward, and proposed the restitution of part of that ceded manufacture, the sail-cloth manufacture, as an inducement for Ireland to treat with Great Britain. Was not this first to rob them, and then attempt to bribe them with their own? But if in a transaction that would have been dishonourable between two private merchants, the successive parliaments of Great Britain had so obviously broken their former engagements, what must they think of a proposal to confide to her present declarations not only their commerce but their constitution?

Mr. Burgh alluded to the arguments which had been employed in Great Britain against ceding any advantages to Ireland. They were not to be allowed commerce on account of the cheapness of their labour. And from what did that cheapness of labour arise? From the want of employment, and the consequent misery of the people. What was the cause of that misery? The restrictions laid on their manufactures and trade by Great Britain. Another argument against their being admitted to commerce was taken from the goodness and

the favourable situation of their ports. So that it seemed they were to be restrained from commerce on account of the disadvantages they derived from Great Britain, and they were to be restrained on account of the blessings they derived from heaven. Was this the affection, was this the justice, was this the liberality, was this the magnanimity so loudly praised and so largely expatiated on? And thus it was that Great Britain reasoned with regard to her greatest, her most natural, her last resource. Why would she in a great imperial theme proceed on the confined notions, the local prejudices, and the narrowness of mind of the manufacturers of this or that town? Had she not had enough of restrictions on trade? She lost the trade of America by adhering to the principles of an exciseman, and she was preparing to annihilate that of Ireland, by adopting the principles of a pedlar. What was the reason of the distinction thus assiduously maintained between the two kingdoms? Was it because a sea ran between them? What could have been wanting to the prosperity of two countries, united by nearness of situation, similarity of constitution, of language, of habits, and of laws? What were the best means for the attainment of riches, strength, and security? The extension of naval power. This blessing heaven had provided for them by throwing a sea between them, by giving to both all the advantages and resources of an insular situation. What then must they think of a country, which, instead of rejoicing in this double bulwark of her political existence, should bear towards it an eye of jealousy and an hand of oppression, and counteract, by the adoption of the most narrow prejudices,



dices, the wisest and most favourable disposition of providence?

Mr. Grattan, in a speech the first in respect of merit that was ever delivered in the Irish parliament, and which was thought by many to throw into shade all that was most excellent in the art of eloquence that had appeared in the seat of empire, took an extensive view of the whole range of the propositions. He set out with a comparison between the free trade obtained in 1779, and what was now proposed. What the advantages might be that were likely to result from the former, no man could say; but any man, who had seen the struggle of Ireland during a century of depression, might foresee, that a spirit of industry operating upon a state of liberty in a young nation must in a course of time produce signal advantages. The sea was like the earth, to non-exertion a waste, to industry a mine. By the settlement of 1779, Ireland had recovered her right to trade with every part of the world whose ports were open to her, subject to her own unstipulated duties: she retained her right to trade directly to the British plantations in a variety of articles without a reference to British duties; she added to this a privilege to trade with the British plantations directly in every other article subject to the rate of British duty; she obtained the right to select the articles, so that the general trade should not hang on the special conformity; and she did not covenant to affect, exclude or postpone the produce of foreign plantations. Thus she secured to herself the two great objects of the free trade, and the plantation trade. These being settled, a third in the opinion of some remained, namely, the intercourse with England or the Channel trade;

and the demand of protecting duties, that had been brought forward by a number of famishing manufacturers in the preceding year, the extent of whose demand was idle, the manner of conveying it tumultuary, but the treatment it received on the part of administration temporising and undecisive, paved the way for the introduction and discussion of this last branch of their commercial situation.

The first branch of this object, as it was distributed by Mr. Grattan, regarded the proposed equalisation of duties. This system, fair in its principle, and in process of time likely to be beneficial, was not however pregnant with any great present advantage. Under this arrangement the English manufacturer in reality continued protected, and the Irish manufacturer exposed, and the abatement of duty was no more than disarming the argument of retaliation. But as Ireland was to covenant that she would not raise her duties on British manufactures, England on her part engaged that she would not diminish her preference in favour of Irish linens. The adjustment however did not stop at the home manufacture; it extended to the barter of plantation produce. Here Ireland already stood on the two grounds of law and justice. As to the law, Mr. Grattan could not conceive how the same act of navigation could bear a different construction on the one side of the Channel from what it bore on the other, unless by supposing that in their ancient state of dependency they were not entitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue. And as to justice, since it was clearly on their side, they were as yet a free parliament, and if they did not find the law equal, they might make it so.

Mr.



Mr. Grattan was much more copious upon the second division of his subject, which bore upon its face inequality of duty as well as inequality of trade. This related in the first place to the raw material of the woollen manufacture. The proposition indeed stipulated that there should be no new prohibition. But every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before, and none in favour of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province; and, before the provincial regulations were superseded, this arrangement established a principle of *uti possidetis*, that is, Great Britain should retain all her advantages, and Ireland all her disadvantages. But there were instances of more striking inequality; they were to give a monopoly to the present or any future East India company during its existence, and to the British nation for ever after. This was not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural prerogatives of man; not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations. They were not to sail beyond the cape of Good Hope, and the straits of Magellan. An awful interdict! Other interdicts extended to a determined period of time; but here was an eternity of restraint! Other interdicts extended to particular places for local reasons; but here were neutral regions forbidden, and the bounties of providence denied in the most opulent boundaries of creation! It resembled rather a judgment of God than an act of the legislature, whether they measured it by immensity of space, or infinity of duration, and had nothing human about it except its presumption!

From their situation in the East Mr. Grattan proceeded to consider their situation in the West. They

were to give a monopoly to the British plantations at their own taxes. Hitherto they only did so in certain articles, with a power of selection, and that only as long as they pleased to conform to the condition and without any stipulation to exclude foreign produce. Now they were to covenant to do so for ever, and thus to put the trade for ever out of their own discretion. Mr. Grattan asked, why did they refuse protecting duties to their countrymen? Because they looked like a monopoly. And would they give to the East India merchant, and to the West India planter, something more; a monopoly, where the monopolist was the lawgiver? The principle of equal duties and equal restrictions was not the shadow of a security, because the condition of the two countries was totally dissimilar. Suppose Great Britain, to answer the exigency of some future war, or to fund her present debt, should raise her colony duties still higher, Ireland must follow, not because she wanted the tax, but lest her exemption from taxes should give her manufactures any comparative advantage. Irish taxes were to be precautions against the prosperity of Irish manufactures. He feared, that by adopting the propositions they would introduce something worse than this; they would make English jealousy the barometer of Irish taxes. The exclusion of foreign plantation produce would have seemed sufficient for every purpose of power and domination; but to aggravate, and it should seem to insult them, the independent states of America were most ungraciously brought into the arrangement, as if Ireland were a British colony, or North America continued a part of the British dominions.

But



But without enlarging upon this circumstance Mr. Grattan called the attention of his hearers to one article in the settlement, which could accompany no settlement, which must be fatal to any treaty, and tear asunder the bands of faith and affection. The article he intended was that which opened afresh the settlement of the free trade, and the colony trade in 1779. The present system took from them the power of selection, so that the whole covenant hanged on each several branch; and took from them their option of the produce of foreign plantations, and of America. It was a revision in peace of the settlements of war; it was a revocation in peace of the acquisition of war. Mr. Grattan conceived those arrangements to be sacred. They might make other arrangements with the British nation, but they would never make any so beneficial as these. They were the result of a conjuncture, miraculously formed, and fortunately seized. From the consideration of these settlements he was naturally led to that part of the subject which related to compensation. Compensation certainly could not apply to the free trade of 1779, or the free constitution of 1782, first because they were already adjusted, and could not be revoked; and secondly, because they were points of unalienable right. Freemen would not pay for the recovery of their rights; payment derogated from the nature of the claim, and so it had then been understood. It was then thought, that to have annexed subsidy to constitution would have marred an illustrious experiment on the feelings of the nation. Then was exhibited the bolder policy, the happy art, which saw how much might be got by compulsion, and how much might be

left to honour; which yielded them their claims unstipulated and unconditioned, and made a bold push for the hearts of the nation. Let them see then what they obtained without compensation. A colony trade, a free trade, the independency of their judges, the government of the army, the extinction of the unconstitutional powers of the council, the restoration of the judicature of their lords, and the independency of their legislature. Let them see now what they obtained by compensation; a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, not to take American produce, but as Great Britain should permit; a covenant not to take British plantation produce but as Great Britain should prescribe; a covenant never to protect their own manufactures, never to guard the primum of those manufactures; these things accompanied, he acknowledged, with a covenant on the part of England to disarm the argument for protecting duties, to give the English language in the act of navigation the same construction in both countries, and to leave the linen market without molestation. One would think some God presided over the liberties of that country, who made it frugality in the Irish nation to continue free, and annexed the penalties of fine as well as infamy to the surrender of the constitution!

From the consideration of commerce Mr. Grattan proceeded to a question much more high and inestimable, before which the ideas of protecting duties, of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, vanished into nothing, and by the tendencies of which the prudence of every head and the energies of every heart



heart were called forth to shield the new acquired rights of a nation, so long depressed, so recently by the conjunctures of foreign affairs and by domestic virtue emancipated. If three years after the recovery of their freedom they could be brought to bend, their children, corrupted by their example, would surrender; but if they stood firm and inexorable, they would make a seasonable impression on the people of England; they would give a wholesome example to their children; and, as the old English did in the case of their charter, they would render the present attempt on Irish liberty its best and perpetual confirmation. Mr. Grattan acknowledged that by their external power they might discompose the harmony of empire; and he added, that by their power over the purse they might dissolve the state. But this was to rest the connection upon a new and a false principle. If any body of men could still think that the Irish constitution was incompatible with the British empire, a doctrine which he abjured as sedition against both, he would answer, Perish the empire, Live the constitution! He spoke, however, as if a transfer of legislative authority could possibly be made; but in fact it was impossible. Man was not omnipotent over himself, neither were parliaments omnipotent to accomplish their own destruction, and propagate death to their successors. There was in these cases a superior relationship to their respective creators, God and the community, which in the instance of the individual arrested the hand of suicide, and in that of the political body stopped the act of surrender, and made man the means of propagation, and parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to destroy it. They, the

limited trustees of delegated power, born for a particular purpose, confined to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people who sent them to parliament, could not break that relationship, counteract that purpose, and surrender, diminish or derogate from those privileges they lived but to preserve. Mr. Grattan congratulated that house, that it was one of the blessings of the British constitution, that it could not die of a rapid mortality, or perish like the men that should protect her. Any act, that would destroy the liberty of the people, was dead-born from the womb. They might put down the public cause for a season, but another year would see old constitution advance the honours of his head, and the good institution of parliament, shaking off the prison of the tomb, to reascend in all its pomp and pride and plenitude of privilege!

Mr. Grattan had stated these propositions, as a mere transfer of external legislative authority to the parliament of Great Britain; but he had understated their mischief, since they included in reality a power of unlimited taxation. If a minister should turn himself to a general excise, if he should wish to relieve from the weight of further additional duties, the hereditary revenue already alienated, if he should desire to gratify the alarms of the English manufacturers, who complained of the exemption of Ireland from excises, particularly on such articles as soap, candles and leather; he might tax her by threats, suggesting that if she refused to raise an excise on herself, England would raise colony duties on both. See what a mighty instrument of coercion might be made of this bill and these resolutions! Stir, and Great Britain could crush them. Stir, and the minister



minister could crush them in the name of Great Britain. He could crush their imports, he could crush their exports; he could do this in a manner peculiarly mortifying, by the immediate intervention of their own parliament, which would then be an active cypher, a counterfeited seal in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falsify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. Nor would they become more dependent upon the parliament of Great Britain, than they would upon the crown. The propositions granted a perpetual money bill, a money bill to continue as long as Great Britain should please, with a covenant to increase it as often as she should require. If after this the merchant should petition them to lower their duties on the articles of trade, their answer was our trade is in covenant. If their constituents should instruct them to pass a short money bill, their answer was the purse of the nation like her trade is in covenant. No more six months money bills; no more instructions from their constituents! That connection was broken by the present bill: Pass it, and they had no constituent; they were not the representatives of the people of Ireland, but the register of the British parliament, and the equalizer of British duties.

But if the mischief of the propositions was thus notorious, their safety was not less problematical. Had gentlemen considered the subject? Had they traced the map of the countries the right of trading with which they were to surrender forever? Had they traced the map of Asia, Africa and America? Did they know the French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish settlements in those parts of the world? Did they know the neutral powers by which they were inhabited, their

produce, aptitudes and dispositions? Had they considered the state of North America, its present situation, its future growth, and every incident in the endless succession of time, that might attend that nurse of commerce and asylum of mankind? Were they now competent to declare on the part of themselves and all their prosperity, that a free trade to those regions would never in the efflux of time be of any service to the kingdom of Ireland? If they possessed information upon this subject, it must be by a communication with God, for they had none with man; it must be inspiration, for it could not be knowledge. The great points for the nation had already been carried, and the adjustment was not indispensable. They had a growing prosperity and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes. They could from time to time regulate their commerce, cherish their manufactures, keep down their taxes, and brood over the growing prosperity of young Ireland. In the mean time let them guard their free trade and their free constitution as their only real resources. They were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and the source to that house of immortal honour. Let them make their third great effort. Let them preserve them, and with them preserve the dignity of parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island. Let them keep them unsullied, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unstipendiary. So should the prosperity of their country, though without a tongue to thank them, yet, laden with the blessings of constitution and commerce, bear attestation to their services, and wait on their progress with voluntary praise.

The imputation of sinister views



so strongly charged upon the opposition in the English parliament, were replied to by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Arthur Browne and Mr. Francis Hardy. Mr. Forbes particularly instanced in the history of the fourth proposition. That proposition, he said, originated with Mr. Pitt, and not in the suggestion or urgency of the English opposition; and had been first introduced without any kind of mitigation or softening. The palliating words "by laws to be passed by the Irish parliament," were inserted at the suggestion of opposition, who had further moved an amendment to expunge the exceptionable parts of the proposition, which had been resisted with success by the English administration. This circumstance fully proved the falshood of the assertion, that they had in this transaction sacrificed every thing to party. If that had been their only object, they would not have moved this amendment, or endeavoured to render the system more palatable to Ireland; they would have suffered the resolution to be sent over in its native deformity, and thus have insured the rejection of the system and the defeat of the minister. But with this minister at the head of a cabinet, of which one member was the author of the perpetual mutiny bill, and another, a nobleman (the duke of Richmond) who encouraged conventions and congresses, and exhorted the volunteers not to lay down their arms till a reform had been obtained, and yet had thought proper to acquiesce under all the ministerial persecutions of the last winter, they were told that the existing members of that cabinet were the only friends of Ireland. Mr. Forbes farther made an advantageous contrast between the pre-

sent lord lieutenant and the duke of Portland. In the address of 1782, no ministerial influence was used by the latter to carry any favourite system. He left the parliament and the people to declare their wishes without reserve. He said, if he did not approve of them, he would resign; but having approved them, he transmitted them to England, declaring at the same time, that he would not hold the government of that country, unless they were complied with in every instance.

Besides the speakers whose arguments we have abstracted, a great number of other persons delivered their sentiments on this memorable occasion. Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Ogle and sir Lucius O'Brien distinguished themselves in favour of the propositions. On the other side the principal speakers were Mr. Flood, Mr. Rowley, Mr. O'Neil, sir Edward Newenham, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Ogilvie, sir Henry Hartstonge, Mr. Corry, Mr. Brownlow, and major Doyle. The house divided at nine o'clock in the morning; for bringing in the bill 127, against it 108; and a second division taking place on a question of adjournment, the majority in favour of administration who desired the adjournment was no more than sixteen.

On the Monday following, Mr. Orde made two several motions to the house, one for the first reading of the proposed bill, and another that the bill be ordered to be printed. At the same time he observed, that, having done this, he did not intend to make any further progress in the business during the present session. He should wait till the people had leisure to examine and understand it; and from what had passed in the house in the preceding

debate,



debate, he was induced to suppose that a considerable time would be necessary for that purpose. At the same time he entertained no doubt, that the more it was understood, the more it would be found to be for the benefit and advantage of the country, and the less reason would be discovered to impute any thing to it hostile to the constitution. For himself he had completed his duty respecting it; its further progress must be by a motion from the public, who at the commencement of the ensuing session might take such further steps respecting it as they thought proper. Mr. Orde however afterwards explained, and declared that he did not intend to restrain himself from reviving the attention of the house to this measure on a future occasion. Having carried his proposed motions, he moved farther that the house adjourn to that day three weeks.

The object of this last proposal was to preclude a question being put upon the resolution, which Mr. Flood had withdrawn at the request of Mr. Orde on the day preceding the principal debate, and which he was now again desirous to offer to the decision of the house. This resolution was supported by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Conolly, and sir Henry Cavendish. It was opposed, under the idea of its conveying an insult upon the parliament of Great Britain, by Mr. Rowley, many of the country gentlemen, and the friends of administration in general. In the course of the debate Mr. Molyneux took occasion to defend his vote of the preceding day, which had been in favour of the system. He declared, that he felt for the constitution of his country as much as any man; and that no consideration on earth should have induced him to give

his vote upon a question of the magnitude and importance of that which had been under discussion, without the most rooted conviction of the rectitude of the decision he was about to make. Mr. Fitzgibbon, in the course of his speech upon this subject, drew upon himself the indignation of the opposition side of the house, by a comparison by which he attempted to illustrate the relative situation of the two countries. Ireland he said was a whelp, easily to be roused, and then easily to be appeased; but it was not so with Great Britain. If they roused the British lion they might find it a difficult matter to lull him again to rest. Ireland therefore, he said, was a besotted nation if she sought to quarrel with England.

On this day Mr. Curran, a young member from the Irish bar, who had been brought in at the last general election, and who had never before spoken but upon inferior questions, delivered himself in a manner full of imagination and eloquence. He vindicated the resolution. He said the existence of British liberty was due, to the unremitting vigilance with which it had been guarded from encroachment. Every invasion with which it was threatened, by the folly of ministers or the usurpation of kings, had been constantly checked by a constitutional assertion of liberty. Such was Magna Charta, such were various statutes that had been made under the house of Lancaster, such the Petition of Rights, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, and the recent repeal of the sixth of George the First. No man could think that British liberty derived any authority from those statutes, or that acts of parliament could create constitutional rights. They were



were not free because Magna Charta had been enacted, but Magna Charta had been enacted because they were free.

Mr. Curran paid some compliments to Mr. Fox, who, though an Englishman on subjects of commerce, he believed was a member of the British empire on points of constitution. It was to this principle he attributed his indignation when the rights of juries were invaded, as well as the opposition which he gave to a bill, that must have endangered the constitution in England by endangering it in Ireland. These sympathies were implanted in the heart of man for the preservation of liberty. It was the general and vigorous influx of them that had achieved every thing glorious in the theatre of the world. It was this that adorned the defeat at Thermopylæ, and the triumph of Marathon. It was this in America that combated with fleets and armies, and waded to freedom through slaughter and desolation. It was this that wafted the shouts of an emancipated empire across the wastes of the Atlantic, and roused Ireland from her lethargy; that sent her armies into the field, and crowned their illustrious leader with fame and victory. Thank heaven, not a victory stained with blood, not a victory bathed in the tears of a mother, a sister, or a wife, not a victory hanging over the grave of a Warren or a Montgomery, and uncertain whether most to triumph in what she had gained, or to mourn over what she had lost!

Mr. Curran recommended the resolution to the late majority, as the only mode left for their vindication, the only step by which they could prove that they would never have assented to the fourth propo-

sition. The opportunity could never arrive again; the bill was at an end. The siege that was drawn round the constitution was raised, and the enemy was gone. *Juvat ire et Dorica castra*; and they might now go abroad without fear, and trace the dangers they had escaped. Here was drawn the line of circumvallation that cut them off for ever from the eastern world; and there the corresponding one that inclosed them from the west. He proceeded to pay several compliments to the individuals that had distinguished themselves on the popular side on this occasion. But he felt that he was leaving the question, and the bounds of moderation. There was an ebullition in great excesses of joy, that almost bordered upon insanity. He besought the other side of the house not to throw a cloud on the general festivity by a sudden refusal to join with them in the present resolution. Their adherence to the minister was useless now, and would expose them to the humiliating imputation of an attachment to men, rather than a discrimination of measures. The measure was gone down, the man only was floating. Perhaps they thought it decent to pay him a funeral compliment at his departure; he warned them however how they pressed too eagerly forward, since an inordinate desire upon the present occasion of the scarf or the cypress, might possibly make them rather late at the coronation.

Mr. Flood at length consented to give up his resolution, maintaining at the same time that it had been decent, moderate and proper. He should have conceived that persons on the other side, who after what had passed were reduced perhaps to hide their heads, would have thought themselves obliged to him for afford-

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ing them the means of vindicating their conduct to their country. If however they were so content with the perfect knowledge of their own integrity, that they thought no vindication necessary, in God's name let them go home with all their blooming honours upon them. He would not disturb their satisfaction by imposing the resolution; in offering it to the consideration of the house he had done his duty. He had no ill-will to the gentleman who had brought in the bill, or to the amiable nobleman who was their chief governor. Had he been his enemy, added Mr. Flood, pointing to the duchess of Rutland who sat in the gallery, the charm that hung round his neck like an amulet, would have commanded his love and made his welfare dear to him. The question of adjournment was carried without a division.

The day following was distinguished by a general illumination through the city of Dublin, in consequence of the public exultation in the defeat of the propositions. On the same day a duel was fought between Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Curran, occasioned by a parliamentary altercation, in which the former considered the expressions of his antagonist as being too sarcastic and personal to himself. The duel was attended with no consequences.

Exclusively of the debates in the Irish house of commons, a defence of the commercial system was undertaken by Mr. Hutchinson, secretary of state for that kingdom, in a letter to his constituents of the city of Cork. As this was certainly the ablest defence that was made of this great ministerial measure, and as it tends to illustrate the spirit and the ability of the Irish

part of the administration, it might perhaps be a degree of injustice, not to record in this place some of its principal arguments. Mr. Hutchinson had thought proper to decline any debate upon the commercial part of the bill, till the merchants and manufacturers of Ireland should have had an opportunity of bringing forward their evidence and observations. When however he saw in some of the public prints the grossest misrepresentations of the measure, and statements of several particulars as contained in the bill, which were contrary to the whole tenor of it, he considered those attempts, as tending directly to alienate the affections of Ireland from Great Britain, and to disturb that mutual concord, so essential to the happiness, strength and security of these sister kingdoms. If these execrable attempts had tended only to misrepresent and calumniate individuals, he should have suffered them to pass with silent contempt; knowing, that these shafts had but momentary effects, and that every man's character would ultimately find its own level, and be appreciated by his fellow citizens according to the tenor of his conduct.

The objections to the bill were partly of a constitutional, and partly of a commercial nature. On the first the introduction had been principally opposed, and the great grounds of argument for establishing it, were taken from those parts of the bill which related to the trade with the British colonies and settlements; to certain enumerated articles from the United States of America; the grant of the surplus of the hereditary revenue; and the trade to the East Indies.

The principle of the fourth proposition was defended by Mr. Hutchinson, from a retrospect of  
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what Ireland had already done in the same kind. In December 1779 that house had requested from Great Britain "a liberty to trade with her colonies, in like manner as trade was carried on between the mother country and the said colonies." This demand having been granted, a clause was inserted in the preamble of all the Irish acts of parliament from the year 1780 to that time, including the present session, admitting and averring that "the trade between that kingdom and the British colonies could be enjoyed and have continuance, so long and in such case only, as the goods of those colonies should be liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and be subject to the same securities, regulations and restrictions, as they were liable to upon being imported into Great Britain." One of these statutes, passed in the year 1782, after the restitution of their constitutional rights, established the principle in question in a much greater extent than the present bill. This statute, Mr. Hutchinson observed, had been prepared by some of the foremost assertors of the liberties of Ireland, the late chief baron Burgh, the present chief baron Yelverton, the present attorney general, and Mr. Grattan. A law, formed at such an important æra, by men of such high characters, was well entitled to their most serious attention. By this statute "all such clauses and provisions in the laws of Great Britain concerning commerce, as conferred equal restraints and benefits, on the subjects of both kingdoms, were accepted in Ireland; provided always that all such laws should bind the subjects of Ireland so long as they continued to bind the subjects of Great Britain." Thus they gave to the British legislature, the power

of repealing laws of Ireland. At the same time they adopted at once the acts of Great Britain for near three centuries; while the bill, which was now the subject of so violent invective, was calculated to make every law, proposed for their adoption, a subject of distinct consideration in their own parliament, either during its progress, or soon after it had been passed in Great Britain.

The enumerated articles of American produce were observed by Mr. Hutchinson, to be such only as were of a similar nature with British colonial produce, and which therefore, unless subjected to the proposed duties, might under the present system be imported into Great Britain as the produce of her colonies, with little probability of detection, and thus subvert her whole colony system. That nothing was farther from the intention of the British parliament, than to trench upon the independence of the Irish legislature, was evident from this; that motions made on this occasion in both houses of that parliament, to regulate their trade with the states of America in some articles not connected with the colony system, were rejected on this avowed principle, that Great Britain had no power to regulate any part of their foreign commerce. The third constitutional objection, relative to the surplus of the hereditary revenue, Mr. Hutchinson said was founded in misapprehension. It was no part of the bill that this grant should be supported with a perpetual revenue bill. It would have been supported with good faith; but, like the rest of their revenue, by annual bills, in aid of the arts of customs and excise, which were now perpetual. The objection respecting the trade of the East Indies,

was



was not in reality a constitutional question. In the provisions on this subject they bartered commerce for commerce, and not commerce for constitution.

Mr. Hutchinson could not discover in any of these instances the smallest particle of legislative power, gained by Great Britain, or lost by Ireland. The former had always made laws to regulate the trade with her colonies and settlements in Africa and America, and they had been followed by the latter; by this agreement the same mode of proceeding was to continue. When a bill should be brought into either house of the Irish parliament relative to this subject, would they not have the same power over that as every other bill? Could they not amend any part or reject the whole? Could they not say, the restraints and benefits are not equal, or though they are equal, they are not wise, and they shall not be the law of Ireland? But then they risked the agreement. So would the British legislature if she made any law respecting her colonies which Ireland should think unjust. But the determination of the agreement would not necessarily follow their varying or rejecting any bill; for the dissatisfaction of the British legislature must be first declared. If the conduct of Ireland sprung from a sufficient reason, it was not improbable, that no such dissatisfaction would be declared; but that wise and moderate men might suggest some expedient, or recommend some middle course, that would be agreeable to both countries.

For these reasons Mr. Hutchinson had thought, and continued to think, that there was no good reason on constitutional grounds to vote against the introduction of the bill. Considering the subject as merely

commercial, he thought that there were strong reasons to induce him to vote for liberty to bring it in. In the proceedings upon so important a subject, difficulties and differences of opinions must necessarily have arisen among men of the best intentions. The propositions of that house had been altered by the British house of commons, and their resolutions had again been amended by the lords of Great Britain. In the progress on the Irish bill the fullest discussion had been intended. Every objection would have been heard, every well founded objection must doubtless have been allowed, and every proper alteration made. Nothing final during that session had been ever in contemplation.

The bill offered to Ireland many commercial advantages of the most important nature. It secured for ever the linen trade of that kingdom. The agreement effectually to favour their manufactures would have been of great value. The encouragement which it gave to their sail cloth manufacture would have occasioned an annual profit to a very great amount. The perpetual supply of rock salt would have been useful to their victualling trade and the fisheries; of bark to their manufacture of leather, and of coals to all their manufactures. Mr. Hutchinson also thought the circuitous colony trade would have been highly beneficial to that kingdom.

The opening of the British market to their manufactures would have been in one respect of the utmost importance; to wit, by the re-exportation of Irish manufactures from Great Britain, with a drawback of all duties. It became them therefore to reflect upon the advantages of having their manufac-



tures exported to all parts of the world by the capitals and credit of Great Britain. Mr. Hutchinson however did not think, that the British markets would have produced consequences so extensive in favour of Ireland, as the jealousy of some of her manufacturers had predicted. Ultimately something of this kind might have happened; and in that case it opened to them the best, the nearest and the most certain market in the world, and promoted the most beneficial of all trades, because the whole profits would belong to the subjects of the same empire, and because a capital employed in a home trade, which this might justly be considered, might be sent out and brought back many times, before the capital employed in a foreign trade could make one return.

In all these particulars the advantages were on the side of Ireland; and the questions that remained for the consideration of her parliament would have been, whether they thought it reasonable and just to agree to the parts of the bill, that prevented their prohibiting the export of their yarn to Great Britain, and that related to the East India trade. The first of these would in reality have been an engagement not to relinquish a beneficial and profitable part of their commerce: it would have been an agreement not to do that, which they would never do, though no such agreement existed. By this export Ireland gained above 340,000*l.* per annum; and it was a manufacture, though an imperfect one, which employed great numbers of her people, for whom it would be difficult to find any other employment. It was indeed objected, that Great Britain prohibited the exportation of her yarn, and that there

was no equality in their agreeing not to prohibit. To this Mr. Hutchinson answered, that the policy of that nation in this respect had been condemned by persons of great commercial information; and that the prohibitions had been laid on to gratify the manufacturers of that country, who had been sometimes much mistaken in their opinions on this subject. In 1698 they had petitioned, that the importation of all worsted and woollen yarn from Ireland should be prohibited, and represented that the poor of England were perishing by this importation. As to equality, it was to be estimated by the sum of advantages on each side, and not by a comparison of each article separately.

The decision of the matter of the East India trade would have depended on the evidence of their merchants, as to the parts of the East which were open to them, for no European settlement there would admit them; and upon the question, whether any probable future advantages were of sufficient weight to prevent a commercial settlement between the two kingdoms. The present offer of Great Britain upon this subject amounted to the export of their manufactures to the East, with all the duties drawn back, through the medium of her company; the benefit of whatever revenue should arise on India goods sent to Ireland; and an equal trade with Great Britain in her possessions in India, in the event of a dissolution of the company, in which company during its continuance they had an equal right with Britons of becoming adventurers, and from which they could purchase the produce of the East at a public auction, on the same terms as their fellow-subjects of Great Britain,  
and



and cheaper than at any other market. The propositions indeed put certain restraints upon them in this respect, and they also imposed restraints on the British legislature. But without such limitations no commercial agreement could ever be framed between two independent legislatures. Agreements to direct the channels in which trade should flow, or to commute the barren speculation of a possible distant trade, which was now open to them, but which they were not now able to enjoy, and which perhaps might never be worth their having; for a beneficial trade, which was not open to them, and which they might acquire by the suspension of an useless right resumable at pleasure, would not be a relinquishment, but an enlargement of commercial freedom, and a just and constitutional exertion of legislative power for salutary purposes.

Mr. Hutchinson inferred from the view he had taken of the subject, that, if Ireland should at last be found to hesitate, whether to accept or not the colonial and domestic markets of Britain, on terms equally beneficial with herself, he would venture to tell them, that no nation in Europe, which had no colonies of her own, would follow their example. When he reflected how long Scotland had endeavoured to obtain from England the protection of her navigation laws, and the benefits of her colony trade; that what was now offered to be permanently granted to Ireland, without any infringement of her rights of legislation, could not be purchased by Scotland without the surrender of her legislative sovereignty: when he reflected with what effusions of public gratitude they had themselves received that

very boon, which some of them seemed now to disdain and spurn; and how carefully and affectionately it had been cherished by their legislature in the acts of every succeeding session; he viewed with amazement the wonderful revolutions of human sentiments, and considered the constitutional jealousy arising from the proposed system of colonial legislation, as one of those popular delusions, which had too often enflamed the passions, and misled the reasons of men.

Mr. Hutchinson called upon them to consider the present state of the British empire. Let them survey their own country with an honest pride, as a most important part of that empire. Conscious of their weight in the general scale, let them not be too prone to suspect, that any English ministry would be mad enough to invade their liberties or to impair either their commercial or constitutional rights. What was now the necessary object of British counsels? To strengthen and connect the remaining parts of the empire. What were the principal means of effecting this? Multiplying the resources, increasing the wealth, promoting the population and industry, and establishing the tranquility and contentment of Ireland. No two countries on the globe were more necessary to the happiness of each other than these islands. The man, who attempted to serve the one at the expence of the other, would injure both. Such was obviously the wish and the interest of the enemies of the British empire. It became them, to counteract their enemies, to co-operate with their friends, and to consolidate by a fair and equal settlement the strength of the two kingdoms.

Mr. Hutchinson certainly wished



to consider himself as accountable to his constituents for his parliamentary conduct. But on great national questions it was his duty to think, as well as to act for them. He was never more thoroughly convinced, that he had at no time given a vote of more beneficial tendency to the city of Cork, and he had no doubt, that his constituents would hereafter view his conduct in that light. He affectionately regarded his fellow citizens, and there was nothing that he valued more than their esteem, except the lasting interests and happiness of them and their posterity. He desired only, that they might judge of the bill for themselves, and appreciate it by its own merit; and not view it through the medium of misrepresentation, which so many men in both kingdoms had, or imagined they had an interest in placing between the public and the real subject for their consideration. The great principle of the bill, equal freedom in each kingdom to the merchants and manufacturers of the other, had been long his decided opinion. He called upon them to apply all the exertions of their knowledge and experience to this subject; its importance deserved them all. Let them show their veteran and he would add their faithful representative, that any part of the measure injured their rights, as merchants, manufacturers or freemen, and then let them see whether any man would use more vigorous exertions for their service. But let them consider it with that temper and good sense with which their conduct had usually been marked, and not suffer it, before it had been read or understood, to be encountered with violence and outrage.

On the fifth of September the two houses of parliament met pur-

suant to their adjournment. On this occasion an address was moved to the lord lieutenant in the house of lords by lord viscount Clifden, joint postmaster general. By the address they demanded permission to approach his grace with the most sincere expressions of affection for his person and approbation of his administration. They thanked him for the zeal which he had displayed in so illustrious a manner, for augmenting the prosperity of Ireland by cementing her union with Great Britain. Nothing could contribute so much to the permanence of the benefits they at present enjoyed: nothing could more advantageously secure the harmony, the strength and the stability of the empire; and they should esteem themselves most happy, to have it in their power to prosecute a plan, which might tend to this desirable end, under the auspices of his grace, and with the concurrence of the nation, and to augment the lustre of his administration by its happy completion. The opportunity was embraced by lord Mountmorres to deliver his sentiments at large upon the commercial system. He had been one of those, who had desired that an equalization of duties should take place between the two countries. It had been the idea of the wisest and most enlightened politicians who had treated of the subject of commerce. An attempt had been made to introduce an arrangement of this sort between Great Britain and France, at the era of the treaty of Utrecht; but the commercial treaty, after having been signed by the commissioners, was refused to be ratified by the British house of commons. A similar adjustment was now on the tapis between the courts of London and Versailles; but the steps for



for its completion had been hitherto fruitless. If then a principle of this sort could be applied to nations, independent of, and unconnected with each other, how much more strongly did it conclude respecting the policy of two kingdoms, so strongly connected with each other, as Great Britain and Ireland? This had been the sage and judicious policy of the court of France; and, ever since the administration of Colbert, it had been her object to arrange the duties of her different provinces upon a footing of the most perfect equality.

But however wise were the general idea of such an arrangement, it had been defeated by the narrow and injudicious provisions which had been inserted in it. It was impossible to justify administration relatively to the fourth proposition. The restriction of the East India trade had nothing to do with the arrangement of a system of mutual reciprocity. Why had they not adhered to the eleven original propositions? Why had government taken back with one hand what she had given with the other? Lord Mountmorres trusted, that the bill which had been presented to the house of commons had received an ultimate defeat. Something however of the kind was necessary; and so long as the actual inequality of duties subsisted, so long as the commerce of Ireland was bound down with chains and fetters, protecting duties were the only resource that could preserve her from ruin.

Lord Mountmorres was answered considerably in detail by the lord chancellor; and, the address being carried, a protest was entered against it, and signed by the duke of Leinster, the earl of Charlemont, lords viscount Mountgarret and Mount-

morres; and supported by the proxies of lords viscount Powercourt and Desart, and lord Belmore.

The house of commons having met on the same day, a letter was delivered to them from their speaker Mr. Edmund Sexton Pery, declaratory of his resignation of that office. As his intention had been for some time public, the victorious opposition had entertained the idea of introducing into the chair a person of their own nomination; and they fixed for this purpose upon Mr. George Ponsonby. The design however was soon after discarded as impracticable, and Mr. John Foster, chancellor of the exchequer, was elected without opposition. This business being dispatched, an address to the lord lieutenant was moved by lord viscount Headfort, son to the earl of Beftive. The address of the house of commons was more moderate than that of the lords, and simply suggested the intention of leaving the people of that country at liberty, to resume or not the subject of a commercial adjustment with Great Britain. Its language was therefore approved of by Mr. Connolly and Mr. Forbes: but it was opposed with warmth by Mr. Grattan and lord Edward Fitzgerald. It was carried upon a division, ayes 130, noes 13.

On the same day an address to the lord lieutenant was moved by Mr. Griffiths, requesting him to direct a prosecution to be commenced against certain sheriffs officers, for different crimes which had been reported to that house by the committee, appointed to examine into the state of the prisons of the kingdom. This committee had originally been instituted at the motion of Mr. Griffiths, and he de-



clared upon this occasion his sorrow, that the session was about to conclude without any efficacious measures being taken for the reform of the enormous evils which had been discovered. His motion was supported by Mr. Hutchinson, and lord viscount Luttrell, son to the earl of Carhampton; and was carried without opposition.

On the seventh of September the lord lieutenant put an end to the session by a speech from the throne. Though the very advanced season of the year rendered it expedient to prorogue the parliament, he however flattered himself, that the great object of adjusting a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, had not in vain engaged their attention and protracted their deliberations. He thanked the house of commons for their generous contribution of supplies, and observed, that by this measure they had not less consulted the dignity of the crown than the real interests of the people. He felt the truest satisfaction in observing the various beneficial laws which had passed during the session, and the wholesome effects of their wisdom in the returning tranquility and industry, and in the rising prosperity of the kingdom. The noblest object to which he could direct his attention, and which would ever constitute the happiness and pride of his life, was the establishment of the prosperity of Ireland by extending her commerce, and cementing her connection with Great Britain. He trusted they would continually cherish this sentiment in the national mind, that the stability and

strength of the empire could alone be ultimately insured by uniting the interest and objects of both kingdoms, in a general and equitable system of reciprocal and common advantage.

As government had now the double object of bringing to a final termination the discontents, which had for some years existed in Ireland, and were not yet extinct, and of discovering how far the nation could be reconciled to the proposed system of commercial intercourse; a measure, now adopted for its attainment was a progress of about six weeks, made by the duke of Rutland and his duchess through the southern division of the kingdom. They proceeded first to Limerick, and afterwards spent some days at Killarney in the county of Kerry, the seat of lord viscount Kenmare. Their return was through the city of Cork, and the other towns in the south-east, between Cork and Dublin. Their journey commenced early in October, and was not concluded till the twentieth of November. This measure was not entirely a new experiment, and was fortunately suited to the genius and temper of the Irish nation. They were every where received with marks of joy, attachment and congratulation. In the mean time the effects of their presence were neither conspicuous, nor permanent, whether we consider them in connection with the commercial system which did not become more popular, or combine them with the unhappy disturbances and tumults which broke out about this time.



## C H A P T E R II.

*Insurrections in the South of Ireland. Different Causes to which they were ascribed. Violences committed against the Clergy of both Religions.*

A Variety of political situations and topics succeed each other with great rapidity in this period of the history of Ireland. The disquisitions of parliamentary reform were with some violence detruded from the minds of men by the introduction of the commercial system. The commercial system had scarcely received its quietus from the Irish parliament, before those scenes of tumult, outrage and violence commenced in the southern extremity, which quickly spread themselves over a great portion of the island. These considerations however do not rise upon one another in sublimity, grandeur and attraction. Discussions of commerce are less interesting than discussions of liberty; and the scenes of barbarism and anarchy, which we are now to introduce, are rather painful and disgusting, than attractive. But the historian cannot mould the concourse of events to the factitious precepts of rhetoric and composition; he is obliged to follow them, as they are traced out to his hands by the caprices of men, or the unalterable laws of destiny.

The modern annals of Ireland have frequently been marked with tumultuary proceedings, that blot the page of history, and that are a disgrace to human nature. They unquestionably compose a poignant satire upon the administration and maxims of their government; whether or not they are injurious to the character of the nation, is a point, that admits of greater doubt

and uncertainty. The condition of the people among whom they have broken out is pitiable and forlorn; and, if they originated merely in the sharp goadings of hunger, and the wild transports of despair, the intrinsic character of the country is then completely vindicated.

The disadvantages, that are experienced by the inhabitants of the south of Ireland, are numerous. In the first place a very great majority of them are catholics; and this is a fruitful source of hardship and oppression. The south has at least been stationary in point of improvement, while many other parts of the kingdom have advanced with rapidity. The proprietors have seen the increasing wealth of their countrymen with jealousy and envy, and have been prompted to follow them in the advance of their rents, and the increase of their income. Of consequence while the wages of the labouring hind have been low, frequently at the rate of four pence per diem, the demands of his landlord have been pressing and enormous. Finding it no easy matter to realise his rents, the landlord has gone on to throw the peasantry into the hands of a middle man, or farmer general; and the rapacity of this man has been to be satisfied, in addition to the receipts of the proprietor. This is probably the principal and predominant grievance of the inhabitants of Munster. But in addition to this they have frequently felt themselves harrassed by the twofold demands of



of the clergyman of the established church for his dues, and of the catholic priest for those contributions which form his subsistence. A religious sect, supported by contribution, commonly depends for its funds upon the more opulent or middle classes of the community; but the Romish religion in Ireland still retains this feature of an establishment, to have a kind of regular demand upon the poor, the indigent and industrious.

The insurgents in Ireland, under the names of White Boys, Oak Boys and other barbarous appellations, have at different times pointed their irregular efforts at different objects. It has sometimes been the tithe of the church, and sometimes the rent of the proprietor, that they have regarded as the source of their poverty and their distress. The first of these was the single object of which they complained in the insurrection, whose causes we are endeavouring to trace, and whose events we are about to relate. Though the clergyman, so far from receiving more than he is entitled to by law, almost always receives a twentieth or a fortieth part under the denomination of a tenth, yet his claim, being more variable and fluctuating than that of the landlord, oftener assumes the appearance of intolerable calamity. In addition to this circumstance, by a kind of absurdity that has seldom had an example, the meadow lands of Ireland are totally exempt from tithe, while the operation of this impost seems directed to the discouragement of agriculture. The grazier is rich, the husbandman is poor: the grazier is the protestant, the husbandman is the catholic. Thus almost the only man, who contributes to the support of the ecclesiastical establishment, is the

man, who does not, even in appearance, derive any benefit from it. The clergyman, a man liberal in his education and urbane in his manners, might be expected to treat the distresses of the peasantry with mildness and forbearance; but unfortunately the clergyman like the proprietor, and for still stronger reasons, since his claim is more liable to be contested, employs a middle man, a proctor, or tithe farmer, to enforce his demands. The proctor, far from being moved by the inability of the cultivator, treads upon the heels of providence, and sacrifices what the judgments of heaven may have left imperfect, to the brutality of his temper, or the insatiableness of his avarice.

It is for the reader to consider, whether or not the causes we have enumerated be sufficient to account for the disorders that followed. Many of those persons, who have lived nearest to the seat of the insurrection, actuated by insidious and sinister considerations, or prompted merely by curiosity and an assumption of superior penetration, or lastly, furnished with facts which were most likely to be within their reach, have been disposed to trace the source of these violences to a remoter cause. Certain writers on the part of the establishment have represented the whole, as a deep and dangerous combination for the overthrow of the established church, and the erection of popery upon its ruins. In the mean time this idea does not seem to be favoured by the nature of the incidents, which we shall have to relate. Others, and these have been still more numerous, have maintained that the peasants left to themselves would have remained quiet and supine; and that the landlords, urged by their envy to their more prosperous



rous neighbours, prompted them to these unjustifiable exertions, in order that by the abolition of tithes they might add that amount to their rents, which was at present paid under this form to the church. Particular facts have been cited in proof of this assertion; and to these have been added the general observation, that the insurgents did not aim to render potatoes tithe free, but from the beginning insisted on annihilating the tithe of hay. This hypothesis has been rendered still more definite by the statement of Dr. James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, in a publication upon this subject. He observes that the interest of the earl of Shannon, which had usually been predominant in the county of Cork, and which had always been espoused by the clergy of the established church, was defeated there at the last general election. And he asserts, that the successful party were instigated by resentment and opposition, to excite the discontents, and point the direction of a numerous body of men against those who had become obnoxious to them.

The symptoms of discontent first broke out in the county of Cork, and in the diocese of the bishopric of Cloyne towards the end of the month of September 1785. To this diocese they were for some time wholly confined; and they did not make any considerable figure, or draw a very particular attention till the months of January and February in the following year. By degrees they spread from the diocese of Cloyne to the diocese of Cork, and the county of Kerry; and in the lapse of a few weeks they embraced the whole province of Munster, the counties of Clare in the province of Connaught, and of Kilkenny in the province of Leinster,

and made occasionally excursions beyond these limits. A person very early distinguished himself among them, and was regarded as the hero of this band of conquerors, whose real or assumed appellation was that of captain Right; and from him they soon became known by the denomination of Right Boys. They were said to assemble generally on Tuesday and Friday nights, by the signal of a horn, sounded on one of the adjacent hills, and seldom to muster fewer than eighty men. Arms they obtained by violence from such of the inhabitants as possessed them, and they proceeded on their excursions with the assistance of the neighbouring horses, which the owners were afraid to place out of their reach.

It is difficult to compose a narrative of violences, that were carried on upon no plan, and that were so numerous, that even the daily prints grew tired of the labour of recording them. The persons concerned in them appeared in no regular bodies, assembled only by night, and were dispersed and vanishing by the break of day. Without carrying on a more regular war, they conceived the plan of superseding the rigour of law, and they were generally successful. When any of their fellows were seized by the vigilance of magistracy, they maintained them in prison, exerted themselves indefatigably for their rescue, and, if they did not succeed in this, intimidated every one from appearing as a witness against them. Even when conviction had taken place, and sentence had been pronounced, the chance for impunity was not yet over, and in one instance the high sheriff of a county, unable to find any person to perform the office, is said to have been obliged to execute



cut the sentence of whipping upon a convict with his own hands.

Amidst the innumerable assaults and barbarities that were committed, it will be necessary to select some, in order to convey a general idea of their nature, their system and their objects. In the mean time a collection has been already made by persons particularly interested in the event of the commotions; and perhaps we cannot do better than to transcribe what they have written upon the subject. We shall thus probably obtain the additional advantage, of escaping those impositions which are inevitably practised in the daily prints, and of relating only such facts as are certain and well authenticated. Meanwhile as we find them unaccompanied with dates and other such circumstantial matters, we cannot pledge ourselves for their chronological accuracy. The following are some of the instances cited, of personal attacks upon clergymen, by doctor Richard Woodward, lord bishop of Cloyne.

“ One, a dignitary in my cathedral, was forced to come out of his house at midnight, by a band of one hundred and fifty ruffians, to swear that he would give up his legal rights; a gun being pointed close to his head while the oath was tendered, and a horse produced with a saddle full of spikes, on which he was to be mounted if he refused to swear. A second was menaced with dreadful imprecations, that he should meet with a most horrible reception, if he did not obey their laws more punctually, though he by a public notice had declared his submission. A third, that he should be treated inhumanly and barbarously. A fourth, that his ears should be cropped, and his tongue cut out of his mouth. A

fifth they informed, that they had prepared a pitched shirt for him, in which they would set him on fire. A sixth had his house in the town of Mallow broken open at midnight, and his bedchamber entered by a number of armed men, who forced him to give up his horses for their use. A seventh had five of his horses cropped, from spite that his house was secure. And an eighth had his house surrounded in the dead of night by an hundred men for several hours, who endeavoured to force his gates, the terror of which nearly occasioned the death of his daughter, who, as the assailants who were his near neighbours must have known, was brought to bed the night before. On the whole all the clergy in the extensive county of Cork,” of which only the bishop professes to speak, “ whose places of residence were in the country were under continual alarm, and obliged to arm themselves in the best manner they could. Had they not given way to the violence of the insurgents, they would as it appears, have been personally ill treated; perhaps buried in those graves which, in many places were dug professedly for their reception.”

To suggest more strongly the idea of combination and system, the bishop goes on to state that “ a form of summons to the clergyman, penned with legal accuracy, was printed at Cork, at the expence of a gentleman of rank and fortune, and many thousand copies of it circulated with diligence, through the adjacent counties of Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary. They took arms out of the hands of protestants, and levied money for the express purpose of purchasing ammunition. They imposed oaths on the



The laity, limiting them to a certain amount of composition for tithes. They nailed up one church, and bound themselves by oath to burn another. They broke open jails, set fire to hay and corn, and even to houses, especially those occupied by the army. They threatened to burn the town of Newmarket, in the diocese of Cloyne, unless a White Boy confined there was released. At last they had the audacity to menace the cities of Limeric and Cork, and the town Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine, and to take measures for interrupting a supply of provisions. But the circumstance which appears to me most alarming, is their having established a kind of post-office for communication, by which probably they are able to convene such public meetings as their own notices prove they actually hold."

The narrative of the bishop of Cloyne, however authentic it may be as far as it goes, we are obliged to regard as inadequate and partial. The facts we have already given are calculated to persuade us, and such indeed is the opinion of the bishop, that the whole insurrection is to be regarded as pointed against the protestant religion. There are other facts, not already noticed, which certainly do not tend to corroborate an hypothesis of this sort. From the earliest appearance of these tumults lord viscount Kenmare, a catholic nobleman, and who stands at the head of the laity of that religion, was extremely active in suppressing them, and received the thanks of the clergy of the established church, for his exertions. The catholic clergy, and particularly lord Dunboyne, the titular bishop of Cork, entered into associations for the restoration of order and tranquility. The insurgents,

irritated at this species of discountenance, and smarting, as we have already said, under the exactions of their own as well as the protestant clergy, comprehended both in one general proscription. They deserted in crowds from the chapels of their pastors, and repaired tumultuously to the protestant churches, under the idea, as it should seem, of thus extenuating their legal delinquency. To set this matter in its true light we will add to the instances selected by the bishop of Cloyne, a few of the violences committed upon the catholic clergy, which are related by the titular archbishop of Cashel. This prelate is of the family of lord Dunboyne, and is regarded upon account of his station, as primate of the Roman catholics of Munster, and in some measure of the whole kingdom of Ireland.

"Doctor Gleeson," says the archbishop, "a man whose years alone would make him venerable, for he was above seventy, was forcibly dragged from his rest at dead of night, his house ransacked and plundered of every thing worth taking away, and all the wantonness of insult practised upon his person. Mr. Murphy, parish priest of Glanmire, was dragged from his bed at midnight, and obliged to swear to abide by captain Right's rules, and not to say any thing against them. Two parish priests in the diocese of Cork, were forced from the unparalleled severities they suffered, to resign their parishes into the hands of lord Dunboyne their diocesan. Doctor Nugent, parish priest of Leamlara, was attacked at night by an armed mob, who fired upon him in his house, and he escaped from their fury only by the spirited resistance of himself, his father and his servant. Doctor Macmahon,



Macmahon, titular bishop of Kilaloe, was violently interrupted, when preaching in the chapel of Castleconnel, because he condemned the irregularities of these infatuated disturbers. A protestant church has, indeed, been nailed up; and fifty chapels have been nailed up and blockaded. The chapel of Cloghroe, in the diocese of Cloyne; the chapel of Boerlane in the diocese of Cashel, the chapel of Donohil in

the same district, the chapels of Carrickeene and Monochone in the diocese of Ossory, have been nailed up, and their priests treated with the utmost indignity. And if this work were intended to excite pity, it could be spun to a folio by the mere recital of those outrages, which have been so anxiously described, as confined to the persons of protestant clergy and to the protestant churches."

### CHAPTER III.

*Dissentions of the United Provinces. Institution of the Volunteers, Rise of a Democratical Party. Conduct of the Citizens of Utrecht. Stadtholder retires from the Hague. Treaties with the Emperor and France.*

CONTEMPORARY with the dispute of the Schelde, which so greatly engrossed the attention of Europe, were the internal misunderstandings and dissensions of the Dutch republic. These had first displayed themselves in their external symptoms in the year 1780. The ground-work had probably been laid much earlier than this. If we examine the history of the United Provinces for the two last centuries, we shall find two parties continually struggling for the superiority with a degree of eagerness and perseverance that has seldom been exceeded. The first of these has been the party of the house of Orange. The situation of the state, which demanded an able commander to lead them to arms against the Spanish sovereign, had first raised this house to distinction; the gratitude and affection of the common people had long been one of its most considerable supports; and lastly, it had for a bulwark of its authority the favour and attachment of the order of nobles, scatter-

ed through the United Provinces, and who have always been found more willing to depend upon the kindness of one man, than to court the frugal honours of an oligarchy, or the uncertain favours of a democracy. The second party has been that of the states, and of the senates or town-councils, who, in opposition to the nobles, might perhaps be more properly denominated an oligarchy, than, as they have been usually styled, an aristocracy. These assemblies, if taken in a comprehensive view, appear to be in their own nature a self elective body, or a body exercising the privilege of filling up their own vacancies. This privilege has indeed been encroached upon by the party of the stadtholder, in their hour of success; but the encroachment has always been regarded by their opponents as unconstitutional.

During the greater part of their history the office of a stadtholder, has formed a branch of their government. In that period however, when they were as a nation most prosperous



prosperous and respectable, they governed themselves as a pure republic, without the interference of so powerful a magistrate. Their intestine divisions have been the means, as it frequently happens, of bringing forth, or of displaying several illustrious characters. Such they appeared in the contest between prince Maurice and the venerable Barneveldt; such was the struggle between William II. and the Louvesslein faction, in which that prince was taken off by death in the midst of his victory; and such, still more conspicuously, was the period of the administration of the de Wittes, which was also the period of their naval triumphs. From the death of these great men the republic has declined; and, instead of venerable patriots and distinguished conquerors, Europe for the last century has been accustomed to regard them, as a nation of merchants, pursuing the acquisition of wealth in contempt of every other quality or accomplishment.

There is perhaps a crisis in the diseases of nations as of individuals, when it is necessary either that the patient should yield to the disease, or, surmounting it, should fast converge to a state of health, spirits and energy. Accordingly it is not to be doubted, that, after having quietly submitted to the authority of the stadtholder for many years, the oligarchy had, previously to the year 1780, entertained the design of abridging his prerogatives, and stripping him of his disproportionate authority. We have seen in our preceding volumes the measures which were pursued by this party, both in their successful prosecution of the field marshal prince of Brunswic, and in their still more important attacks upon the administration of the stadtholder respect-

ing the conduct of the war with Great Britain, and the ignominious failure of the expedition to Brest.

It was the misfortune of the oligarchical party, to have no particular object in view, towards which they were to direct their efforts, and the recollection of which might animate them in their exertions. Their plan was on the contrary, to watch with assiduity the occasions that might arise, and, instead of boldly directing the progress of events, merely to seize and improve such, as might arise without their particular concurrence. To prepare the situation of the republic for the execution of this scheme, they succeeded in exciting a dislike, and fixing a contempt upon the ministers, and even in some measure upon the person of the stadtholder. Their next measure was more considerable than this. They were apprehensive, in case matters were pushed to extremities with the prince of Orange, whether the greater part of the army would finally adhere to the prince who commanded, or to the magistracy who paid them. They were desirous of creating to themselves a party among their citizens; and this would not naturally occur, since the people in general were attached to the house of Orange, and since no part of them had any real concern for the selfish and narrow scheme of their oligarchical government. Accordingly in the year 1783, they countenanced the burghers of the different provinces in taking on them the character of volunteers, and forming themselves into free corps; and they doubtless took care in the beginning, that the persons, of whom these corps were constituted, were such, as had considerable connection with, and dependence upon themselves. At the same time they

talked



talked loudly of the importance of the people and the rights of mankind, and inveighed with bitterness against the insignificance and oppression, into which they were sunk, under a government of domination and influence, like that of the stadtholder.

It happens more frequently in politics, than in almost any other affair with which we are concerned, that the instrument we construct answers more purposes than we at first imagined, and that the sentiment we excite goes greater lengths than we intended, or even produces material injury to its author. Of this we have an example in the present instance. The people of Holland do not seem to have wanted much importunity to induce them to exert themselves. It was not necessary that the eloquence should be of the highest order, that should awaken them to a feeling of their rights. Accordingly the spirit of volunteering once set on foot made a rapid progress. It caught from man to man through the whole extent of the United Provinces, and in some towns the body of the armed burghers embraced almost every thing that was rich, considerable and responsible among the citizens. The age in which they lived was the period of improvement. The spirit of liberty, which had appeared languid and expiring, was once more blown up in the world. It had first shown itself upon the shores of the Atlantic, and its exertions in the place of its birth were important and admirable. From America the flame caught to various parts of the world. Even in Great Britain the cause of freedom had a momentary reign, though it did not produce any permanent consequences. In Ireland it was more fortunate.

They had set out like Holland, upon the plan of volunteering. This plan made them irresistible; and, if the circumstances of the country had not been particularly unfavourable, and if the people had been resolute and determined, they might have secured to themselves every advantage, that nature or truth had put within the reach of their exertions.

The creed of America, and the example of Ireland gave birth to the democracy of Holland. The armed burghers had scarcely formed their associations, before they became conscious of the power that was thus put into their hands. The first efforts of real liberty were exhibited in the city of Utrecht. In order to understand these efforts it is necessary, that we should recollect something of the constitution of the government of the United Provinces. This country is not to be regarded, as we are too apt to consider it upon a superficial view, as one great republic, so properly as a collection of many lesser republics. Every considerable town among them has all the features of a complete political system within itself. It has its senate or legislature, its judges, its attorney-general, its pensionary or prime minister, its secretary and its treasurer. These towns indeed have a common representation in the states of the province. Still however they act as allies and confederates, rather than as members of one system. The deputies that represent each of the towns, are obliged in all important concerns to enquire the sentiments of the town senates, and implicitly to obey their instructions. It is the same in the higher scene of representation in the assembly of the states general, with this additional proviso, that each of the



the seven provinces must consent before any considerable measure can be carried into execution.

The government does not seem to appear from this general view, provided the representation in each of these assemblies were just and adequate, to include any essential imperfections. It is for the speculative politician to consider whether a gradation of two deliberative assemblies, as in the United States of America, or of three as here, is the most perfect form of government. In the mean time it may be observed, that the slowness which is usually imputed to the Dutch republic, is not perhaps a very considerable defect unless in transactions with foreign states; that these transactions are not the first and most considerable object of political constitution; and that even here the government of Holland under a wise and spirited administration has found a remedy in adopting an irregular conduct suitable to the emergency of the occasion. But it was not with these speculative considerations that the friends of liberty in Holland were chiefly concerned. They were not bound to produce the best possible constitution, but to effect such amendments in the existing forms, as should be at once practicable and fraught with valuable benefit.

Accordingly the first object of their attention was the constitution of the magistracies and town senates, as lying at the root of every other imperfection. Here there were two leading defects: that the stadtholder, the servant of the republic, had too much weight, and that the people, the constituents of the republic, had no weight at all. The prerogatives of the stadtholder, exclusively of his influence in the election of the senates, were very

considerable. He possessed the appointment of inferior officers in the navy, of officers in the army, from the colonel to the ensign, and a voice in the disposition of all other posts of honour and emolument. Accordingly the plan of the citizens of Utrecht, was entirely to exclude him from any influence in the nomination of the town governments, and at the same time to communicate to the people a certain degree of authority in the business. This authority they did not propose immediately to bestow upon the people at large, but to give to them the privilege of electing a college of tribunes, who were to have a share in the election of the senates and magistrates, as well as several other prerogatives of no inconsiderable importance.

It does not appear that the whole of this plan was submitted at first by the citizens of Utrecht to the deliberative assemblies, and it is probable that it was not thus early digested by them, in the extent in which we have stated it. The first measure they adopted was the presenting a petition to the states of the province of Utrecht, to demand from them the abolition of the regulation of regency, established by violence in 1674, by William III. prince of Orange, and which was the foundation of the principal part of the obnoxious authority of the stadtholder in the election of the town governments. This petition was signed by 2243 burghers of Utrecht, which appears to have been at this time the amount of the corps of volunteers in that city. The selection of this regulation was wisely and politically made by the democratical party. The power of the stadtholder, by which he was accustomed arbitrarily to introduce whatever persons he pleased to a



feat in the senate, struck at the root of the oligarchical power, and had long been an object of extreme regret to the leaders of the party against the prince of Orange. It is probable that the same circumscribed habits of thinking, which had prevented the leaders of that party from foreseeing the consequences that might result from the institution of the volunteers, had its effect in this instance upon the assembly of the states of Utrecht. The regulation of 1674 was the object of their aversion, and they were happy in thus procuring the countenance of their citizens for its abrogation. But a measure of so great importance was not to be adopted by them with lightness and precipitation. Previously to the attempt of repealing a law, the influence of which was of the extremest magnitude, it was necessary that it should be declared a source of grievance, and that an enquiry should be instituted into the mischiefs that resulted from it. Accordingly, on the fifth of February 1784, an extraordinary commission was nominated by the assembly of the states, to enquire into, and report to the assembly, the measures it might be proper to take, in order to re-establish harmony among the citizens, and to remove the sources of their just complaints against their present form of government.

At the same time that the petition of the burghers was presented to the assembly of the states, addresses of a similar nature were delivered to the town senate of Utrecht, and to the prince of Orange. In the last case the address was signed only by 725 of the most considerable inhabitants, probably from the idea that so limited a mode of application implied in a higher degree the respectfulness and decency of their

proceedings. The answer of the prince of Orange may be naturally supposed to have been unfavourable, both from the inflexibility of principles that marked every stage of his conduct, and from the nature of the demand, which did not convey to him, as it did to the oligarchical leaders, any features of attraction and plausibility. The senate of Utrecht on the other hand, received the application of their citizens with much good will, and appointed, on the 17th of April, a committee, who were to receive the representations, which the burghers and the inhabitants were indiscriminately invited to submit to their inspection during the space of five weeks. The committee of the senate digested in one general view the complaints of the burghers, and submitted them in the form of a report, to the assembly of the states. A public declaration was made in the following September, under the joint authority of the two committees, that four capital defects had been recognized in the constitution of the town government, as it had been settled in 1674; but they did not proceed to any more detailed specification of their future intentions.

The harmony that subsisted between the magistrates and the inhabitants of Utrecht, appeared to promise the most auspicious conclusion to the great project of democratical reform. The affections of the senate in particular, were so warmly engaged on the side of the burghers, that they came to a voluntary resolution, even in the month of January, to fill up a vacancy, which happened then to occur in their body, without any previous communication with the stadtholder. This resolution was taken by a majority of twenty-six senators,



senators in the affirmative, to twelve who voted in the negative; and on the following day Mr. Paul Engelbert Voet van Winfen, was elected in pursuance of the determination that had been made. The burghers in general augured the happiest events from so spirited a proceeding on the part of their magistrates, and seemed to imagine that they should obtain the object of their warmest desires with perfect ease and tranquility.

But it was not possible, that the heads of the old government should constantly remain insensible to the great revolution, which would be effected, if the example of Utrecht should be generally followed, in the constitution of the republic, and the reduction that would ensue of that oligarchical power which was the subject of their contest with the stadtholder. The prince of Orange was active to prevent a revolution which struck at his most considerable prerogative, and his emissaries appear to have employed those arguments which related most immediately to the interest of the self-elective bodies, to induce them to oppose an innovation, which would be equally destructive to their power as to his own. The intrigues of the court of the Hague appear to have obtained every success with the senate, and provincial states of Utrecht. They were equally induced by retrospect to the prerogatives of their body, and by the benefits and munificences of the stadtholder, resolutely to oppose an alteration, which had hitherto been inconsiderately favoured with their countenance. They determined to employ all their ingenuity and skill secretly to counteract the desires of their citizens. This unfavourable change in their sentiments, probably took place in the close of

the year 1784, and prevented them from the publication of the report, which had already been digested, and was ready to be laid before the public.

The burghers in the mean time, though they waited with anxiety for the farther proceedings of their magistrates, were determined to exhibit an example of patience and moderation. For some months every thing remained in suspense; and it is not till the beginning of March 1785, that any thing occurs in the history of the city, which appears intitled to a distinct notice. At that time two vacancies had taken place in the senate; and that body, actuated by sentiments, the reverse of those they had entertained at the time of the last election of a similar nature, now admitted two magistrates into their body, the nomination of whom had originated with the stadtholder. The burghers had indeed held themselves passive, so long as nothing positive was undertaken in opposition to their views. But upon this occasion they did not think their magistrates entitled to their toleration, and they believed, that they should incur the crime of treachery against the great cause of the rights of mankind, if they suffered so notorious an act of hostility to their wishes, to pass away without animadversion. It was not a little irritating to their feelings, that, at the very moment when they conceived themselves entitled to a conclusion in their favour, they should find those advantages withdrawn from them which had already been granted, and the commencement of the year 1785 consecrated to the annihilation of all that the commencement of 1784 had effected in their favour.

The measure they adopted in this circumstance was peremptory



and decisive. The armed burghers having assembled to the number of 2000, repaired in a body to communicate their discontents to the senate; and declared their resolution not to quit the position they had taken, till the election of one of the new senators, Mr. Sigterman, was annulled. To so spirited a style of petition no alternative was found applicable. The senate submitted to the necessity of their situation. But the violence they experienced was so little relished by the members of their body, that nineteen senators immediately seceded, and declared their resolution never more to enter the walls of the assembly, till the lawless proceedings of the democratical party was suppressed, and the magistrates were reinstated in the whole of their prerogatives.

The government of Utrecht was by this conduct reduced to an alarming situation. The affairs of the public could no longer be put under any regular direction while the dissentient senators maintained their resolution; and unless some mode of conciliation could be discovered, there was reason to apprehend that every thing might be reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion. Accordingly the senators who had not seceded, immediately deputed two of their body to expostulate with their refractory members, and the speaker upon this occasion was Mr. van Muschenbroek, one of the burgomasters of Utrecht, and who appears to have maintained a secret correspondence with the court of the stadtholder. The request was enforced by a similar application on the part of the provincial states; and farther, to induce them to compliance, as well as to countenance the measures which were in the contemplation of

the oligarchical party, a petition was prepared in the name of 150 eminent citizens to the states of the province, in which they expressed their confidence in the disposition of government to comply with the wishes of the more moderate inhabitants in favour of a reform, at the same time that they condemned in the strongest language the tumultuary proceedings of the armed burghers, and intreated the states to take proper measures to prevent future violences of a similar nature, which would be infallibly destructive of the trade and prosperity of the city of Utrecht.

The seceding senators were at length induced to resume their seats; and in consequence of their return a proclamation was immediately issued by the magistrates, indirectly condemning the late conduct of their burghers, and prohibiting under severe penalties all proceedings that tended to disturbance and tumult. To this proclamation the armed burghers contented themselves with entering their protest. The senate however, encouraged by the passive manner in which this proclamation had been received, proceeded in the month of June to institute a criminal enquiry into the conduct of the preceding March, and to imprison Mr. Ondaatje, an active leader of the democratical party, and who had delivered the sentiments of the burghers to the senate upon the subject of the election of Mr. Sigterman upon that occasion, with equal eloquence and intrepidity. In July, a still more despotic proclamation was issued by the provincial states, forbidding any person to prepare a petition to be signed by two or more, under pain of being treated as a disturber of the public tranquility, and directing, that every one, who should have



have any complaint to address to the government, should present it individually and separately.

These violent and untemperish measures served extremely to alienate and inflame the minds of the citizens. The discountenance they received, did not in any degree weaken their desires, or diminish their resolution to obtain the reform, which had been the object of their original association. As they constituted an unquestionable majority of the inhabitants of Utrecht, they conceived themselves to be able in the last resort, to obtain the redress they demanded by their single energy. But they were willing to seek the alliance of some other power in the republic, and thus to lessen the perils that impended over them. It was yet a question, whether in this case their alliance would ultimately be made with the oligarchy or with the stadtholder. The former of these parties had treated them with so much duplicity and severity in their own province, as to give them little hopes of an amicable adjustment of claims on this side. The oligarchy of Holland and the other provinces, was far from having declared in their favour; and there were sufficient reasons to expect that they would not receive a very generous support from a party, to whose interests their views were inimical, and who unquestionably aspired to a despotic and unlimited authority. The stadtholder on the other side was naturally tenacious of his influence in the election of the senates. But he stood in need of friends and adherents; and, if a compromise could be effected between him and the citizens, he would be able by their assistance to obtain an easy victory over the incroachments and pretensions of his original adversaries.

Disgusted by the treatment they received from their government at home, the democratical party in Utrecht, appears to have been at this time inclined in favour of the stadtholder; and the court of the prince, willing to encourage them in this disposition, published a declaration in which they observed, provided the spirit of the regulation of 1674 were preserved inviolate in behalf of the stadtholder, that he would be willing to co-operate with the burghers in mitigation of their taxes, and in the redress of every other circumstance by which they imagined themselves aggrieved.

The situation of the states of Holland, and the other bodies who had originally entered into the contest with the stadtholder, was at this time extremely critical. The prospect of being supported by the army had already been regarded by them as vague and uncertain. The burghers they expected to make subservient to their views; but, contrary to their expectations, they had no sooner taken up arms, than they found an object relative to their own interests and privileges, which better deserved their pursuit than the blind and implicit support of a self-elective magistracy. All the views of the latter, in favour of the restoration of the best days of the republic, as it had existed in the time of a de Ruyter and a de Witte, must be sacrificed, unless some immediate alternative was found applicable to their present situation. Thus circumstanced, the party of the magistrates in Holland, appear to have been generally convinced of the propriety of that line of conduct, which it was indispensibly necessary for them to adopt. Some deviation they must inevitably make from the plan they had originally purposed to pursue;



and, with a manly resolution, they chose that this deviation should rather operate in favour of the rights of the people, than for the increase of the prerogatives and domination of an individual. The power of filling up the vacancies of their body had long been their most favourite privilege; but, notwithstanding the unpalatableness of the draught that was proposed, they submitted with apparent alacrity to the necessity of the case, and from this time co-operated with more or less sincerity or constancy in favour of the views of the popular party.

We know not whether or no the alteration which now took place in the sentiments and conduct of the senate of Utrecht, was owing to the interference of the magistrates of the other provinces. Be that as it will, six deputies were appointed, in the beginning of August, by an assembly of magistrates at Amsterdam from the different parts of the United Netherlands, for the purpose of mediating in the differences that had arisen between the magistrates and the citizens of Utrecht; and at the same time the senate published their report, which had been prepared twelve months before, upon the subject of the projected reform, which was certainly intended as a conciliatory measure. In the mean time this proceeding by no means obtained the success which was predicted. The people had been held so long in suspense, and their passions had been so greatly irritated and alarmed, that it is possible that the indulgence, which would have satisfied them in the first instance, would now be treated with jealousy and dissatisfaction. The burghers, proceeding upon a true feeling of democratical principles, had, in the year 1784, at the same time that nine commissi-

oners had been appointed on the part of the states, and two deputies on the part of the senate, to conduct the system of the reform, elected twenty-seven persons, as the delegates of the inhabitants at large, to watch over the interests of the democracy in this great business. These delegates, at the same time that they expressed their approbation of the general spirit of the report which was now published, were extremely offended at not having been consulted during the pendency of the deliberations, and at the report's having now been made public, without having been previously communicated to them. Actuated by the spirit of freedom which had so long animated the proceedings of their constituents, they did not value the acquisition that was made in favour of the democracy, because the manner in which it was made, favoured rather of the principles of a narrower form of government. Accordingly they presented an address to the senate, demanding to know, whether they were acknowledged in the character of delegates, and of consequence admitted to deliver the sentiments of their constituents. Their conduct was imitated by the deputies of the eight wards of the burghers of Utrecht, who presented an address, making a similar demand of the senate respecting themselves.

The oligarchical party probably imagined that they had yielded far enough in the publication of the report, and regarded the objection of the delegates as captious and sophistical. Instead therefore of returning an immediate answer to the demand that was made, they deputed their two burgomasters to make inquiry into the affair, and for this purpose to propose interrogatories



gatories to the delegates and deputies. Not chusing to submit to this examination, these, latter, having obtained an adjournment, immediately called an assembly of the burghers at large, to instruct them respecting the conduct it might become them to pursue. The burghers, offended at a proceeding on the part of their magistrates so immediately hostile to the principles of democratical exertion, thought proper to repair in a body to the senate, to the number of 3330, and in this manner to assure them, that their delegates were actually chosen by them, and were fully authorized to speak and act in their behalf. The senate was again alarmed by this strong and peremptory appearance, and, under the influence of this alarm, suppressed the report that had been published, and appointed a new commission ultimately to concert with the delegates of the citizens the regulation it might be proper to introduce instead of the obnoxious regulation of 1674.

If the oligarchical party in the province of Utrecht were displeased with the spirit of the projected municipal reform, it was not probable that they would be reconciled to it by the measures which were adopted for its introduction. Long inured to the considering the stadtholder as their only rival, and accustomed to a passive and implicit obedience on the part of their citizens; they could not tamely brook the violence and compulsion with which they were treated. Such would have been in all cases the feelings of a considerable body in the political balance under these circumstances: and these feelings were extremely improved by the natural obstinacy and perseverance of a Dutch constitution. They waited therefore only for an opportunity of signa-

lizing their resentment; and an occasion presently occurred, such as they desired. The city of Utrecht was an object beyond their strength. The firmness of the burghers proved that they would ultimately succeed against all internal opposition; and there was scarcely a military force in the whole extent of the republic sufficient to reduce them to compulsory submission. But if they could not be conquered they might be terrified, and if the states dare not meet them in the most unqualified style of controversy, they might at least prove in an indirect manner how averse their inclinations were to the measures that were pursued.

The spirit of reform, which began in the city of Utrecht, speedily communicated its influence to the other towns of the province. These towns so far as they are represented in the assembly of the states, are four, Amersfort, Wyk, Montfort, and Rhenen. The two first of these had copied, with precision, the steps of the capital. They had submitted their grievances, and had appointed delegates to co-operate with the magistracy in the construction of the reform. In Wyk, as in Utrecht, the senate appears at first to have been sufficiently favourable to the burghers, and to have proceeded to provisional elections; in Amersfort they were more consistent and uniform. Here therefore it was, that the standard of hostilities, (for such, notwithstanding the great length to which its consequences were procrastinated, it deserves to be considered) was destined to be unfurled. The plan of the citizens was to keep pace in their democratical measures with the burghers of Utrecht; and accordingly, early in August they directed their delegates to propose



the question to their magistrates; whether or not they were to be considered as recognized for the legal representatives of the citizens at large. This question was answered in the negative; and the burghers, less peremptory than those of Utrecht, contented themselves with holding their meeting at a distance from the Guild-hall, or place of the assembly of the senate, and sending message after message to the magistrates, repeating the same demand. To put an end to this importunate application, the senate pretended to come to an abrupt adjournment; and, the armed burghers having imitated their example, they immediately reassembled, and voted that very night, the eighth of August, that a requisition should be made to the states of the province, demanding of them a body of troops to keep under restraint the violence of the citizens. This requisition, by the contrivance of the burgomaster van Muschenbrœek, was not submitted to the states at large, but to their council-committee sitting for the dispatch of business. The requisition was immediately confirmed, and being signed by four of the members was dispatched to the prince of Orange.

The stadtholder was by this violent and unqualified measure placed in a very critical situation. His original enemies were not the citizens, but the resolute adherents of the oligarchy in the different states and senates of the republic; and in these original enemies he had more to encounter, than he well knew how to subdue. If indeed the republic came to blows upon the mere oligarchical question, it was probable that a great number of the inhabitants would join the prince of Orange, and the rest

holding themselves neuter, the victory would not be difficult to secure. But even in this case the superiority of the prince could not be made permanent, without such an entire change in the whole form of the constitution, as it would have been perilous and unpopular to attempt. To throw the burghers in this situation into the arms of the oligarchy, had the appearance of a very impolitic measure. If their claims were adverse to the prerogatives of the stadtholder, they were not less adverse to the privileges of the municipal assemblies. On the other hand the sacrifice that was demanded from the stadtholder was great; and the proffered alliance of the states of Utrecht valuable. To concede what was demanded by the burghers, appears to have been regarded by the court of the prince as a measure uncertain in its effect. His policy had hitherto been to defend with inflexibility the prerogatives descended to him from his ancestors, and it was only by this magnanimity that he could expect to interest all the princes of Europe in his favour. The demand of troops was accordingly granted; the towns of Amerstort and Rhenen received the garrison; and a new coalition was produced, avowedly between the magistrates of Utrecht and the stadtholder on the one hand, and in a more covert manner between the democracy of Utrecht and the oligarchy of Holland on the other.

The compliance of the stadtholder excited the most unbounded spirit of indignation and resistance in various parts of the republic. The assembly of the armed burghers of Utrecht, in their own name and in the name of 3360 inhabitants of different conditions, called upon the senate to make the strictest inquiry



tion into the illegal conduct of the magistrates of Amersfort, of the burgomaster van Muschenbreeck, and of the council-committee of the states. The senate, urged by the delegates of the citizens, shut their gates, brought out the cannon of their fortifications, and prepared for resistance. Advertisements were published in the newspapers on the part of the burghers, calling upon the different corps of volunteers in the republic to yield their immediate assistance to the city of Utrecht in its present perilous situation. The inhabitants of Overijssel, were not behind hand with the inhabitants of the province of Utrecht in the firmness of their exertions, and here there had as yet been no open misunderstanding between the citizens and the magistracies. The three towns which are represented in the states of Overijssel are Deventer, Campen and Zwol. The two last of these were attempted to be garrisoned, but the senate shut their gates upon the forces of the stadtholder. The states at the same time came to a strong resolution, condemning in the most pointed manner the conduct of the stadtholder, in endeavouring to silence the complaints of the burghers by the violent introduction of an armed force. At the same time the burghers of the three towns we have named, signed a very extensive requisition to the states of the province, demanding the abolition of the regulation of 1674, as well as various provisions to give efficacy for the future to the desires of the inhabitants at large. In Holland the democratical spirit has made nearly an equal progress; and the burghers of Dort, Leyden, Delft, Schoonhoven and Amsterdam separately demanded from their magistrates the enforcing a measure for

the recall of the garrisons, and for the effectually preventing such arbitrary and despotic proceedings in future.

The principle by which the oligarchical party directed their proceedings serves greatly to illustrate the history of the present dissensions. In conformity to their idea of waiting for and improving the events that should occur, they had made little progress since the expulsion of the field-marshal prince of Brunswick, in October 1784. Some tumults had taken place in the province of Holland in the beginning of the subsequent year, and these were probably in some degree encouraged by the counsels of the stadtholder. The states had been equally active in endeavouring to suppress proceedings, which were in the utmost degree unfavourable to their cause. But the indignation that was now excited against the stadtholder in Utrecht, in Overijssel, among the burghers of Holland, and through the volunteer corps in the whole extent of the republic, was a sentiment too favourable, for the leaders of the prevailing party in the states not to endeavour to derive from it some signal advantage. The occasion that was afforded was as auspicious as they could have desired. The licentious proceedings of the populace had been the constant subject of their expostulation; these proceedings had been found more frequent and inveterate in the residence of the Hague than in any other place, and they were nowhere so dangerous to the existence of the republic, since the Hague was the seat of the states of Holland, infinitely the most important assembly within their limits, and of the states general.

On the fourth of September  
twelve



twelve volunteers of the corps of the town of Leyden appeared at the Hague, and repaired in their uniforms to the public parade. The inhabitants of the Hague in general, are enthusiastically devoted to the prince of Orange; and the attempts of the oligarchy to institute a body of volunteers among them had always miscarried. Accordingly the appearance of the Leyden volunteers was a phenomenon, that was instantly remarked by the populace, and they determined to signalize against them their loyalty and their duty. Accordingly they attacked them with violence, and having driven them for refuge into a neighbouring house, they broke the windows, and displayed other marks of riot and disorder. A part of the garrison detached by order of the stadtholder did not think fit to interfere with the proceedings of the populace, but contented themselves with taking into custody the objects of their attack, and sending them off privately by night to the place of their habitation.

This riot was not in reality of a very formidable nature, but the juncture in which it happened was such as to encourage the oligarchy to decisive proceedings. The deputies of Haerlem, a town which had greatly distinguished itself in opposition to the stadtholder, represented to the states of Holland the long continuance of the riotous disposition of the people of the Hague, the ineffectual remonstrances that had been made for the employment of the garrison in their suppression, the connivance and secret encouragement of the prince of Orange, and the danger that resulted to the freedom of their deliberations from these alarming proceedings. The states immediately came to a resolution on the eighth

of September, to charge the deputies of Haerlem themselves with the care of the military patrolle. The deputies immediately entered upon their charge, gave the watch-word to the garrison, led out a nightly patrolle to the amount of two hundred soldiers, and every thing was restored to silence, tranquility and submission.

No measure could have been adopted by the states productive of so much displeasure and mortification to the prince of Orange. He immediately remonstrated with them upon their proceedings, and claimed the undivided command of the garrison, as an appointment constantly annexed to the dignity of his situation. The result of his remonstrance was a farther resolution of the states confirming and justifying the measure they had adopted. Finding that he could obtain nothing by the mode of remonstrance, the stadtholder withdrew himself from the Hague on the fourteenth of September 1785, with a resolution never to return to the palace of his ancestors, till he should be completely reinstated in the prerogatives with which they had been invested. Various were the reasons that induced him to this mode of proceeding. He was tired with the long and unprofitable controversy into which he had been drawn with the states, and neither he nor his ministers had been able to discover any line of conduct by which it could advantageously be terminated. Forbearance and delay had been found barren and unproductive. It was time to try the effect of contrary measures. The whole people of Holland would be struck with the necessity which had driven him from the seat of supreme power, and would feel more vividly than they had yet done, how unprovoked



ed and undeserved had been the extremities that had been employed against him. The inhabitants of the Hague depended upon his court for the half of their subsistence, and would join to compel the states to pacific proceedings. All the princes of Europe would be struck with the misfortunes of so illustrious an exile. Great Britain, in whose cause he had suffered, and whose influence in Holland so evidently depended upon the continuance of his power, would loudly declare herself in his favour; and the king of Prussia, the uncle of his consort, would bring forth his innumerable troops to revenge his multiplied wrongs.

If the oligarchical party were judicious in seizing upon and improving every opportunity that favoured their designs, it is equally true that the opportunities which occurred were beyond all expectation auspicious to the revolution they meditated. The war with Great Britain had struck a deep and dangerous blow at the power of the stadtholder, at the same time that it had been the natural occasion of leading the republic into the alliance, and putting them under obligations to the generosity of the court of France. The incroachments and the plan of resumptions, that had been formed by the emperor, obliged them to advance still farther in the same direction. The claims of Maastricht and the Schelde inevitably thrust the Dutch out of the habits of confederacy, in which they had stood during the present century with Great Britain and the house of Austria. Of course she was obliged to recur to the example of a more distant period, and the intervention of the French king in saving them from the humiliation that would otherwise have

been imposed upon them by the emperor, gave him a title to their most fervent gratitude. Such were the events, which constituted the field upon which politicians were to display their ingenuity; and the profoundness and sagacity of the leaders of the party in the states of Holland on the one side, together with the dexterity and intimation of the ministry of Versailles on the other, derived every possible advantage from so uncommon a situation. The inquisition into the failure of the expedition to Brest in the month of September 1782, was not the least important engine in the hands of these able statesmen.

This inquisition had commenced in the close of the year 1783. But, owing partly to the obstacles, which, either in appearance or reality, were opposed to its progress by the party of the stadtholder, and partly to the tardiness of all proceedings in this complicated republic, the commissioners appointed for this purpose, did not make their report till the month of June 1785. In this paper no accusations were brought home to the prince of Orange or his ministers. Many judicious remarks were exhibited upon the imperfection of the constitution of the admiralties of Holland. It seems, that, according to the standing orders of their navy, the captains of each ship in the service of government, were obliged to take provisions on board at their own risque; and were not permitted to charge any more to the public account than appeared to have been actually consumed. Owing to this injudicious regulation, the commanders were in the habit of providing their ships with as small a store of provisions as the exigency of the public service would allow; and the admiralties, aware of the scantiness of the demand,



demand, did not keep their magazines in sufficient abundance to supply any sudden and unforeseen occasion. In the mean time the commissioners, though they admitted the disadvantages under which the squadron consequently laboured, did not allow them to amount to an evident impossibility of performing the voyage to Brest. They maintained that the commanders of the squadron had allowed themselves too wide a discretion upon the subject, and were unjustifiable, after having received the positive orders of the states, in assuming to judge for themselves upon the expediency and eligibleness of the measure. The criminal prosecution of the officers, though not directly recommended, seemed to be the inevitable inference from the report of the commissioners.

The close of the year 1784, should appear actually to have terminated all prospect of a war between the emperor and Holland. The decisive and peremptory countenance that was then assumed by the court of France, and the humane aversion to war, that we have remarked in the imperial claimant, amounted to a sufficient guarantee of the truth of this prediction. But a secret determination not to enter upon actual hostilities, did not preclude the emperor from gaining as much as he could in the mode of negotiation. This way of thinking in the court of Vienna, together with the reluctance of the Dutch in yielding to any important concession, drew out the settlement of the affair, and afforded a theme for the conjectures of speculators during the greater part of the year 1785. A condition required by the emperor, before he would admit of any interview between his ambassadors and the commissioners of Hol-

land, was the sending on the part of the Dutch, two envoys to the capital of their adversary, whose business should be to make a formal and public submission and apology to the emperor, for the insult that had been committed upon his flag in the affair of Lillo. To this condition the Dutch were obliged to submit, and the barons Wassenaer and Leyden, two very distinguished members of the nobility of the republic were selected for this purpose, and executed their commission on the twenty-fifth of July. The humiliation was undoubtedly such, as could scarcely have been expected to take place between two equal powers; and such an ostentation of hauteur on the part of the head of the empire, would in other circumstances have excited an universal indignation in Europe. But the character of the emperor was too well understood, and his versatility and want of system too notorious, to render the measure in the present instance in any degree alarming.

The conferences were now opened without delay between the ambassadors of Holland and Austria at the court of Versailles, under the auspices of the count de Vergennes. The discussion however was yet far from being easy; and the emperor, having long insisted in vain upon the cession of Maestricht, now changed his demand into that of a considerable sum of money, as a compensation for his claim upon this important fortress. The amount of this sum was eagerly debated; and at length, after both sides had yielded somewhat in their determinations upon the subject, it was fixed that nine millions five hundred thousand florins should be the compensation for Maestricht, and five hundred thousand florins for the damage which had been suffer-



ed by the Austrian farmers, from the inundations of Lillo; the whole being equal to 750,000 pounds sterling. This was the principal article of the treaty, the preliminaries of which were signed on the twelfth of September. The emperor at the same time renounced his claims upon Maestricht, and the Dutch agreed to destroy the forts of Kruickshank and Frederic Henry, and to cede to the emperor the forts of Liefkenshoek and Lillo, with their fortifications. The definitive treaty was concluded on the eighth of November.

A treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance had been for some time in negociation between the courts of France and the Hague, and it was concluded with respect to its substance, in the beginning of the present year. From an idea of what it was that was becoming in the office of a mediator, which was the situation in which France stood between Holland and the emperor, the publication of the treaty was suppressed, till the final arrangement should be formed of the differences between these two powers. It accordingly appeared from authority on the tenth of November, two days after the signature of the definitive treaty of peace. Thus it was that the party of the states in the republic of Holland, arrived at one of the most considerable ob-

jects in their system of politics. The alliance between the governments of Versailles and the Hague was of the most intimate and cordial nature. They agreed for mutual assistance in all cases of attack that should be made upon either party, the auxiliary force to be proportioned to the occasion, and its expences to be defrayed by the government by which it was furnished. Such indeed are the nature of the articles, that, taken together, they seemed to amount to a counterpart of the celebrated family compact. A revolution of a very memorable nature was thus introduced into the affairs of Europe. The policy, which had been voluntarily chosen by Louis the Fourteenth, and which had afterwards been continued contrary to the inclinations of France, by the powers which had entered into alliance against him, was now reversed. The ambitious ideas of universal monarchy, which had scarcely been formed by that monarch, and had speedily been renounced, ceased to be any longer the terror of the neighbouring countries. France, from being avoided as a monster, entered once more into the list of the members of the European commonwealth, and was considered upon a level with her neighbours in the delineations of policy, and the speculations of commerce.

#### C H A P T E R IV.

*Meeting of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Address. Alteration of the Mutiny Bill. Duke of Richmond's Fortifications rejected. Bill for regulating the Militia. Mr. Marjhan's Election Bill. Lord Mahon's Bill.*

**T**HERE were two trains of events, which took place in the year 1785, and which might be expected to have considerable influence upon the proceedings of the session of 1786, the third session of the



the existing parliament. Trade and commerce had always been the object of a very principal attention of the ministry of Great Britain; and now that the tranquility of Europe was once again restored, and that we had been weaned by a series of the most mortifying humiliations from the ideas of conquest and warlike splendor, it was to be expected that we should return with double elasticity to so favourite a pursuit. It was necessary to this end, if the ideas of national independence and political consequence should even be put out of the consideration, that we should maintain an alliance and good understanding with some of the more considerable powers of the continent. The events of 1785 were by no means favourable to either of these views. When the public alarm was excited by the discovery of the meditated exchange of Bavaria, the king of Great Britain was induced, as elector of Hanover, to enter into a league with the king of Prussia, the elector of Saxony, and certain other princes, for maintaining the independence of the Germanic constitution, and defending the indivisibility of the empire. The particulars of this league, which was concluded on the 23d of July, will naturally come before us, when we proceed to treat of the concluding transactions of the life of the immortal Frederic. In the mean time it was suggested, that this treaty was extremely inimical to the interests of Great Britain, since, of all the powers of the continent, the emperor was supposed to be one of our most natural allies; and since he would not fail to be irritated by the circumstance of the British sovereign entering into an alliance that had first been instituted in direct opposition to his views.

Other events of the year 1785, had a more immediate connection with the balance of commerce. A convention had been concluded on the first of July 1784, between the courts of Stockholm and Versailles, and was published in the spring of 1785. The object of this treaty was to cede to the French, on the part of Sweden, the port of Gottenburg at the entrance of the Baltic, as a free port and magazine of commerce, in the room of Wismar in the circle of Lower Saxony, which had been selected for that purpose by a convention concluded between these powers in the year 1741, and which was said to be found inadequate to this purpose. In return for this valuable concession, the court of France ceded to the king of Sweden, in full sovereignty, the island of Saint Bartholomew in the West Indies. An edict was published on the seventeenth of July 1785, by the court of France, absolutely prohibiting the sale of various English manufactures within that kingdom, particularly sadlery, hosiery, woollen cloths, and hardware; and permitting them to be purchased by individuals for their own consumption, subject to a double duty of thirty per cent. in the first instance, and ten pence in the pound in the second. An edict still more important and alarming was published in the month of December by the emperor, totally prohibiting the importation of British manufactures through every part of the Austrian dominions. In opposition to these proceedings, by which the commerce of England must eventually be narrowed, a treaty was at this time negotiating with the court of Petersburg, and another more memorable in its nature, and considerable in its consequences, was opened



opened relatively to the subject of commerce, with the court of Versailles. This was undertaken in pursuance of a provision for that purpose, in the definitive treaty of peace, and the negociator appointed, under the appellation of envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary, on the ninth of December, was Mr. William Eden. This appointment was the object of considerable animadversion, and was represented as a signal example of political apostacy, since Mr. Eden had been both the original projector of the celebrated coalition in 1783, and a principal mover of the strong resolutions against the administration of Mr. Pitt, in the commencement of 1784.

Beside the considerations of commerce, together with that of the national debt, which naturally fell under the discussion of the session of parliament upon which we are about to enter, there were some circumstances which tended to revive at this time the inexhaustible subject of our oriental politics. Many of the provisions of Mr. Pitt's India bill had been very little relished by the European inhabitants of that country, particularly those which took from them the trial by jury, and which established an inquisition into the amount of the fortunes they accumulated; and several petitions were remitted from India in relation to this subject. Mr. Hastings, who had governed Bengal during the space of near thirteen years, and who by his conduct had furnished so many subjects of acrimonious discussion to the English parliament, had quitted Calcutta in the month of January, and arrived at Falmouth on the sixteenth of June. Lord Macartney, the great rival and antagonist of Mr. Hastings,

had been appointed his successor in the government general on the twenty-seventh of February; but owing to his disapprobation of the measure of relinquishing the assignment of the nabob of Arcot, or to some other circumstance, he did not think proper to accept the office, and, having quitted India, arrived in England on the ninth of January 1786. Mr. Hastings was therefore succeeded in his government by Mr. John Macpherson, senior counsellor on the spot, the first object of whose administration was to introduce several reforms in our Indian government, and retrenchments in our establishments in that country.

The commencement of the session took place on the twenty-fourth of January. In the speech from the throne, the king informed his parliament, that the disputes, which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquility of Europe, had been brought to an amicable conclusion, and that he continued to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition. At home, his subjects experienced the growing blessings of peace in the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increase of the public credit. He farther observed, that the resolutions of the last session for the adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, had been by his direction communicated to the parliament of that kingdom, but that no effectual step had hitherto been taken by which they could be enabled to make any further progress in that salutary work. He remarked to the House of Commons, that it was his earnest wish to enforce economy in every department; at the same time that he particularly recommended



commended to them the maintenance of our naval strength on the most respectable footing, and above all the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. The flourishing state of the revenue would, he trusted, enable them to effect this important measure with little addition to the public burthens. The vigour and resources of the country so fully manifested in its present situation, would animate parliament to the consideration of such measures as should be necessary, in order to give farther security to the revenue, and to promote and extend to the utmost the trade and general industry of the nation.

The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Morton and lord Fortescue, and it was proposed as an amendment by earl Fitzwilliam, that the paragraph, relating to the late negotiation with Ireland, should be omitted, as containing sentiments which could not receive the approbation of himself, and other lords, who had constantly exerted themselves for its defeat. The different circumstances relative to the present condition of Great Britain and Europe, were animadverted upon at some length by earl Fitzwilliam and lord viscount Stormont, and the debate was conducted with spirit on both sides of the house. Similar ground was taken in the debate in the house of commons. The address was moved by Mr. Smyth, member for Pomfret, and Mr. Addington, member for the town of the Devises; and the amendment was proposed by the earl of Surrey. Lord Surrey entered into some expostulation with administration upon the subject, and enquired, what necessity there existed for mention-

ing the resolutions, after the declaration from the throne, that no farther progress could be made respecting them.

Mr. Fox, among a great variety of subjects, upon which he descanted, enlarged particularly upon the political situation of this country in relation to foreign powers. He observed, that, although all public treaties were avowedly of a defensive nature, yet this was a pretence which could not deceive an enlightened politician. The treaty, therefore, into which the house of Bourbon had persuaded the states of the United Provinces to enter, and which effectually secured Holland in their hands, was to be considered as a treaty hostile to this country. That it had been unadvisable and impolitic for the states general to enter into this treaty he verily believed; but, as the treaty was made and executed, it behoved administration to be vigilant in engaging in alliance with other European powers. The last war had sufficiently shown the ill consequences that arose from the neglect of this policy. What was the case at present? France was safe, by her family compact as to any fear from Spain; and she had now quieted all possibility of dread from Holland. Her only cause of alarm therefore was the court of Vienna, and that, notwithstanding all former assurances of good fellowship, and the still more endearing bonds of family connection, was a constant and serious source of alarm. But this cause of terror we had put to rest, having, by our late conduct in relation to the Germanic league, given his imperial majesty great disgust, and rendered his feelings hostile to Great Britain. This was the only circumstance France had left to desire; and this circumstance



we had provided gratis, at a moment when she would have paid any price to obtain it. The most sanguine dreamer of national good fortune in that country could not have pictured to himself the possibility of such a prosperous event. Mr. Fox spoke with equal warmth of the degree, in which we ought to value the alliance of Russia. We had passed over the most favourable opportunity that could have arisen, when the empress had settled her differences with the Porte on the subject of the Crimea; but he was happy to understand from good authority, that a negotiation had now been opened for this desirable purpose.

Mr. Fox ridiculed the peculiar time that had been chosen by administration for several important proceedings. Last year, after the propositions had come over from Ireland, and just as the British parliament was called upon to vote them, the new board of trade proceeded to enquire, whether they were such as it was fit for either country to adopt. In the same manner sir James Harris had presented a memorial to the states general, in opposition to the treaty with France, but unfortunately not till a fortnight after that treaty had been concluded. In the case of the commercial treaty, for the negotiation of which we had just appointed an envoy, the time chosen for sending him out was equally singular. By the treaties of 1782, a treaty of commerce was to be negotiated between this country and France, on or before the first of January 1786. Mr. Fox declared that he had no opinion of any advantage resulting to this country, from a commercial treaty between Great Britain and France. The moment in which we had quitted every con-

nection of this sort with that country, was the very era he would chuse to assign, in which England had grown great, prosperous and flourishing.

Mr. Pitt declared in reply to Mr. Fox, that he should by no means take upon him to enter into the defence of the Germanic league, as he was ready to confess, that, whatever might prove either the merit or demerit of that measure, he and his colleagues in office, were by no means entitled to plume themselves on the former, or to take shame to themselves in consequence of the latter. As to the connection with Hanover, it was accident alone which had placed the sovereignty of that country and of this in the same hands; and he desired to have it understood, that Great Britain was by no means committed by any league entered into by the elector of Hanover; nor did he think it incumbent upon the minister of this country, to lay before parliament, except in some singular cases, the arrangements that might have been made by the advice of the ministers of that electorate. The only way for Great Britain to avoid embroiling herself in the quarrels of Hanover, was, for our administration to stand as much as possible unconnected with Hanoverian politics.

Mr. Fox ridiculed the distinction of Mr. Pitt, and put a variety of cases to illustrate his assertion. It might hereafter happen, that circumstances would make it an essential act of policy in Great Britain, to join the court of Vienna, and to proceed in opposition to the league of the Germanic princes. In the supposition of such an event, could the British troops act against those of Hanover? Or to make the case stronger, and yet to assume what was very possible; suppose the elec-



tor of Hanover was to head his troops in person, and this would be by no means a new event, who would say, that the British army could be directed to act hostilely against troops led by their sovereign, in the character of elector of Hanover. Mr. Fox appealed to historical example to prove the absurdity of the doctrine advanced by Mr. Pitt. King George the First had entered into a treaty with Denmark for the purchase of Bremen and Verden, and of consequence had drawn down upon him the vengeance of Sweden, and the threat of an invasion, the most alarming and the most dangerous to the liberties of Englishmen of any they had ever had occasion to expect. General Stanhope, at that time the minister of the crown, had, when the treaty was first heard of, come down to that house, and used precisely the same sort of language as that uttered by Mr. Pitt. He had talked of the separate interests of Great-Britain and Hanover, and had said, that the British parliament had nothing to do with the conduct of his majesty respecting his electoral dominions. But what was the consequence? The very next year general Stanhope was obliged to alter his tone, and urged the expences, to which the king was exposed in consequence of his purchase, as a plea for the demand of additional supplies. The amendment was rejected in both houses, and the address carried in the affirmative without a division.

One of the subjects which early engaged the attention of parliament was relative to the mutiny bill, which it has been usual to renew annually, but which, on account of the regularity of its form, and the notoriety of its clauses, was usually passed over without any

particular notice. In the present session a variation was introduced into this bill, the tendency of which was to include, as the subjects of military law, not only officers in actual service, as had formerly been done, but officers upon half pay, and officers who were constituted such by brevet, without receiving any emolument as the appendage of their rank. This alteration excited little notice in the house of commons; and was objected to in a very cursory way, on the report of the committee upon the mutiny bill on the sixteenth of March, by colonel Fitzpatrick and general Burgoyne, who, having called for a division upon the question, the numbers appeared, ayes, for the intended clause, 79, noes 17.

In the house of lords the matter was taken up in a more serious way, and was the subject of considerable animadversion. An amendment upon the proposed clause was first moved by lord Stormont, by which the operation of military law should be extended beyond what it had formerly stood, at least according to the express words of the mutiny bill, to include officers who might be called into action by letter of service, by an order from the war-office, or otherwise, but restricting it to such as were in actual employment. In support of this amendment, lord Stormont had recourse to the history of martial law in the preceding centuries. In ancient times every man bore arms, and was liable to be called forth in the service of his country; and of consequence military law was exercised upon every man, while he was in actual service, and no longer. Thus those princes, who had little power in respect of civil government, enjoyed an almost unlimited authority, when at the head



of their subjects embodied as an army; and thus magistrates, whose authority was circumscribed at home, assumed a right of punishing with great severity, when acting as commanders of troops. For two years during the reign of George the Second, half pay officers had been expressly included in the mutiny bill; a circumstance which occasioned great uneasiness in the public at large, and was much resisted and debated by both houses of parliament. Accordingly when men had grown more moderate upon the subject, that provision had been withdrawn from the bill, and it had been omitted ever since. Lord Stormont said, that he felt no particular disposition to compliment the present ministry, when he declared, that he did not believe they had any sinister intention in making the alteration in question. But they had negligently or carelessly adopted a clause, of the serious and alarming consequences of which they were not sufficiently aware.

Lord Sydney observed in reply, that several instances had lately occurred, which suggested the propriety of the alteration of the mutiny bill, that was now submitted to the decision of the house. He alluded to the case of general Stuart, who, having been a major-general by brevet only, and having demanded a court martial to enquire into his conduct, had not been deemed by administration to be liable to be tried by military law. The case of general Ross, who was charged with the publication of a libel against general sir Robert Boyd, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, and who on that account had been referred by the sovereign to a trial by a court martial, but whose intended trial had been superseded by an unanimous

opinion of the twelve judges, was supposed to have been more intimately concerned in occasioning the alteration of the mutiny bill, and was accordingly stated by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons. Lord Sydney added that there were many military officers who were not "mustered," the term by which those liable to military law were described in mutiny bills, such as governors, lieutenant-governors and others; and surely it could not but be thought perfectly reasonable, that officers, likely to exercise command, should, for their conduct during such exercise, become amenable to the trial of a court-martial.

These instances were not admitted to be cases in point by the lords in opposition. General Stuart was indeed a major-general by brevet only; but he had a captain's commission in the army, and received pay as such, and was of consequence a subject perfectly competent to military trial. The case of general Ross was a case of that description of persons, who neither were, nor ought to be, capable of a trial by court-martial. It was observed by lord Loughborough, that, according to the constitution of this country, a standing army was illegal. The necessities of the state had indeed rendered the maintenance of such an army a matter of expediency; but it had always been the subject of extreme parliamentary jealousy. The mutiny bill was a bill which it behoved their lordships to watch; and every, even the slightest alteration, in an act of this nature, ought to be well weighed, and attentively considered, before it was adopted. The arguments of lord Sydney were too futile to be considered as the foundation of so important a measure; and lord Loughborough must therefore still remain



incapable of divining, upon what rational ground administration rested their proceedings, or could justify the innovation. People without doors, he feared, would construe it into a secret, but determined design, in the present government, to sap the constitution; and would apprehend that they were proceeding by rapid strides to effect their purpose. They one day, none knew upon what pretence, took away the trial by jury from a large description of subjects at home; and another day they did the same with respect to a set of gentlemen who were serving their country in India. Severe was the hardship of subjecting men in civil life to be tried by courts-martial, not only for offences at this time known and defined in the articles of war, but for offences as yet unknown, and which the sovereign had hereafter the power to create. Too manifest was the injustice of such treatment towards persons, who desired no emolument from the rank which they held in the army. On this occasion he considered it as his indispensable duty, to advise government, unless they had determined upon a mere wanton exercise of power, upon an action to show that all law was to originate in their pleasure, nor precipitately to embrace a proceeding pregnant with the most fatal consequences.

The earl of Sandwich expressed his surprise that an innovation of such an alarming magnitude should be received with indifference. Formerly any extension of the mutiny bill would have set the people in a flame. It was no uncommon thing for noblemen and people of family to take out a brevet commission for various purposes, as a matter of convenience, or for a temporary object. He had himself done so in the year

1745, when several other peers as well as he, raised regiments and went against the rebels. Was it fair, that upon this account he should be deprived of his birth-right and be refused a trial by his peers? Was it the intention of administration to make use of this odious provision, as a threat in terrorem over the members of that house, and as a means of moulding parliament to their purposes? The amendment of lord Stormont being rejected, upon a division, ayes 42, noes 18, it was renewed in a different form, first by lord Loughborough, and then by viscount Townshend. It was supported by the duke of Manchester, the earl of Carlisle, lord Rawdon, and lord Portchester; and was opposed by lord Thurlow and the earl of Effingham.

An object, which engrossed much of the attention of parliament and the public, during the period of which we are treating, related to the plan of fortifications, which had originally been suggested by the duke of Richmond. As a matter of revenue it had been the design to vote for this purpose 50,000*l.* per annum, till the whole should be completed, or should be brought into a condition of considerable forwardness. But this design was interrupted in consequence of a disposition, displayed by a considerable party in the house of commons, and by the country gentlemen, to disapprove of the measure. In the preceding session, in consequence of the immediate suggestion of colonel Barré, a board of land and sea officers was proposed to be appointed to investigate the merits of the system; and, in the mean time, not only no additional sum was voted for the purpose in the committee of supply, but it was agreed



by administration, that the sum of 50,000*l.* voted in the year 1784, but not yet expended, should be reserved, till the matter had undergone a complete investigation. The board of officers was appointed under his majesty's sign manual on the thirteenth of April 1785. The names, which were originally proposed as standing at the head of this list, were general Conway, lord Amherst and lord viscount Townshend; but each of these thought proper to decline taking any share in the business, in consequence of the duke of Richmond, their junior as an officer, being appointed to preside at the board. The names of those who actually assisted were lieutenant-generals earl Percy, earl Cornwallis, sir Guy Carleton, sir William Howe, sir David Lindsay, sir Charles Grey, lord George Lenox and John Burgoyne, together with six major-generals. The naval officers were, vice-admirals Barrington and Milbank, rear-admirals Graves and lord Hood, together with captains Hotham, Macbride, Bowyer, Luttrell, sir John Jervis, and sir Andrew Snape Hammond. Their report was made to the king on the 24th of June following.

The estimate of the ordnance was brought up in the committee of supply on the tenth of February; and upon this occasion Mr. Pitt thought proper to give some account to the house of the proceedings of the board of officers, and of the nature of their report. He paid many compliments to the names of the officers, and to the sincerity and assiduity with which they had exerted themselves in the business. Several specific subjects were originally proposed to them for their enquiry, among which they were particularly called upon to ascertain, whe-

ther our dock-yards at Plymouth and Portsmouth could be thought safe and defensible in the event of war, by a naval force alone, by a military force alone, or by a naval and military force combined. To this their answer was, that neither a naval nor a military force, nor even an union of both, were by any means a sufficient security for the dock-yards, independent of fortification. They were farther directed to examine whether the plans of fortification proposed by the master-general of the ordnance were sufficiently calculated for the purpose, and were such as were eligible to be adopted. To this they had replied, that, on the most mature deliberation and diligent enquiry, the plans alluded to were thought perfectly adequate to the defence intended, and were the most eligible that could be suggested, not only as being the least expensive in the construction, but also as requiring a smaller force to man them, than any other that could be proposed. They likewise received instructions to report to the king such other remarks as might occur to them, independently of the particular points specifically selected, and which they might think conducive to the public advantage in that department; and they had consequently suggested many useful hints of a miscellaneous and general nature, which he trusted might be employed to considerable advantage. After their report had been completed, the plans had been farther referred to the board of engineers, with directions to estimate the expence of carrying them into execution. This estimate he had now brought up for the information of the house; but they must see how imprudent it would be for him to lay before the public a matter of so



serious and delicate a nature, as the report of the naval and military officers respecting so important a subject as the defence of our dock-yards.

The adversaries of the fortifications were by no means satisfied with the withholding entirely the report of the board of officers, though they admitted the propriety there might be for reserving certain parts which it might not be safe publicly to divulge. Mr. Sheridan observed, that, unless such a discrimination were made, and unless the report were in some degree brought before the house, they were exactly in the same situation, in which they had stood before their board was appointed; and instead of having the question fully before them as Mr. Pitt had promised, not on the assertion of an individual, of a minister, or of any man in office, but on the authority of a number of naval and military officers of known character, experience and integrity, they would still have nothing but the bare assertion of the minister, as a guide to their judgment. He would not entertain a doubt but that Mr. Pitt intended to be accurate in his statement, and that he had delivered what he conceived to be a correct account of the outlines of the report. But the report might be liable to different constructions, and it was necessary that the house should be enabled to judge of it by actual inspection.

The observations of Mr. Sheridan were strengthened by general Burgoyne, who thought himself obliged in some measure to take care, lest, in consequence of a reprehensible silence, he should be considered as admitting the suggestions of Mr. Pitt in their utmost extent, as a correct representation of the report of the board. He hoped and

trusted the minister would lay before the house as much of the report, as might be submitted to public perusal without violation of discretion, or danger to the state. Unless this were done, it was impossible for the house to determine justly with regard to the sentiments of the members of the board. It was well known that cases hypothetically put, admitted only of a direct answer given under the admission of the hypothesis. It remained to be ascertained, whether the case, which was put hypothetically, was a case sufficiently within probability to deserve attention. He would by no means betray any state secret, or be guilty of a breach of the confidence, under the seal of which he stood as a member of the board in question; but without fearing to incur this imputation, he would say, that several of the cases which had been submitted were mere postulata, and were hypothetically as extravagant, as if it were asked, "Suppose by some strange convulsion of nature that the straits between Dover and Calais should be no more, and that the coasts should meet and unite, would it not be politic, expedient and absolutely necessary to fortify the isthmus, or neck of land between France and England?" General Burgoyne had ever entertained a high opinion of the military skill of the duke of Richmond; but he had found him more expert and scientific in engineering than his partiality had suggested; and of consequence, though he had spent a great part of his life in the practice of tactics, he had returned from the board with fresh information upon the subject. There was a mode, general Burgoyne observed, of constructing a syllogism, by multiplying and branching out the main



main proposition into numerous others, and placing it in a variety of points of view by means of questions, so put, that human reason could not withhold its assent to any one of the particulars, and yet the mind of every man would revolt from the general result. Upon this occasion he flattered himself the house would give him credit for not considering the question relative to the fortifications with any party impression or bias. The question was beyond the reach of party; it was in his mind the most important and the most interesting, whether considered as a question of science, of revenue, or of constitution, that was ever submitted to the decision of parliament.

It appeared in the progress of the business, that the objections of general Burgoyne had been supported by earl Percy, and that their opinions had been in many respects hostile to the intended system; though they were charged by Mr. Pitt with inconsistency, in having given, to the earlier questions that were offered to them, answers favourable to the ideas of the duke of Richmond. Captain Macbride, one of the naval officers, was pointed in his condemnation of the whole system, and his assertion of the utter inutility of all kinds of fortification for the national defence; and he assured the house that his opinion had also the sanction of admiral Barrington. The majority however of the board, appears to have been greatly in favour of the system, and there was in no case, to the questions that were put, either to the naval or military officers, an entry of more than three dissents out of the whole number.

The disputes, that were thus excited respecting the real opinions of the members of the board, appear

to have given additional animation to the leaders of either party; and Mr. Sheridan was so sanguine as to declare, that, if the papers that were demanded from administration were granted, and if they bore out Mr. Pitt in the representation he had made of the report in all its parts, he would for one abandon all idea of opposing the proposal of suffering the money in question to be applied to the fortifications. Mr. Pitt in return, took up the pledge of Mr. Sheridan, and replied, that, if it should ultimately appear that the report of the board of officers did not fully and explicitly justify the measure, he would himself entirely relinquish it, and not require a shilling from parliament for the purpose of carrying it into execution. Mr. Viner, on the thirteenth of February, moved a call of the house, for the purpose of giving greater solemnity to this important deliberation. The motion however was opposed by Mr. Pitt, as calculated to create an unnecessary delay; and the house having divided, the numbers appeared, ayes 54, noes 100. The greater part of the papers that were demanded were granted by administration, and the question was not brought forward for ultimate decision, till a fortnight subsequent to the motion of Mr. Viner.

On this occasion Mr. Pitt observed, that it had been his original intention, to have suffered the matter of the fortifications to have been decided by a sort of indirect vote in the committee of supply; but, from the extraordinary degree of censure and animadversion it had experienced, and from the determined opposition which it seemed to be the intention of many to exert, he was induced to wish, that a different method of arguing the question



should be adopted, and that the matter should be brought forward in the most specific and solemn manner. He accordingly moved a resolution, "that it appeared to the house, that to provide effectually for securing the dock yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth by a permanent system of fortification, founded upon the most economical principles, and requiring the smallest number of troops possible to answer the purpose of such security, was an essential object for the safety of the state, intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom, and necessary to enable the fleet to act with full vigour and effect, for the protection of commerce, the support of our distant possessions, and the prosecution of offensive operations in any war, in which the nation might hereafter be engaged."

To prove the utility of the fortifications, Mr. Pitt appealed to the unfortunate and calamitous situation in which we were placed in the late war. A considerable part of our fleet was confined to our ports, in order to protect our dock yards; and thus we were obliged, to do what Great Britain had never before done, to carry on a defensive war, a war, in which we were under the necessity of wasting our resources, and impairing our strength without any prospect of any possible benefit by which to mitigate our distress. Mr. Pitt felt the question to be a portion of that momentous system, which challenged from its nature the vigilance and support of every administration. Shame and affliction were brought upon us by the American war. Was the house ready to stand responsible to posterity, for a repetition of similar misfortunes and disgrace? Were they willing to take upon themselves the hazard of transmitting to the next

generation the dangers and calamities which they had themselves so bitterly experienced?

Mr. Pitt observed, that the question was not now for the first time to be discussed, and that from what had passed in the house in the last session he thought there was very little room, compatibly with consistency of conduct, for the opposition which was intended to be given to the present measure. Parliament had then seemed to be aware, that they were not competent to such an enquiry, as was necessary towards forming a proper judgment upon the subject. It had been on all hands agreed that it was in a great measure a question of confidence, and they had therefore acquiesced in his proposal of sending it to the arbitration of a board of land and sea officers, to be constituted for that express purpose. The board had consisted of every thing that was great and respectable in the two professions, and they had given to the subject a higher degree of consideration and research, than had ever been known on such an occasion in any other age or country. The report, which had been made, was in itself so direct and conclusive as to the necessity of the measure, that it ought completely to determine the question, whatever authority it might be thought proper to ascribe to the reasons that had been assigned of a collateral nature.

Mr. Pitt was very assiduous in removing the objections, that had been advanced in order to diminish the credit of the report. He observed, that it had been imputed to administration, that the instructions given to the board of officers were such, as confined them to the necessity of coming to one certain result, by means of data proposed to their



consideration, which were merely hypothetical, and afforded no latitude to them for the exercise of their judgment. But how was it possible this should be the case, when the two first data if granted, decided upon the necessity of establishing fortifications, and when the whole board were unanimous in admitting them? Was it credible, that such men could have been duped by chimerical hypotheses, so absurd and extravagant as to be tantamount to a convulsion of nature? The principal data upon which several parts of the report proceeded, were also not the original data referred to the board; but such as they thought necessary to introduce, and substitute, as a foundation for their ultimate opinions.

The objection upon which some reliance had been placed respecting the dissent of certain members of the board, had already been sufficiently investigated. Earl Percy and general Burgoyne had joined with the rest of the board in the first opinions, with respect to the necessity of fortifications; but they afterwards by a subsequent proposition declared, that, though necessary, they were useless, because we were not masters of a sufficient military force to man them. If this were the case, our situation must be deplorable in the extreme. Mr. Pitt felt himself in a painful situation at being obliged to canvas the opinion of a nobleman in his absence: the nation however need not despond at the prospect, thus unintentionally, he was convinced, presented to them by the nobleman in question. The papers, laid upon the table in consequence of motions made by the enemies of the measure, clearly refuted this opinion. It appeared, that in the year 1779 we had about fifty three thousand men in Eng-

land, who were constantly and uniformly increasing, till, in the year 1782, they amounted to seventy-one thousand. Beside all this our forces in Great Britain bore scarcely any proportion to those, which we were obliged to distribute through our then extensive dominions, and which, from our present situation, it was not likely would be so much scattered in a future war. It was therefore absurd to imagine, as some persons had done, that any necessity would ensue from this measure of augmenting the standing army. The board of officers had declared, that the plan of fortification proposed, was not only the best calculated for the defence of the dock-yards, but that it was such as was capable of being served with the smallest number of troops. They had added yet a farther recommendation, and affirmed, that the system was calculated even in an unfinished and imperfect state, to afford great means of defence, and that every part of the fortifications, though wanting all other assistance, would prove highly advantageous and useful.

It had been one objection with the enemies of the system, that the idea of fortification was new and unprecedented in this country. But this assertion Mr. Pitt was prepared to combat in the most direct and positive manner. He appealed to the statutes of king Henry the Eighth, for the truth of his observation. The same policy was observed by queen Elizabeth, and formed a considerable part of the defence provided by that great princess against the expected attack of the armada. During the reign of the house of Stuart, the same system was occasionally continued. Under queen Anne, when the victories of the British arms were forming the admiration



miration of Europe, our ancestors did not think it incompatible with their fame or their liberties, to apply a considerable sum to the fortifying the most vulnerable parts of their coasts. In the war before the last, not indeed the last war, the war of contrast with the last, a period to which it might be supposed he was somewhat partial, a war in which the name of Britain was exalted above the highest and the proudest of the nations, the same system of policy had been pursued, and the idea of fortifications had been extended even to so inconsiderable a place as Milford-haven in South Wales.

As to the expence attending the building of the works, he flattered himself, that his sentiments on the finances of his country were not a back ground figure in his political character. It was too well known how much his feelings were engaged, not only by the duties of his station, and the propensities of his mind, but by considerations of his personal reputation, which was deeply committed in the question, to exert every nerve, to arm all his vigilance, and to concentrate his efforts towards that great object, by which alone we could have a prospect of transmitting to our posterity that source of ease and comfort of which ourselves were in want, an efficient sinking fund for the liquidation of the national debt. But he was not to be seduced by the plausible and popular, he would change his language, and say the sacred name of œconomy, to forego the reality, and for the sake of adding a few hundred thousands more to the sinking fund, render perhaps for ever abortive the sinking fund itself.

Mr. Pitt observed, that there was a consideration which ought to have

more weight than any other, and this was, that the fortifications, being calculated to afford complete security to the dock-yards, would enable our fleet to go on remote services, and carry on the operations of war at a distance, without exposing the materials and seeds of future navies to destruction by the invasion of an enemy. It had been insinuated that the second datum in the instructions had proceeded upon the supposition of the fleets being absent for an improbable time. The fleet had been absent in the last war for a time, nearly equal to that which was supposed, upon a service with which this country could not have dispensed without sacrificing the most brilliant success of the war. Had we been then in fear of an attack upon our coasts, which from reasons, not proper to be mentioned, we happened not to be, Gibraltar and the renown of defending it must have been forever lost. But it was not only by foreign expeditions, that we might lose the aid of our fleet in case of an invasion; it might so happen, that the ships, though in the very channel, might be prevented by contrary winds, tides, and other contingencies, from arriving to the assistance and relief of the dock-yards. Upon the whole Mr. Pitt thought the present question was rather to be considered, as connected with our naval establishment, than with those either of the army or the ordnance. Were it to be asked, why the sum to be required for these fortifications had not been demanded for strengthening the navy, he would fairly answer, that the money, which would prove sufficient to accomplish these works, would not build so many ships as would serve for the defence of our most valuable harbours. There was besides



besides a certain degree beyond which the navy of this country could not go. There was a certain number of ships beyond which she could neither build nor man any more. The true limit he could not, nor would it be proper for him to assign; yet in the nature of things such a limit must exist. But there could never be any line drawn, to restrain the security which we ought to provide for our dock-yards.

What could be the reason, that made gentlemen on the other side of the house so anxious to impede the measure? Were they bold enough, to stake themselves upon a question of such awful magnitude, and to stand forward with decided vehemence as the opposers of a measure, which parliament, thinking itself incompetent to scrutinize, had referred to the highest professional authority, and about which the ministers of the crown, who could have no personal feelings upon the subject, except such, as, from considerations of their own ease and advantage, were hostile to the proceeding, declared themselves to be so much interested, as to be unable to rest upon their pillows so long as it remained in suspense? Mr. Pitt called upon the house to beware how they suffered themselves lightly to be drawn into a line of conduct, which might involve their posterity in accumulated evils; and he suggested to their recollection the remorse which they must feel, if they should hereafter find, that they had by an ill-timed pertinacity upon the present occasion brought upon their country calamity and ruin.

The opposition to the measure of the fortifications was opened by the country gentlemen. Mr. Bastard animadverted with much freedom upon the manner in which the

board of enquiry had been instituted, and the manœuvre by which three of its most skilful members had been excluded from taking their seats. He treated the scheme of fortifications of the duke of Richmond as not less chimerical and visionary, than the romantic absurdities of Don Quixotte. He dwelt with particular force upon the danger that he conceived would result to the constitution, and upon the desertion, which would thus be exhibited in the face of the world, of our natural defence, and the wooden walls of England. The nation had always entertained an extreme jealousy of whatever looked like an increase of the standing army. With respect to the militia, our more favourite defence, had it not derived its greatest recommendation from the circumstance of its members mixing so much with the people in their houses, and thus preserving their character as citizens, rather than holding themselves out as soldiers? The militia indeed had been called the school of the army; and this undesirable description would become fully justified by our shutting them up in fortresses, and keeping them separate from their fellow subjects. Their strong holds might then be denominated seminaries for soldiers, and universities for Prætorian bands. Mr. Bastard felt little difficulty in discovering, that the great object was to relinquish that method of defence, which from the prudent choice and sanction of our ancestors had risen into importance and celebrity. He for one could not repress his indignation at the idea of tearing the ensign of British glory from the mast head, and fixing it to the standard of the ramparts of a military garrison. He assured Mr. Pitt, that the sense of the country

was



was decidedly against his system; that the description of persons, by whom he would find himself opposed this day, were not actuated by party motives, or with a view to factious purposes; and that they stood up the impartial and independent advocates of their country.

Sir William Lemon pursued the objections of Mr. Bastard; and particularly observed how ill-timed it was, to recommend a plan of fortifications to the house, when it had not yet been ascertained whether our constitutional force, the militia, was to be called out annually or not. He did not impute any ill design to the present administration; but he conceived, that, in the hands of a weak prince and of wicked ministers, the proposed system might grow into a formidable engine of prerogative, and be turned against the freedom and constitution of Britain. Mr. Walwyn, lately elected member for the city of Hereford, begged leave to recommend it to Mr. Pitt voluntarily to abandon a measure, to which the public in general were extremely averse. He said that report had confidently affirmed, that the sentiments of the minister were not with the system, and that he was by no means its sincere advocate; and he hoped the report was true. Viscount Mahon justified the measure, and rested its defence in particular upon the circumstance, that the necessity of fortifications was admitted on all hands, and that the true question lay between the existing fortifications, which required a very large body of troops to man them, and the plan of the duke of Richmond, the tendency of which was to decrease the number of troops that would be requisite, and which therefore ought to be a favourite with those persons who entertained

a constitutional jealousy of a standing army. The system was farther defended by lord Hood, sir Charles Middleton, captain Berkeley, captain Bowyer, captain Luttrell, Mr. Hawkins Browne, and Mr. Dundas. It was opposed by general Burgoyne, Mr. Marsham, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Courtenay, lord North and Mr. Fox.

Captain Macbride treated the whole construction of the report in a style of the most sarcastic ridicule. He affirmed, that the duke of Richmond had employed the most astonishing art and finesse to endeavour to warp the opinions of the naval officers in favour of his system. Failing in that, he had recourse to a piece of mummery, which the captain described, and which had exposed the master-general to the ridicule of the whole country. The conduct of the duke through the whole progress of the affair was utterly unprecedented. He rather guided and dictated the decisions, than merely presided in the assembly. It had been the first board of officers that ever was constituted, where question and answer came from the president and the senior members. In every other case the junior officer gave his opinion first; in this the established mode of proceeding was completely reversed.

Colonel Barré renewed upon this occasion the opposition he had formerly given to the system of the duke of Richmond. He observed, that, when the house had done him the honour to adopt his advice in the last session, he certainly had not intended by a board of land and sea officers, a paltry, narrow, circumscribed plan, that should relate only to two particular spots of the island. He had had in his contemplation the conduct of the wisest princes that ever reigned, who at  
a period



a period of extreme peril had taken advantage of the collected wisdom of every thing that was experienced in both services in her kingdom. The board, which he had wished to see instituted, was a board of great, respectable and independent characters; men, who had no vote to give, no favours to look for, no frowns to fear; men, who would have done their duty without the consideration of whom the result would gratify, and whom it would displease. Their object was to have been to enquire into and report the best mode of defence of the kingdom. They would have acted upon a large scale, and taken an extensive survey of the whole. They would not have compressed their business into ten days at Portsmouth, and ten days at Plymouth, but would have employed a due proportion of time in the deliberate discharge of their duty. The duke of Richmond, colonel Barré acknowledged, had great abilities, and great assiduity. He was acute, scientific, and a perfect master of argument in debate. No wonder that he was too much for a set of brave officers, whose chief skill was to out with their lower deck tier and make ready for action. No wonder that the respectable officers who had constituted the board, whose characters he revered, and to whose authority he bowed in submission, were found incapable to cope with the duke in a logical contest. The colonel paid a very high compliment to the integrity and abilities of Mr. Pitt. He could not account for his having taken so active a part in the recommendation of so wild and useless a project, but by supposing that his conscience had been surprised, and that he also had fallen a sacrifice to the sophistry of the master-general.

Mr. Sheridan particularly distinguished himself in this debate. He immediately followed lord viscount Mahon; and he professed his sincere belief, that this nobleman would not vote for the measure in discussion, but upon the supposition that its tendency was to diminish the military power of the crown. Upon this ground therefore he would meet him, and he was sanguine enough to imagine, that he might be induced to alter the opinion he had delivered, unless he were restrained from exercising his free judgment upon the subject. This apprehension indeed might be conceived, from the horror which lord Mahon had lately expressed of a tory foe in another place, who both by sap and by storm had assailed those constitutional bulwarks, which this nobleman had so zealously endeavoured to erect for the defence of the rights of election. It was not unnatural to presume, that lord Mahon might have entered into a serious compact with the duke of Richmond, his former ally on the subject, for reciprocal assistance in their two favourite objects, by which lord Mahon was peremptorily to support the plan of fortifying the dock yards in that house, or the duke of Richmond would no longer engage to assist him in fortifying the constitution in the other.

Mr. Sheridan entered at some length into the part of the argument which related to the constitution. When we talked of a constitutional jealousy of the military power of the crown, what was the real object to which we pointed our suspicion? What, but that it was in the nature of kings to love power, and in the constitution of armies to obey kings. This doubtless was plain speaking upon a delicate subject, but the circumstances of the question



question demanded it; and he could not be suspected of alluding in the smallest degree either to the present monarch on the throne, or to the army now under his command. The possible existence however of sinister intentions and unfavourable circumstances, was that, which must enter into the mind of every man when he admitted an argument upon the subject. If this were not the case, we burlesqued and derided the wisdom of our ancestors in the provisions of the bill of rights, and made a mockery of the salutary and sacred reserve, with which for a limited period we annually entrusted the executive magistrate with the defence of the country. But this being admitted to be the ground of proceeding, what was it to which our attention should be directed? Were our apprehensions to point only at the length of the muster-roll? Were we to calculate the number of soldiers the king could encamp at Hounslow; or the force of the detachment he might spare to surround the lobby of the house of commons? No: the jet and substance of the question lay here; in what situation would the king and his evil advisers find themselves in a state of the greatest force and preparation, and most likely to receive the support of the military? In this point of view would no stress be given to the great and important distinction which had been urged, between troops elected and separated from their fellow-citizens in garrisons and forts, and men living scattered and entangled in all the common duties and connections of their countrymen? The fact was, that these strong military holds, if maintained as they must be in peace by full and disciplined garrisons, would in truth promise ten fold the means of curbing and

subduing the country, that could arise even from doubling the present establishment, with this extraordinary aggravation, that those very naval stores and magazines, the seeds and sources of future navies, the effectual preservation of which was the pretence for these unassailable fortresses, would in that case become a pledge and hostage in the hands of the crown: a circumstance, which, in a country like this, must insure an unconditional submission to the most extravagant claims that despotism could dictate.

Mr. Sheridan however asserted, that nothing could prove more fallacious than the idea, that a system of defence by fortifications could terminate in a retrenchment of the standing army. The grand fallacy of this argument must be obvious to every one in the supposition, that the system was to end with Portsmouth and Plymouth, and that the reasoning, upon which the extensive works for those places were justified, would not apply to other parts of the kingdom. To refute this idea, it was simply necessary to suppose the same board of officers, acting under the same instructions and deliberating with the same data, going a circuit round the the coasts of the kingdom. It was superfluous to dwell upon the circumstances, that no longer permitted us to consider Holland in future, otherwise than as a province of France, or that rendered it reasonable to look with an eye of apprehension to the neighbouring coast belonging to the emperor. It was not possible for the house to remain at a loss to discover various places, besides Chatham and Sheerness where extensive lines had actually been begun under the auspices of the duke of Richmond; which must necessarily



necessarily be provided for according to the new system. He wished, that some person would undertake to compute the stationary defence necessary for such places; in addition to the twenty two thousand men demanded for Portsmouth and Plymouth; to allow for any moving force in the county; and then to decide upon the chance, that this prolific system would terminate in a reduction of the standing army.

With respect to the probability of our being able to furnish men for the constant maintenance of these garrisons, he felt it requisite to observe, that the argument had been not a reference to our present peace establishment, but to the extent of the service during the most extravagant periods of the last war. This was in other words, to hold out a notion, that we might speedily again look to a time, when we should become able for the purpose of war to expend fifteen millions of money in the course of a single year. Was it recollected, that at this very moment Mr. Pitt was holding out the reduction of a few hundred pounds of debt as the triumph of his administration, and the corner stone of that pillar upon which his fame was to be emblazoned? He had reasoned however in a fallacious manner from his own premises; for, when he stated the numerous armies which we had had upon the continent of America, as resources for the increase of our home defence, he ought to have taken into his account the enormous floating establishment, which attended those armies, and which, being converted into an efficient naval defence at home, would make both his fortifications and his garrisons unnecessary.

Mr. Sheridan remarked upon the great stress which Mr. Pitt had laid

upon the history which he had given, of the rise and progress of fortifications in this island, taking it for granted, as a matter of course, that what was not new must be constitutional. Mr. Sheridan said, that the true scope of this history was to prove, that the nation had been invariably deluded and defrauded upon this unprincipled plea of fortifications; that much had been done and undone; that schemes had been tried, that projectors had been employed, that millions had been spent, and the object was avowedly as distant as ever. So that repeated proofs of past deception were the arguments which were urged for present confidence; and it was modestly expected that they would believe, because a point had been constantly attempted without success, that it was now certain of being wisely accomplished.

Mr. Pitt had thrown out a censure upon the coalition administration, as having supported the measure when in office, which they now endeavoured to defeat when in opposition. Mr. Sheridan said, that whether the minister, as he had been described by Mr. Luttrell, were that glorious orb whose influence was to compensate to the nation for the loss of a hemisphere, or whether his lustre were more glittering than substantial; whether he merited the less complimentary language of colonel Barré, who had represented his conscience as having been surprised in this business, or whether he had capitulated upon regular approaches; whether he had been successful in repelling the insinuation of Mr. Walwyn, that he was not in earnest in the cause, by the vehemence of his manner, or had confirmed it by the weakness of his argument; these questions he would not embarrass himself to determine.



He would only observe, that one part of his conduct had most astonishingly escaped the panegyric of his friends; he meant the spirit and enterprize, with which, taking his hint probably from the subject in debate, he had endeavoured to carry the war into the enemies country, and pursue measures of offence and attack, while every pass at home was left unfortified and defenceless.

For what was the ground of this strenuous charge? The late administration it should seem had submitted a part of this very plan to the judgment of parliament, but at the desire of the house had withdrawn it for consideration. Now then, if, upon reconsideration, they had in any respect altered their opinion, it was the grossest inconsistency of conduct and dereliction of principle. This was an extraordinary charge, and particularly from the person by whom it was urged. He had reconsidered many subjects without aspiring to the merit of an obstinate adherence to his first opinion. He had reconsidered his American intercourse bill, and had publicly avowed his disapprobation of every idea which he once entertained upon the subject. He had reconsidered his India bill, and, before it was engrossed, had scarcely suffered one word to remain, of which it was originally composed. He had reconsidered his Irish resolutions in every part, provision and principle. Having first offered them to Ireland as a bounty, he had reconsidered the boon, and annexed a price to it; and then reconsidered his own reconsideration, and abandoned the conditions which he had at first represented as indispensable. In a word, his whole government had been one continued series of rash proposition, and un-

graceful concession. With respect to the persons with whom Mr. Sheridan acted, they had no occasion to resort to the justification of having changed their minds, for they had never, even in the slightest degree, committed themselves in any opinion or approbation of the present plan.

Mr. Sheridan recurred to the pledge he had made in an earlier stage of the business, and again asserted, that he would rest contented to abide by the decision of the board of officers, if it could be fairly shown, that, upon a full investigation of the whole of the subject proposed last year in parliament to be submitted to their enquiry, and being left to their own free and unfettered judgment in forming the decision, they had reported as their decided and unqualified opinion, that the plan proposed by the duke of Richmond, was a measure which it became the wisdom and prudence of parliament to adopt. He could not however refuse to allow himself in a few preliminary observations respecting the construction of the board. Powerful, perhaps unanswerable objections, had been made to the appointment of the duke of Richmond to the office of president. Particular circumstances had been alluded to in the duke's personal character, and he was described as a man who had never been known to give up a point. Whether this were the case, or whether there were some principles of public profession, to which he had not very rigorously adhered, Mr. Sheridan would not undertake to decide, as he might be suspected of speaking from party prejudices. There was however one characteristic of the mind of the duke, which he thought might fairly be mentioned, as it had publicly been brought forward by



by high authority in that house. If he were to represent the manner-general, as of a temper eager to extravagance and vehement in the extreme, if he were to describe him as a person, who, having taken up a just principle, was capable of defeating all its salutary effects by connecting it with the most flighty and preposterous conclusions, Mr. Pitt would become the authority for his assertion. The house could not fail to recollect the manner, in which, during a former session, he had discussed the duke's principles of a parliamentary reform, and the terms of indignant ridicule, with which he had cautioned them against the schemes of so visionary a projector. If therefore Mr. Sheridan were arraigned for examining any plan of the duke of Richmond with a peculiar degree of jealousy, he should leave his justification in the abler hands of the minister.

The duke however deserved the warmest panegyrics for the striking proofs he had given of his genius as an engineer, in the planning and constructing the report in question. The professional ability of the master-general shone as conspicuously there, as it could do upon our coasts. He had made it an argument of posts, and had conducted his reasoning upon principles of trigonometry as well as logic. There were certain detached data, like advanced works, to keep the enemy at a distance from the main object in debate. Strong provisions covered the flanks of his assertions; his very queries were in casements; no impression therefore was to be made upon this fortress of sophistry by desultory observations, and it was necessary to assail it by regular approaches. It was fortunate however, that, notwithstanding all the skill that had been employed, the duke's

mode of defence upon paper was open to the same objection, which had been urged against his other fortifications; and that, if his adversary got possession of one of his posts, it might be turned against him, and employed as the means of subduing his whole line of argument.

The points, which Mr. Sheridan conceived might be distinctly established from the document before the house, were, first, that not one word, hint, or suggestion on the part of the naval officers, tending to give any approbation, either directly or by implication, to the scheme of fortification, was to be found in that paper; but that on the contrary, the minutes which had been withheld contained their condemnation of the plan. He did not expect to hear it urged, that the result of those minutes could not be communicated, because they were mixed with dangerous matters of intelligence. A sufficient degree of ingenuity had been shown, in extracting from the report whatever might be thought favourable to the proposed system. It would be indeed extraordinary, if, wherever the judgment was unfavourable, it should have been so blended and complicated with matter of detail and dangerous discussion, that no chemical process in the ordnance laboratory could possibly separate them; while on the contrary every approving opinion, like a light, subtle, oily fluid, floated at the top at once, and the clumsiest clerk was capable of presenting it to the house, pure and untinged by a single particle of the argument or information upon which it was founded.

In the second place Mr. Sheridan maintained, that the opinion given by the land officers in favour



of the plan, was hypothetical and conditional; and that they had unanimously and invariably through the whole business refused to lend their authority to the data or suppositions, upon which that opinion was to be maintained. Lastly, he conceived himself to be unanswerably justified in concluding, that the data themselves were founded upon the supposition of events, so improbable and desperate, as to carry with them not only the imminent danger of Portsmouth and Plymouth, but of the actual conquest of the island. They supposed the British fleet to be absent for the space of three months, an army of thirty or forty thousand men to be ready on the enemy's coast to invade this country, and no force in Great Britain, to be capable of being collected in less than two months, to oppose them. The utility of the fortifications in this case, depended upon the enemies directing their attack only against Portsmouth and Plymouth, and assailing these places in the very point where we were prepared to meet them. Taking this for granted, the defence was stated in the report to be calculated only against the force, and for the time expressed in the data, so that it was necessary that our fleet should defeat the superior fleet of the enemy, and return in safety, otherwise it would obviously be in the power of the enemy to recruit his army, and to prolong the period of the attack. Thus we should have prepared a strong hold for our foe, which under the circumstances that were supposed he would be enabled permanently to retain.

Mr. Sheridan took notice of the insinuation of Mr. Bastard, in the claim he had advanced to an unbiased and independent mode of conduct. For himself, he was happy

that the business had worn so little the appearance of party. He had proved himself ready and anxious, as the persons alluded to well knew, to resign the business into the hands of the respectable gentleman who had so ably brought it forward. Mr. Bastard had been wished to take the lead, because that appeared to be one of the most effectual means of warding off an injury from the country; otherwise, to be enlisting under leaders for the day, and courting the temporary assistance of any description of persons in that house, would, in his opinion, prove a conduct equally undignified and impolitic. He was confident however, that the country gentlemen were too liberal to set a less value upon the support of his friends, because it was unaccompanied by adulation, and an endeavour to canvas for their future connection. "Let us," added Mr. Sheridan, "upon this night be firmly embodied in a cause we equally approve: let us do this great service to our country, then separate and seek opposing camps. Let them return with the double triumph, if they will, of having conferred an important benefit on their constituents and the nation, and a real obligation on the government. Let them have the credit with the public of having defeated the minister's measure, and with his friends of having rescued him from a perilous situation. Leave us only the silent satisfaction, that, without envying the reputation of those whom we were contented to follow, without being piqued by insinuations against our motives, and without debating whether the minister might not be served by our success, we gave an earnest and zealous assistance in defeating a measure, which, under the specious pretence of securing our coasts, strikes



strikes at the root of our great national defence, and at the heart of the constitution itself."

The decision of this important question was scarcely less memorable, than the measure itself, upon the execution of which the house of commons was now to decide. The numbers upon the division were equal; both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. In this conjuncture it of course belonged to the speaker to deliver his casting voice; and he acquired much applause from the country gentlemen, and from the enemies of the measure in general, by declaring for the rejection of the system which had been formed by the duke of Richmond.

In the course of the ensuing week the estimates of the ordnance were moved in the house of commons by the surveyor-general, captain James Luttrell. The amount of these estimates was 380,000*l.*, and there was included a sum of 13,000*l.* for carrying on some of those works which were deemed necessary in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. Mr. Fox declared himself satisfied with this reduced proposal; but the country gentlemen were not equally complaisant; and Mr. Powys and others suggested the impropriety of voting any money for these purposes, till a new and definite plan should be substituted in the room of that which had been rejected. In consequence of this suggestion, Mr. Pitt consented for the present to withdraw from the estimates the disputed sum. In the course of the debate of this day, as it had become a kind of fashion to attack the principles and conduct of the master-general of the ordnance, Mr. alderman Sawbridge brought forward a charge against him of corrupt influence in

the borough of Queenborough; and prodigality of the public money for the purposes of an election. This Mr. Sawbridge deemed to be the more criminal in the duke of Richmond, as that nobleman was known to be the determined advocate of the most extensive principles of liberty, and the purest republicanism. Captain Luttrell and Mr. Steele replied to the attack of Mr. Sawbridge.

The question of the fortifications was once more revived on the seventeenth of the following May. Upon this occasion it was moved by Mr. Pitt, "that an estimate of the expence of such part of the plan of fortifications recommended in the late report as might appear most necessary to be carried into immediate execution; be referred to a committee of supply." The sums which he proposed employing at Portsmouth and Plymouth for the current year, amounted to 63,000*l.* exclusively of the sum of 25,000*l.* for the purchase of the land upon which the fortifications were to be erected. The whole money which he stated as necessary for completing the moderate plan which he now offered to the house, was 400,000*l.*

The motion of Mr. Pitt was received with the language of severe censure by those persons, by whom the entire system had lately been opposed. It was said to be an indecent and unconstitutional encroachment upon the privileges of that house, for any part of a plan, upon which they had pronounced their reprobation, to be brought forward again in a direct manner. Mr. Bastard observed, that the minister had been treated with moderation when the question was formerly agitated, but the moderation, which the house had thought pro-



per to extend to him, he had been forward to abuse. It was impossible for parliament to submit to so open an attack upon their declared sentiments, and they were called upon to resist it in the most peremptory manner. Such being apparently the sense of the house of commons, Mr. Fox expressed his most earnest hope, that the minister would in future pay more respect to the opinion of the legislature, and not attempt to force an obnoxious measure upon the country. The motion of Mr. Pitt was withdrawn, and an address to the sovereign was voted, requesting him to order an estimate to be presented to the house relatively to the fortifications. At length on the seventh of June, the sum of 59,780*l.* was voted for the entire completion of the new works already begun at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

A measure of some consequence, and which engaged a considerable degree of the attention of parliament during the present session, was a bill that was introduced for amending and reducing all the laws relatively to the militia, into one act of parliament. The outline of this bill had been the work of a committee, chosen by the officers, who had served in the militia during the last war, of which the president had been Mr. Charles Marsham, who was deputed upon this occasion to present the bill, and conduct it in its progress through the house of commons. He accordingly moved for leave for its introduction on the thirty-first of January. He prefaced his motion with some compliments to the minister. He declared, that he did not believe that a minister could possibly be found, who would receive a proposal for improving the condition of the militia in a more

fair, open and suitable manner, than Mr. Pitt. This was the genuine sentiment of his heart, or he would not have uttered it; and no man, he flattered himself, could charge him with having pursued a conduct in that house that was not direct and sincere.

Mr. Marsham called to the recollection of members the origin of the militia, and the manner in which its services had been received at the conclusion of the late war, and of the war that had preceded it. In the year 1757, a body of Hanoverians and Hessians were brought into this kingdom for its internal security. Their introduction, at once impolitic and unconstitutional, excited considerable odium. Englishmen revolted at the unmerited idea of their not being capable of defending themselves and their country; and it was upon this occasion that the militia was instituted. So agreeable did the circumstance prove to that house, that in the course of one session they countenanced, recognised and established the scheme as a national measure; and such were the benefits which the country derived from the militia, that at the conclusion of the war, the officers who had served in it received the special thanks of the king, and of that house. After the peace of Paris, the militia was called out, embodied and trained once a year; a circumstance, from which the kingdom had derived the most essential advantage. It was well known that the hostilities between Great Britain and France had taken place in a manner extremely sudden and unexpected, in the middle of March 1778. The militia were in consequence called out; and it was remarkable, that they were encamped as early in that year, as in any one year during the war. The practi-



practicability of this could only be imputed to the discipline and habits of duty, in which the militia had constantly been exercised. How different had been the conduct of government at the end of the last war? Notwithstanding that they had acted in the most commendable manner, and though many gentlemen had dedicated their whole attention to the service, it was not thought that the militia deserved the thanks of their country. He meant not to give offence, and perhaps he had used too harsh an expression: but the fact was, that no thanks had been given to the militia by the crown, no thanks had been voted by that house, and for three years together they had never been once called into exercise.

Mr. Marham stated, that the point, upon which himself and the persons with whom he had acted laid the most considerable stress, was that of calling out and embodying the militia once every year. Another material object they proposed to themselves, was to change the duration of the service from three, which had hitherto been its specified term, to five years. Various objections were commonly made to the militia, its great expence to the kingdom, the prejudice it did to the recruiting service of the army, and the heavy burthen which it entailed upon individuals. The alteration which he proposed, was calculated to encounter all these objections. It would occasion less expence in clothing and other articles; it would interfere less with the recruiting service; and, as the drawing would less frequently occur, individuals would find the provision of substitutes less burthen some.

Mr. Pitt thought proper to embrace this occasion of acquainting

the friends of the measure, and the house in general, with his sentiments upon the subject. The interval of peace was undoubtedly the fittest moment for them to unite in endeavouring to put the great and constitutional defence of the kingdom upon a respectable footing; and, much as he professed to be the friend of oeconomy, he was not so much the slave of his opinion, as to wish by any means to lessen the advantages, which the country had ever derived from so salutary an establishment. How far the means suggested for attaining so desirable a purpose, might be thought the best means that could be adopted, was a matter, which would regularly fall under discussion when the bill should be brought before the house. If it should appear possible to preserve the militia on a respectable footing, without putting the public to the heavy expence of calling them out every year, he owned, he should be glad to adopt whatever method might be suggested for that purpose. Waiting for the pleasure of hearing the future ample, judicious, and impartial investigation of the subject, he should content himself at present with offering to the mover of the bill and his respectable colleagues in the business, his warmest and most sincere acknowledgements.

Mr. Marham appeared to be not a little mortified with the sentiments Mr. Pitt had expressed, and immediately declared, that the calling out the militia every year was in his opinion so indispensibly necessary, that, if the minister had determined to oppose it, he should scarcely think it worth his while to bring the subject forward to the decision of the house. In the subsequent week he took an opportunity of repeating these sentiments,



and observing to the house, that the gentlemen with whom the measure had been concerted had thought it right that no farther step should be taken in the business, since it was the opinion of many, if not all of them, that it was better to have no militia at all, than to have it upon any other footing than that which had been proposed.

Mr. Pitt complained, that Mr. Marsham, in refusing to pursue the business of the militia, was deserting a duty to which he was indispensibly bound, and that the proceeding was a manœuvre to mark him out as a person, by whose means the public were to be deprived of the advantages that would result from the proposed bill. A matter, that excited some further controversy between these two gentlemen, sprang from an observation of Mr. Marsham, that the proceedings that had been pursued would not pass over another year without some material change, since a positive act of parliament was at that time in full force, by which it was expressly ordered that the militia should be called out every year. Mr. Pitt answered, that nothing could be more absurd than the idea of fixing blame upon this account on any particular description of persons, since it was well known, that it rested with the house of commons, to provide the means of embodying the militia, by voting the money for that purpose; and that, when this proceeding was not adopted, the act of parliament in question was of course a mere dormant statute. Mr. Marsham could not admit this doctrine, and observed that nothing could be more unconstitutional, than to attribute to that house a right of dispensing with the law of the land, and of rendering

the authority of the whole legislature a matter of insignificance.

This important subject was revived two days later on the eighth of February, upon occasion of the usual motion from the secretary at war, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of supply, for the purpose of taking the army estimates into consideration. Mr. Minchin opposed this motion, because he could not consent to a vote for the army, when the militia had been so much neglected. The militia were the interior guardians of the country, and must of course attract the jealousy of all who felt a laudable anxiety for its welfare. He very much apprehended, at least it had been insinuated without doors, that the militia was to be abolished, and a proportionable number of standing troops substituted in its place. He could not hear such a report without alarm, nor could he consent, that any measures should be taken in relation to the army, till ministers had communicated to the house their intentions in relation to this more interesting object.

The vote of the army was opposed on other grounds than that taken by Mr. Minchin. It was observed by Mr. Sheridan, that it had been the constant usage in all former sessions to vote the estimates of the navy previously to those of the army; and as the strength of our marine was to be the index of what sort of an army might be necessary, the infringement of the usual practice was highly reprehensible. Farther than this the speaker had observed to administration, when the day for voting the army estimates had first been mentioned, that it had been usual to allow a week to elapse between the day of presenting



presenting and that of voting the estimates, whereas in the present case, only five days were allowed. But ministry appeared resolute to push forward, in defiance of the admonition of the speaker, and of the constant practice of the house. Mr. Sheridan remarked, that Mr. Pitt had thought proper to impute blame to Mr. Marsham, who, he said, ought not to have shrunk from his intention of bringing in the bill for regulating the militia, because he, a single individual, had declared, that he had not made up his mind with regard to one of its provisions. Mr. Sheridan was of the same opinion, and he hoped, notwithstanding what had passed, that the bill would still be introduced; since, whatever were its fate, it would be attended with this good consequence, that it would bring the subject fairly under discussion, that it would open the eyes of the public, and enable them to ascertain who were, and who were not the friends of the militia, as well as whether any design had been conceived of annihilating the institution.

The motion of adjournment was supported with considerable earnestness by lord North, Mr. Fox and Mr. Courtenay. The supply was however voted, and on the following day several precedents were discovered by Mr. Steele, tending to justify the conduct of administration, and to show, that both the speaker and the members in opposition had been mistaken in their ideas respecting the practice of the house.

The bill for the regulation of the militia was not given up in the house of commons in consequence of Mr. Marsham's having declined to take the lead, which he had originally proposed to have done, and

his place was supplied by Mr. Pye, member for Berkshire. In the committee on the 10th of March it was observed by Mr. Pitt, that he had made every enquiry in his power upon the subject, from gentlemen much better qualified to judge of it than himself, and had found that it was the general opinion that the militia ought to be called out every year. The only mode therefore, that suggested itself to him, by which to obtain that compliance with œconomy, of which he conceived they should never lose sight, was by moving as an amendment, that the whole number of men should be ballotted for and enrolled, but that only two thirds of them should be actually employed. The saving, which would result from this provision in the two articles of clothing and of pay, he calculated at about 40,000*l*. The amendment was opposed by Mr. Marsham and Mr. Sheridan; but it was carried in the first instance without a division, and upon the report the numbers appeared, ayes 49, noes 13. The idea of the annual embodying the militia in any manner was opposed by Mr. Rolle and Mr. Jolliffe. By the former it was observed, that this practice had been found prejudicial to the morals of the people, that it gave them habits of debauchery and idleness, and that they always became much worse members of society than they were before. The latter opposed the measure merely upon the ground of œconomy. He did not believe that there was one man out of that house, who did not think that the militia might be rendered as useful by the muster of a day, as by the exercise of a month; and he asserted, that, when they had been first encamped upon Coxheath, they exhibited



bited an appearance the most irregular and undisciplined; though by the end of the summer they were a tolerable army, and became equal to some of the established corps.

The militia bill did not pass without debate in the house of lords. The house being in a committee on the subject, on the nineteenth of June, the establishment in general was spoken of with the highest applause, by the duke of Manchester and lord viscount Townshend. The latter of these, who had been the original mover of the establishment in the house of commons thirty years before, enlarged considerably upon the subject. He spoke of the militia of France, of Spain, of the king of Prussia, and of the emperor, and showed how much inferior was Great Britain to any of these powers in this important article. He treated with contempt the saving, that was to be made in consequence of Mr. Pitt's amendment. He spoke with warmth of the zeal, that had been displayed by the late earl of Chatham in behalf of the militia, and he loudly condemned the penuriousness of administration with regard to this invaluable establishment, while the erection of Somerset House, the additions to the Admiralty, and the buildings for the ordnance engrossed so much of the public expediture. Office must be accommodated and gratified at all events: a permanent national provision can always suffer amputation. The duke of Manchester, and lord viscount Mahon, who had lately succeeded to the title of earl Stanhope upon the death of his father, were pointed in their condemnation of the unnecessary expence, which would be incurred by enrolling the whole of the militia when only two thirds

of them were to be trained and exercised. The latter of these noblemen suggested an amendment to the attention of the house, which he conceived likely to be productive of the most beneficial consequences without making any addition to the national expence. Ballot, said he, one and twenty thousand militia, and instead of five let the term of their service be six years. At the end of three years, as had been hitherto the practice, ballot one and twenty thousand more. Of this number, call out, train and exercise only seven thousand every year. Let this be done in rotation, till the whole amount of two and forty thousand men has been disciplined. Thus you will have double the number of soldiers that are afforded by Mr. Pitt's plan, to be called out upon any emergency, and that of a description of force the most desirable to be preserved, and which was the best defence not only of the country but of the constitution. No specific objection was urged to lord Stanhope's proposal but by the duke of Richmond, who observed, that it was now too late in the session to debate the principle of the bill, and that, if it were altered in that house, the consequence might be, that it would be totally lost. Earl Stanhope treated this objection with great contempt. The bill, in his opinion, was of very great importance. The amendment that he had proposed was incontrovertible by reason, and was only to be set aside by observing that it was too late to enter into its merits. It was truly unwise and ridiculous to pass a bill which we are told is absurd, and supersede all debate upon it by saying that it may be amended next year. The motion of lord Stanhope was rejected without a division.

A motion



A motion was made in the house of commons on the ninth of March by Mr. Marham, and seconded by Mr. Honeywood, members for the county of Kent, for leave to bring in a bill for securing the freedom of election, by excluding persons holding places in the navy and the ordnance from voting as electors. This bill underwent considerable discussion on its second reading, which took place on the thirtieth of March. Mr. Marham endeavoured to recommend it to the house, by observing that its object was merely to extend the provisions of an act, introduced by Mr. Crewe in the year 1782 for setting aside the votes of the officers of the customs and excise, and which had always received the loudest applause of the friends of liberty and the constitution. He replied to the common objection, that to deprive men of their franchises was to inflict on them a punishment, and to fix a stigma on their characters, by observing, that a franchise was in reality of no value, when the person by whom it was held was not permitted to exercise it according to his discretion, and that in reality he was conferring a benefit, not committing an injury upon the persons in question. He asked what right had any one to conceive that the bill would be deemed a hardship by the objects of it, and where were the petitions against it?

Mr. Pitt rendered himself conspicuous by his opposition to the bill of Mr. Marham. He reprobated the idea that had been suggested, that the house would be guilty of any inconsistency, in having formerly received the bill of Mr. Crewe, and now rejecting the bill of Mr. Marham. At the period in which the former had been introduced, the house had very suf-

ficient reason for the conduct they had adopted. A short time before they had come to a resolution, that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. The truth of this position was abundantly apparent from the history of the times; and the people had been convinced that it was under the operation of this influence, that the house of commons were induced to lend their assistance towards the carrying on a most ruinous and disgraceful war, after it had long ceased to be, what he much feared it once had been, a favourite with the nation. The object of Mr. Crewe's bill had been to give life and effect to the principle of that resolution, which otherwise must have remained a dead letter upon the journals. Nothing could certainly have been better calculated to reduce that influence of the crown which had been complained of as a grievance, than the restrictions thus imposed upon the officers of the revenue. But did it follow, that, because it was necessary to reduce the influence of the crown to a certain level, it would of course be an act of inconsistency to refuse to reduce it still farther? Had the object of Mr. Crewe's bill been accomplished? If not, why extend to a greater compass an invidious distinction, which, having nothing to support it but its supposed beneficial operation, must lose all shadow of propriety if that operation should appear to have failed? But if the bill had proved successful, then the object for which it was adopted was obtained, and all further proceedings were rendered unnecessary. It was not however so much upon these grounds, that Mr. Pitt thought it became him to oppose Mr. Marham's bill; since he was willing



to admit, that any influence remaining in the crown, in matters of election, ought to completely destroyed.

The farther arguments of Mr. Pitt were derived from the consideration of the description of people who were the objects of the operation of the proposed bill. The persons excluded by Mr. Crewe's act, were such, as were concerned in the collection of the public revenue, and to whose interests an extension of the public burthens must necessarily be conducive. How different was the situation of the officers of the navy and ordnance? The one fattened on the distresses of their country, the other earned a livelihood by contributing to its defence. A second point of discrimination between them lay in this circumstance, that the officers of the excise and customs were dispersed over every part of the island; that they formed a phalanx which pervaded the kingdom, whereas the workmen belonging to the navy and the ordnance were entirely confined to a few particular spots. But another distinction more striking than all the rest was, that the revenue officers were completely under the influence of government, which could in a moment reduce them to beggary. But on the contrary, the persons employed in the departments now under consideration, had no reason even to thank their employers. By going into the service of the merchant, they might earn as comfortable a livelihood as they could in the service of the public; and should they be exasperated by any ill treatment to leave the kingdom, there was not a maritime nation in the world that would not be ready to receive them. Had there, Mr. Pitt demanded, ever happened any real cause of complaint against any

of the persons belonging to this class, for submitting to take their orders from government at elections? The house would be pleased to consider who were the representatives for those counties, Kent, Hampshire, Devonshire and Cornwall, to which this supposed influence was wholly confined. From their independence, as well in fortune as in principles, they were the very men, whom of all others a corrupt government would wish to keep out of those walls.

Mr. Fox replied to the reasonings of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt had at first seemed to imagine that there was some degree of influence proper to remain in the crown; but he had afterwards recanted, and acknowledged that no such influence ought to exist. But, if this were the case, the whole of his argument on the subject of consistency went for nothing, and the charge of self-contradiction was completely brought home to him, if he persisted in his opposition. He had pretended to make a distinction between the persons concerned in the former and in the present bill. Mr. Fox should not take upon himself to say which of the two bodies of men were the most dangerous; but he would assert, that the reasoning of Mr. Pitt upon this head did not reach the principle of the measure, but only tended to prove, that, though it was necessary and proper, it was not so indispensable as the former regulation. It was difficult to avoid smiling at the idea, that the artisans, if deprived of their votes in elections, would go to foreign countries in resentment. What were they to do abroad? Were they to have voices in the appointment of members of parliament in France? were they to influence the elections of Spain? or were they to look for a share in the aristocracy of Holland?



land? Mr. Pitt had ventured to say, that no bad effects were felt from the interference of these men in elections. Mr. Fox however instanced in a late violent contest for the county of Southampton, and averred, that no person, who remembered the circumstances of that election, would pretend to say, that the influence of government had not been employed upon the people in the dock yards. The idea of arguing, that, because the exercise of influence had been unsuccessful, the influence itself could not exist, was too ridiculous for animadversion. That influence had not in any degree been diminished, since the celebrated resolution of the house of commons to which Mr. Pitt had referred. The circumstances of the late changes on the contrary proved, that it had continued most rapidly to increase, so as to fill every true friend to the constitution with alarming apprehensions.

The arguments of Mr. Pitt were further pursued by lord Mulgrave and Mr. Dundas. By the former of these it was enquired, who there was, that had ever dared to grant a workman preferment, merely on account of his election interest? The man that did so deserved to die upon a scaffold. Mr. Dundas opposed the bill upon the broadest principles. He declared, that it was highly indecent to fix a stigma upon any set of men, merely because they were employed in the king's service. He reprobated Mr. Crewe's act, and desired any one to stand up and show his face manfully in defence of it. He maintained that the idea of all reform bills of that sort, deserved a high degree of contempt and ridicule. The real fact was simply this, that, whenever persons of a particular description were out of place, they found it necessary every now and then to

amuse the public by serving up a dish of disfranchisements.

Mr. Sheridan replied to lord Mulgrave and Mr. Dundas. With regard to the dish of disfranchisement, Mr. Dundas, of all men, should not have set it before the house, who must undoubtedly remember, that he had not only first been induced to nibble a little at a plate or side dish filled with the same ingredients, but had afterwards been brought to sit down to a whole course of dishes of that sort, when Mr. Pitt had served up his grand entertainment of parliamentary reform. The object of that reform had been, not to disfranchise a single description of men merely, but a large number of votes from many different boroughs. Mr. Sheridan acknowledged, that Mr. Dundas had never made an assertion without being ready to show his face at the same time; and he believed that the house would agree with him, that there was no argument, however irreconcilable with reason or logic, upon which he had not been perfectly ready to put a good countenance. He added however, that, if lord Mulgrave's observation were admitted, and if every man who used the influence of the crown improperly were to lose his head, he was apprehensive that Mr. Dundas would not at this day have had a face to have shown.

The subject of the borough of Queenborough was revived in this debate. Mr. Courtenay stated, that the economical reform, which had been proposed in that quarter, had been originally undertaken upon a suggestion of the duke of Richmond, though the duke had afterwards been the first to counteract it. In the year 1782 the present master-general, glowing with all the zeal of patriotic reform and the hopes of



of coming into office, had in one of his declamatory invectives pointed out Queenborough, as a striking instance of the corrupt practices of administration, and of the lavish expenditure of the public money in the department of the ordnance. On that ground lord Townshend had ordered an enquiry, had received the report of the superintendant, and had given express orders for the execution of the plan in the close of the year 1783. The duke of Richmond however, eager as he always was to serve his country, and to proceed immediately to business, had after kissing hands, gone immediately down to the board room, and entered a minute upon his own authority, to check the officious zeal of the superintendant, and save the loyal freemen of Queenborough from destruction. Mr. Courtenay declared his resolution to vote for the bill. Mr. Martin followed him upon the same side, and expressed not a little astonishment to think how any gentleman, who supported Mr. Crewe's act, could reconcile it to his mind not to vote for the present bill. The bill was supported by Mr. Clerk Jervoise, and Mr. Sawbridge. It was opposed by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Pye, Mr. Drake, Mr. Gascoyne, sir Edward Deering, and sir Charles Middleton. Upon a division the numbers appeared, ayes for the second reading 11, noes 117.

We have given some account in our volume of the two bills of lord Mahon, now earl Stanhope, for the regulations of elections. The former of these, which was the most important, received the sanction of the house of commons in the preceding session, and was rejected in the lords at the particular instigation of lord Thurlow. It was accordingly introduced anew into

parliament early in the session of 1786; and its author, in the speech he made upon the question for leave to bring it in, was particularly severe upon its dignified opposer in the other house. He said, that it had been treated on that occasion on the part of one person with all the candour, with all the decency and decorum, and with all the respect to the house of commons who had adopted it, which that assembly unquestionably deserved; and he stigmatized the conduct of that person, as containing in it somewhat more, than one would have thought quite sufficient to gratify the most bitter tory spleen.

The bill was opposed upon its second reading on the twelfth of May, by Mr. William Grenville. He stated it to the house as a system of impracticability and Eutopianism. A bill similar to the present had been passed in the parliament of Ireland in the course of the last session, and such had appeared likely to have been its operation and effect, that, had any vacancy for a county member happened, there would not have been a single freeman qualified to vote for the candidate who offered to fill up the vacancy. He understood therefore, that the very first act of the Irish parliament in the present session had been to pass a bill, to suspend the operation of their act of the preceding session. The bill was farther opposed by Mr. William Young, Mr. Powys, and Mr. Ballard. It received the support of sir Joseph Mawbey, sir William Dolben, the earl of Surrey, and Mr. Pitt. Upon the question for sending it to a committee, the house divided, ayes 98, noes 22.

The bill having passed the commons, at length came under the discussion of the house of lords. It was a circumstance favourable to its suc-



success, that lord Thurlow was at this time confined to his house by indisposition. Lord Stanhope, in a speech which he delivered on the twenty-ninth of June upon the motion for the second reading, endeavoured to explain and recommend to the house the measure of which he was the author. He observed that the bill had been called a bill of disfranchisement. Every measure for regulating and reducing with method and order a business like that of election, must necessarily be capable of that operation. His bill however had greatly the preference over that of Mr. Powys, which had been passed in the year 1780, and which had directed, that the mode in which county voters should be ascertained, should be by the books of the land-tax assessors. By that bill any mistake, whether involuntary or by design, of omitting or even misspelling a name, disqualified the person to whom the error related. By the present bill, no man could be disfranchised but by his own fault. Such was the absurdity of the existing law, that at the last general election it was discovered, that more than one half of the freeholders of the kingdom were under disfranchisement. The duplicates of the land-tax, which ought to be signed and sealed by three commissioners, had some of them been signed only by two, some by one, and others not at all. In a particular election an express had been sent post haste to town to an eminent counsel, to know what was to be done. The counsel very ingeniously advised his client to proceed directly in the teeth of the act of parliament, in order to get over the difficulty, and to give to those votes the *prima facie* appearance of good votes. This was done, and no person making an

objection it succeeded. Another great object of the bill was to support Mr. Grenville's bill. The Gloucestershire committee of the house of commons had sat for three or four months, and the Bedfordshire committee, though Bedfordshire was a small county, between two and three months. Upon the Buckinghamshire petition it had been almost impossible to obtain a ballot, so averse were the members of the house of commons to submit to the consequent drudgery. If at a general election there should be ten or fifteen petitions from large counties, there would be an end to the most excellent act of Mr. Grenville, unless some plan, such as that proposed by the bill, to shorten the proceedings before Mr. Grenville's committees, were adopted.

The speech of earl Stanhope was replied to by lord Sydney. He urged strongly the shortness of the period that remained for discussion; and, remarking that the bill had been many months in the other house, asserted, that it would be indecent not to allow their lordships as many days for its consideration. Earl Stanhope had furnished one exceedingly strong argument in support of the motion which lord Sydney intended to make. That nobleman, who professed himself to be conversant with the laws relative to elections, had asserted, that all the laws on the subject were defective and replete with error and contradiction. Surely the truth of an assertion of so important and comprehensive a nature, required investigation. It was not his custom, added lord Sydney, to address his arguments to any speech delivered at another time in another assembly; but, as lord Stanhope had himself been in the house of commons when the bill was introduced there,



there, perhaps he could tell the house that it was introduced with a speech, attacking certain arguments which had been advanced within those walls, and taking very great liberties with a most respectable authority. Lord Sydney was not in the habit of saying things in a flip-pant way, and he hoped he should never accustom himself to such expression, as that this was absurd, that was foolish, and the other was stuff. It was easy to apply a debasing epithet to any thing, but with men accustomed to examine before they determined that mode of debate would have little weight. The nobleman to whom he alluded had by most irrefragable arguments convinced the house in a former session

that the bill ought not to pass. The absence of that person was of itself a strong argument in his mind against proceeding any farther with the bill at present. The reasonings of lord Sydney were answered by the marquis of Carmarthen, and the bill was farther supported by lord Hopeton. The noblemen who spoke on the other side were doctor Warren, bishop of Bangor, and the earl of Sandwich. Upon the second reading the house divided, contents in favour of the bill 11, not contents 4; but upon the third reading the house having mustered in a somewhat greater number, and several proxies being given, the final division was contents 15, not contents 38.

## CHAPTER, V.

*Bill for establishing a Sinking Fund. Civil List Bill. Wine Excise Bill. Bill of Crown Lands. Mr. Wilberforce's Bill. Fisheries. Complaint of Lord Rodney.*

THE subject, which the minister seemed to intend should make the principal figure in this session of parliament, was the proposal of a sinking fund, to be applied towards discharging the national debt. We have already endeavoured to discover the general merit of projects of this sort, when we had occasion to treat of the plan of the French *caisse d'amortissement*, which was instituted in the month of August, 1784. There are few writers whose works are more instructive or more useful than the ingenious inventors of paradoxes. While they are in the pursuit of a proposition which is neither plausible nor true, they occasionally illustrate various inci-

dental subjects, and the singularity of their ideas enables them to succeed in discoveries, which the plain and artless enquirer after truth would never have thought of. Thus it has notoriously happened in the present instance. The æra at which we are arrived, has produced reasoners, who have endeavoured to demonstrate that the extinction and the reduction of a national debt are vain and visionary theories; that they can never be effected in any important degree, and that the pursuit of them is pregnant with distress, calamity and ruin. Maintaining a proposition so indefensible in its tenour, they have taught us in a more striking manner



manner than any other political speculatists; that an object of this kind may be pursued with an extreme and a destructive vehemence; that, so long as the present situation of things shall continue; the carrying on of wars upon loans is a matter of indispensable necessity; that the increasing the number of our taxes is no infallible receipt for the increasing our income; and that in the hands of a skilful financier the abolition of imposts will sometimes be found to enhance the amount of the general revenue. These speculations have not been without their effect upon our practical statesmen, and upon the ministers of the first courts in Europe. M. de Calonne, in the instance to which we have alluded, set apart no greater a sum than an annuity of 120,000*l.* as the original foundation of his sinking fund; and we shall find Mr. Pitt laying few additional burthens on the people of England for the creation of his favourite object of an annual million.

The present session of parliament appears to have commenced with ideas, if not honourable to the minister, at least extremely favourable to the success of his operation. We found Mr. Fox in our preceding volume, treating the subject of the finances of his country with a language full of apprehension, and with expressions strongly importing the immediate necessity of extraordinary measures. In the speech which he made upon the first day of the present session, he appears to have altered his tone. He no longer doubts of the prosperous state of the revenue, he only requires to be allowed in a degree of scepticism respecting the causes of that prosperity. With regard to the extension of trade, the increase of the public credit, and the growing

surplus of the revenue, these were circumstances in which every man must rejoice. No party, no political faction, no set of persons of any name or description could withhold their exultation upon a subject of so general benefit. The conclusion that was to be drawn from these appearances, the returning vigour of our resources, must afford matter of solid satisfaction and unrestrained triumph to all ranks of men and all parties in the state. But were these matters of surprise, or circumstances to cause astonishment? Undoubtedly they were not. Almost every man knew there would be some surplus; almost every man expected it; they only differed about the amount of that surplus. Mr. Fox would not pretend to assign the causes to which these symptoms of returning vigour were ascribable: that might be matter of much useless difference of opinion. Several of them might be owing to the success of some of the measures of the present administration; he would not be so uncandid as to deny that they were. But more, far more, he believed were owing to the failure of other of their measures, which, had they succeeded, must have been attended with consequences the most fatal to the revenue, and to the national credit and prosperity that could possibly be imagined. Mr. Fox stated in strong terms the mischief the measures to which he alluded had already produced, by disgusting the manufacturers of Great Britain, teaching them that the house of commons would disregard their petitions, and bringing into discussion a variety of points which he was convinced ought never to have been disturbed. Nothing but the alarm and disgust attending the agitation of those bad measures could have



so long kept back the returning trade of the country, the natural consequence of peace, and which had followed upon the conclusion of every war in which we had been engaged. This alarm and disgust had been in a great degree removed by the failure of the Irish propositions; and the tide of trade was now returning to its old and natural channel.

Mr. Pitt moved early in the session, that several papers should be laid upon the table of the house of commons, to enable them to form an estimate of the annual national income, as well as the amount of the public expenditure, in consequence of which they would be empowered to judge of the existing surplus, and of the sum it would be farther necessary to provide, in order to raise the total to the amount which was intended to form the original basis of the intended sinking fund. On the seventh of March Mr. Pitt farther moved for the appointment by ballot of a select committee of nine persons, to examine the papers, and to lay the result before the house. His intention was to take every possible step to give full and complete satisfaction to the nation in a matter of great and general concern; and he conceived, that the solemnity of a committee, and the formality of a report would answer this purpose better, than a set of unconnected papers or the affirmation of a minister. The members of the committee were the marquis of Graham, Mr. William Grenville, Mr. Edward Eliot, Mr. Rose, Mr. Wiberforce, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. John Call, Mr. Smyth and Mr. Addington, the two last of whom had been the mover and seconder of the address upon the speech from the throne. The report of this committee was laid

before the house on the twenty-first, and the copies of it were delivered to the members on the twenty-seventh of March. It is not necessary for us to state the contents of this report, as they will come at large before our readers in the subsequent debates.

Two days after the copies had been delivered, Mr. Pitt opened his budget in a committee of the whole house. He congratulated parliament in a very animated style, upon the spectacle with which this day presented them. To behold their country, emerging from a most unfortunate war, which added such an accumulation to debts before immense, that it was the belief of surrounding nations, and of many among ourselves, that our powers must necessarily fail, and that we should sink under the burthen: to behold the nation, instead of despairing at its alarming condition, looking its situation in the face, and establishing upon a spirited and permanent plan, the means of relieving itself from its incumbrances, gave such an idea of our resources, as must afford the most interesting spectacle to ourselves, must astonish the nations around us, and must enable us to regain that pre-eminence to which we were on many accounts so justly entitled. The wished-for day was at length arrived, when all despondency and gloomy fear might be laid aside, and when our prospect brightened on every side with exultation and hope. With how much pleasure was Mr. Pitt able to add, that this could be carried into effect without laying any new burthens of considerable magnitude upon the people. This was beyond the expectation of every man, and was indeed a subject of the greatest rejoicing to every friend of his country.

The



The amount, Mr. Pitt observed, of the revenue, as it stood for the current year, was stated by the committee at 15,397,000*l*. The expenditure they divided into the articles that were permanent, and the articles that were fluctuating. In the former description they considered the interests of the national debt, which was 9,275,769*l*., the civil list 900,000*l*., the exchequer bills, the charges on the aggregate fund, and the appropriated duties. The whole of this division was taken at 10,554,000*l*. The other class of expences included the different establishments for the defence of the nation, as the army, the navy, the ordnance, and the militia. They had allowed for the navy eighteen thousand men, at 100*l*. each, which was more than had ever been kept up in time of peace. The army they had taken upon the same mode of reasoning, and they allowed for it 1,600,000*l*. The whole expenditure, permanent and fluctuating, they estimated at 14,478,000*l*. Of consequence there remained a surplus of the annual income above the expenditure, of 900,000*l*.

It was however necessary to be observed, that, though this was stated to be the annual expenditure, some time must intervene before the expenditure could be reduced to this point. The war, from the burthen of which we were just delivered, had been most expensive and ruinous. Many of the drains that had occurred during the course of it, had not ended with the conclusion of peace, but still continued, and must be expected for some time to hang over the nation. Under the head of the navy, many ships that had been laid upon the stocks were to be finished. They had been built too far to allow them

to go back and be lost to the public; and they were beside necessary to increase our naval strength to an equality with our powerful neighbours. The demands upon this head were so considerable, that, though the committee had stated the peace establishment of the navy at 1,800,000*l*., yet the expence attending it in the present year, was taken in the current estimate at 2,400,000*l*., and would at least amount to 2,360,000*l*. In the army the exceedings were much above the common run of the expence of that establishment; and this amounted to nearly 300,000*l*. These two sums would nearly effect the annihilation of the surplus, if out of that surplus it was necessary they should be discharged. But in reality they were not annual charges; they were the remainder of the expences of the last war, and they must speedily cease altogether. In four years the most burthenfome of the articles, that of ship building, would be removed, nor could this be effected sooner. It was necessary therefore, that they should look to a future average, in order to obtain a true estimate of the disbursements of the nation.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to examine what the amount of the extraordinary demand would be for the whole term of four years. The exceeding of the navy upon the current estimates, above the sum at which it had been taken in the report of the committee was 600,000*l*. In the three following years it would not be so much, and might be taken at 400,000*l*. The sum therefore to be provided for under this head, for the whole term of four years, was 1,800,000*l*. The other heads, that suggested themselves as matters of extraordinary demand, were the army, the ordnance, and



the American loyalists. These three was taken by Mr. Pitt for the ensuing four years at 1,200,000*l*. The total demand of three millions might be encountered by the method of funding, and ways and means might be provided to answer the interest, without occasioning any intolerable burthen to the nation. But the state of the country was at present so very flourishing, that Mr. Pitt was happy to mention, that it would not be necessary to lay any taxes upon the people on this account, and that we had certain extraordinary resources within ourselves, which would be found abundantly to answer every thing that was required.

The committee had enumerated these resources; and the first they had mentioned was that of lotteries. It had been objected indeed to this method of raising money, that it afforded the most dangerous encouragement to the spirit of gaming. The spirit of gaming however was so deeply rooted, that Mr. Pitt was afraid it was of little consequence whether a lottery was given or withheld. In the mean time government was not resolved whether there should be one in the present year. The next head was that of savings in the army, or sums of money, that had been appropriated to different services, but had not been expended. These had been found very considerable after the peace of 1763; and from the extent of the grants during the late war much more might be expected. The sum of 450,000*l*. had already been paid under this head into the exchequer. There were beside immense sums in the hands of former paymasters, which it was expected a little time would bring to the public account. The commissioners of accounts had indeed an immense

labour upon their hands. They had to go through one hundred and eighteen regiments of foot, and as many of horse and dragoons, whose accounts for non-effective men had not been examined for twenty years together. One regiment which they had gone through, had produced 22,000*l*. for the use of government; and, though Mr. Pitt could not be so sanguine as to expect that every regiment would produce as much, he however thought he might state the total, including contracts and other articles of abuse, at the sum of 1,000,000*l*. The next source was the balance due from the company for the subsistence of troops in India. This amounted to 600,000*l*., and there was a probability of its being paid in a very short time. The committee added to the account, the unclaimed dividends at the bank, a part of which might with safety be applied to the public use, and the sale of the crown lands.

But the great article, upon which they insisted, and upon which they built their surest expectations of a permanent surplus, was the improvement of the revenue by proper regulations to discourage an illicit trade. The regulations, which had already been made in this respect, had not had room for their full operation, and might be expected still to increase, since an addition of this sort derived from a regular source, and was not the sudden effect of the restoration of peace. Wine was an article still subject to great abuses, and demanded an immediate remedy. The consumption of wine in this country was not diminished, and yet it appeared, when the average of the last year came to be compared with the year 1746, that the revenue upon this article fell short no less than 240,000*l*.



240,000*l.* Without laying a burthen upon the country, there were many regulations to be made in the article of spirits, that would increase the revenue from that branch of trade. The article of tobacco was another object that demanded the attention of the legislature; and Mr. Pitt had no doubt, that, from the regulations that would be proposed under these heads, the sum of 300,000*l.* per annum, might at least be obtained. In another session of parliament he intended also to introduce a consolidation of the customs, which would undoubtedly add greatly to the produce of the revenue. If therefore the subject were fairly considered, we might here see sums equal to the extraordinary demands, without any new application to parliament, and without any additional burthen upon the people.

One million was the sum annually to be contributed to the sinking fund, and Mr. Pitt proposed, that this money should be placed in the hands of commissioners appointed for that purpose, in quarterly payments of 250,000*l.* each, to begin on the fifth of the following July. He undertook to show in what manner this money would be furnished for the three quarterly payments, that would fall within the current year. He stated the ways and means at 13,362,480*l.*; and the supplies that had been voted at 12,477,085*l.* Of consequence, there remained a surplus of 885,395*l.* This surplus Mr. Pitt considered as affording not only the requisite sum of 750,000*l.* but also a remainder of 135,400*l.*; and including the increase of the revenue according to the ideas of the committee, a remainder of 449,093*l.*

Mr. Pitt now came to observe, that the surplus, the existence of which he had endeavoured to prove

to the house, amounted to no more than 900,000*l.*; and that therefore the additional sum of 100,000*l.* must be raised in order to complete the proposed annual million. This sum he was happy to be able to obtain without laying any taxes that would be burthensome to the people at large. He would first move for an additional duty upon spirits. They had formerly been charged in what was called the wash, with seven pence per gallon. This was afterwards decreased to five pence; and he should now fix it at six pence per gallon, which would produce about 70,000*l.* Another operation he would propose was only the modification of a tax; it consisted in a duty upon the importation of two species of timber; and this he took at 30,000*l.* A farther tax which he proposed was upon an article of mere luxury, upon perfumery and hair-powder; and this he would rate at 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* Thus he would make up the requisite sum in order to complete the annual million.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to explain to the house the effects, that would be produced by an attention to compound interest. The million to be applied would by that hypothesis amount to a very great sum in a period, that was not very long in the life of an individual, and was but an hour in the existence of a nation. It would diminish the debt of this country so much, as to prevent the exigencies of war from ever raising it to the enormous height they had hitherto done. In the period of twenty-eight years the sum of a million annually improved, would produce an income of four millions per annum. Care therefore must be taken, that this fund were never diverted from its original destination. This had hitherto



to been the bane of this country. If the original sinking fund had been properly applied, it was easy to prove that our debts at this moment would not have been very burthensome. To prevent this abuse for the future, Mr. Pitt proposed, that the sum be vested in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied quarterly to the buying of stock; so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp of a minister great enough to tempt him to infringe upon this national revenue. By placing it in the hands of commissioners, it would be rendered impossible that this should be done by stealth; and a minister could not have the confidence to come to that house, expressly to demand the repeal of so beneficial and necessary a law.

The persons, who should be appointed to this commission should be of rank and distinction, to secure them from suspicion, and to create, as far as character could go, a belief of their discharging their trust with rectitude and fidelity. In the first place, he thought it right, that the person, by whom the office of speaker of that house should be filled, should be placed at the head of it. Parliament could not more solemnly promulgate its high sense of the duty by which the commissioners would be bound. He thought also, without ascribing any thing to himself, that the person who held an office so intimately connected with finance, as the chancellor of the exchequer, ought to have a place in that list. To these might be added the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy governor of the bank of England, and the accomptant-general of the high court of chancery. Such were the persons Mr. Pitt should propose to be appointed to this

trust, when the bill should come before the committee. He was far from ascribing any merit to himself, in suggesting the scheme; but he could not but think himself very happy, that, instead of expending the money of the public, he should have the good fortune to be led to set about diminishing its burthens. The plan had long been the wish and the hope of all men; and he felt uncommon pleasure in being able to flatter himself, that his name might be inscribed on that firm column, which was now about to be raised to national faith, and national prosperity.

The first person, who suggested his remarks upon the plan which had been opened by Mr. Pitt, was sir Grey Cooper. He ridiculed the stress, which had been laid upon the mode of the accumulation of money at compound interest, and remarked that it was a proposition perfectly simple and obvious to every capacity. He observed, that the mode in which the late committee had proceeded in making up its report, was extremely unfair. They had taken the amount of the receipt of the public income for the present year, because it had proved a remarkably favourable year; and had not stated against it the real expenditure of the year, because that would have afforded no surplus upon the striking of the balance. Very different had been the conduct of the father of the president of the committee, Mr. George Grenville, who in a pamphlet, that had been published under his direction at the close of the preceding war, entitled *Considerations on the State of the Finances of the Nation*, had expressly declared that he did not think himself at liberty to take the receipt of the current year for the basis of his enquiry, because

that



that was the year immediately after the conclusion of the peace, and of consequence had been a year more productive than usual. He remarked upon the language of Mr. Pitt, who had said, that the three millions of exchequer bills to be paid off need not be taken into the account, as they made an article under each distinct head of supply, and of ways and means; those to be paid off ranging under the former, and three millions more to be issued in the discharge of them, ranging under the latter. Was Mr. Pitt aware that the circulation of these bills would be a great inconvenience, and under certain circumstances would materially depress the market? The conduct of Lord North in 1773 had been very different, and much more provident. The amount of exchequer bills did not at that time exceed 1,800,000l.; and yet he had exerted himself to reduce their value to 1,000,000l., and had suspended the payment of the funded debt for that operation, which had been thought by persons of the greatest experience the most advisable mode of applying the surplus of the year.

Mr. Fox introduced his remarks with declaring, that no man in existence ever was, or ever had been a greater friend to the institution of a sinking fund, than he had shown himself from the first moment of his political life. He condemned the mode in which the late committee had proceeded in striking an average, which he said was not only different from every former committee, but which totally reversed the very principle upon which an operation of this kind must be founded. In illustration of his remark, he instanced the produce of the tax upon malt, in estimating which the committee had

thought proper to leave out of their calculation the year 1782, which they stated to have been uncommonly deficient. Now the use of an average had ever been to strike a balance between sums of a different amount, and to take into consideration a number of years, among which there might be some of extraordinary scarcity, and others of extraordinary plenty. Mr. Fox reminded the house of the ridicule Mr. Pitt had thrown upon the language he had used on the first day of the session, when he had observed in a moderate style, that he believed there might be some existing surplus. The fact was now ascertained, and he begged leave to ask, whether, so far from its being true, that there was some surplus for the present year, there was not an actual deficiency?

In the opinion of Mr. Fox, twenty-eight years was too long a period to which to look forward for the effect of this plan. Before that term was arrived, it was not improbable we might have another war, and a variety of circumstances might occur, which would operate as a temptation to a future chancellor of the exchequer, and a future house of commons to repeal the act, annul the institution, and divert the appropriation of its stock to the immediate services of the year. It was a melancholy reflection, which was held out to the public by the report under consideration, when it was the clear deduction from the whole, that the permanent peace establishment was not to be expected before the year 1791, eight years after the conclusion of the war. In order to give the proper degree of efficacy to so important a measure as that which was now before the house, Mr. Fox recommended to the minister to provide



vide new taxes in lieu of such as had failed, in order to make up the sum for which those taxes had originally been given. The shop-tax for instance, had been estimated at 120,000l. It appeared however, that its actual produce would amount to no more than 70,000; and, when the modifications which were now introduced should come into operation, the whole would be reduced to an income of 50,000l. In this case he held it to be the duty of the chancellor of the exchequer, either to propose a new tax that would be efficient for 120,000l., and repeal the shop-tax, or a tax that would produce 70,000l., the sum by which the actual produce of the shop-tax fell short of the amount at which it had originally been estimated. Instead of applying an imaginary surplus to the purpose of instituting a sinking fund, he would have advised the creation of an actual million by the introduction of new taxes, and the placing the fund upon a solid foundation, which was now built upon nothing but visionary predictions.

Mr. Fox stated two specific objections to the plan which was described by Mr. Pitt. The first was the idea of making the sum appropriated inalienable in time of war; and he endeavoured to point out several disadvantages which would result from this provision. His other objection was pointed against the circumstance of making the engagement into which parliament entered for paying off the debt, a matter only of general obligation, and thus leaving both the commissioners and the object of their institution liable to be annihilated by a future parliament. He reminded the house of the mode of the original institution of a plan for pay-

ing off a part of the national debt, which had been by a subscription of individuals, to whom the faith of parliament had been engaged to redeem specific portions at certain stated periods. He dwelt upon the difference between the two plans, observing that under the latter, the engagement of parliament was held equally sacred, with the pledge generally to pay the interest of the national debt; and undoubtedly, nothing short of a national bankruptcy would have prevented the sums for which the nation was engaged, from being paid to the individual subscribers. Mr. Fox also expressed some doubts, whether the compelling the commissioners to lay out the money on certain days might not raise the market, and to discover sellers, when none might voluntarily offer, might not so far enhance the price of the stock, as to occasion the benefit to be entirely lost to the public.

Mr. Pitt replied to the objections of Mr. Fox. He observed, that the idea of paying off a part of the debt by a subscription of individuals, had been suggested to him by several persons, and had received his own approbation, but that he had afterwards been obliged to reject it on account of the inconveniencies to which it was liable. With regard to preserving the fund to be invariably applied in diminution of the debt, this was to be considered as the most essential circumstance of the measure. To suffer it at any time or upon any pretence to be diverted from its object, would be to defeat and overturn the whole of his plan. He hoped therefore when the bill he should introduce should once have passed into a law, that the house would hold itself solemnly pledged never to listen to any proposal for its repeal.



Upon the second reading of the bill for the establishing of a fund to be inalienably applied to the paying off the national debt, which took place on the sixth of April, Mr. Hufley assigned several reasons, though ardently attached to the idea of a sinking fund, that induced him to fear, that the appropriating any part of the public revenue to this purpose was not yet practicable. He declared, that he had felt great satisfaction, when Mr. Pitt, in taking notice of the excess of the expenditure of the present year beyond the general statement in the report of the committee, had said, that, though there might, upon the four ensuing years, arise an excess of disbursement to the amount of three millions, he had however no doubt that money would come into the hands of the public sufficiently early to answer that demand. But upon recollection he had found, that the receipt of that money was extremely uncertain. The payment of the debt of the East India company was not a thing that could be counted upon with security, considering the embarrassment in which the affairs of that company were involved. The unclaimed dividends at the bank could not be applied to the service of the nation, without security being given to the public creditor, that the money should be forthcoming when properly called for; nor ought it to be touched without a diligent search after the owner of the dividend. Mr. Hufley complained of the inconveniences that would arise from the quantity of exchequer bills which were at this time unfunded, declaring, that, if great care were not taken, the result would be, that the public in their traffic in the funds would buy dear and sell cheap.

On the fourth of May Mr. She-

ridan brought forward a number of motions, of which the house had been for some time in expectation, and the object of which was to censure the report which had been presented by Mr. Grenville's committee. These motions he supported by a speech of great brilliancy, and in the course of which he displayed a very intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the subject of finance. It was not his purpose to enter into any argument respecting the principle of the bill for the establishment of a sinking fund, or to discuss the propriety of applying the surplus supposed to exist, in the manner provided by that bill. The object, upon which he intended to enter, was, the examination of the great and important question, whether there actually existed any surplus. He was well aware, that, however intimate were the connection of the subject with the welfare of the nation, it was not one of those, in which the house took any great delight, or to the discussion of which they were fond of attending. The critical situation of the country however, and the magnitude of the object in question, he hoped, would be thought to entitle it to their particular notice. In the commencement of so important a business, plain-dealing was first of all indispensibly necessary. Above all it behoved that house not to deceive itself, to gloss over nothing, to avoid nothing that made against the desired purpose. Under this impression it was, and not with any despondent ideas of the national resources, that he meant to call their attention to the report upon the table; and he conceived that he should be able to prove, that it was drawn up upon erroneous principles, that it was replete with mistaken calculations, that the committee had acted under



a delusion, and that the effect of the whole was too fallacious to deserve their reliance, as the ground of a proceeding of so serious and important a nature. Mr. Sheridan begged leave, once for all, to be understood as not meaning to convey any imputation on the persons who composed the committee; at the same time that he must confess, that he thought the manner in which the committee had been formed liable to great objection. Mr. Pitt had gone the length of avowing, that he should not be ashamed to deliver lists of his own friends to be ballotted for to form the committee. He should have imagined, that a fair and impartial committee, composed of men of different sentiments, men, who were as likely to have drawn out the dark side of the question as the favourable one, would have been the best adapted for such an occasion.

The committee, in the exordium of the report, observed, that the large amount of the taxes proposed since the commencement of the late war, the difficulties under which the different branches of our commerce laboured during the continuance of that war, and the great and increasing prevalence of illicit trade previously to the measures recently adopted for its suppression, appeared to render any averages of the amount of the revenue in any former periods, in a great degree inapplicable to the present situation of the country. The very reverse of this reasoning ought to have prevailed. The committee would have done much more wisely to have stated the averages of former periods; and where, Mr. Sheridan asked, was the difficulty, since peace was no new situation to this country? The favourite object of the report was to hold up the measures, recently taken by the minister

of the day for the prevention of smuggling, as the principal cause of the supposed increase of the public income. Mr. Sheridan contradicted this position. He mentioned sugar and several other articles, the revenue upon which could not be supposed to have been affected by these measures. Indeed he knew not how those measures could in any respect be said to have tended to the increase of the revenue, unless it was in the effect of the commutation-tax. The operation of that regulation was to increase the consumption of tea in this kingdom, and particularly of teas of the finer sort, and thus to extend a trade, the balance of which had already been so highly disadvantageous to this country. The immediate consequence of this measure was, that the East India company was placed under the necessity of taking up from the public according to the estimate of one of her most active members, Mr. Baring, four millions of money. This was doubtless an overstatement; but whatever were the sum, the company must borrow it of the bank, and parliament be the security, which was exactly the same as if they had lent it themselves. Mr. Sheridan pointed out several articles which appeared to him to have been erroneously calculated; the game duties, the post-horse tax, the duty on gloves, the duty on medicines, the shop-tax, and the tax on attornies. To what a vast number of years must parliament look forward, even admitting that the committee had been founded in its arguments, for the completion of their wonderful designs? The present members of the house would be departed, and their political existence terminated. They, the old grey-bearded stewards, who had rack-rented the tenants, distrained their



their goods, and levied executions, would be then no more; they would have left the new parliament like a young heir to come into the possession of an unincumbered estate.

Mr. Sheridan observed, that there were many expences that would probably come upon the public before the year 1791, of which the committee had not taken the least notice in their report. He declared, that he thought 1,800,000*l.* too low for the peace establishment of the navy. He reminded the house, that our situation was now very different from what it had been at the end of the war before the last. We could then rest in security with a much smaller naval force than was now necessary for our protection. The national glory and honour were at that day a sufficient guard; but, though our efforts had been wonderful during the late war, still it was to be remembered, that we had been unsuccessful. When the system of fortifications had been reprobated, the house would recollect, that they were all agreed in the premises that it was right to protect the dock-yards; and that, when the new-fangled mode of protection was rejected, it was determined to defend them in the old fashioned, vulgar way, by a strong navy. He at the time, and he believed many others had expected, that a part of the money refused for the fortifications would have been demanded for the purpose of strengthening the navy. Beside, though the proposed fortifications had been rejected, yet some fortifications there would be, and they certainly would cost something. Another expence was, the civil list, for it was pretty generally understood, that the king stood in need of the whole 900,000*l.* for his own expenditure. The establishment of the other branches of the

royal family must be added to the general estimate. There was another subject which could not long be deferred, and that was the increase of the income of the prince of Wales. These additions to the expenditure, together with several others which Mr. Sheridan enumerated, amounted to 4,000,000*l.*; to pay which he saw nothing in the report which deserved to be depended upon. At present it was clear there was no surplus, and the only means which suggested themselves to him for procuring the sum wanted to commence the system, was a loan of a million for this special purpose. For the minister might say with the person in the comedy, "If you will not lend me the money, how can I pay you?" Certain he was, that to rely on the report on the table, and to proceed with a bill founded upon so fallacious principles and so erroneous reasonings, would be the height of rashness and presumption. It would be trusting too much to chance; and, if Mr. Pitt were imprudent enough to risk it, it would ill become that house to countenance such a conduct. If they did, they would act like a school-boy, who, for the sake of getting at the fruit, grasped at the first branch which he could reach, and not only pulled down the unripe fruit, but destroyed the blossom, the bud and the bough, the hopes of a future crop.

Mr. Sheridan's resolutions were as follow: "That the expected annual amount of the national income stated in the report of the committee, appeared in no respect to have been calculated upon the average receipts of a number of years, but was fixed at the amount of the produce of one year only, with the addition of the probable increase of the new taxes: That it appeared, that the account  
of



of the annual expenditure, as opposed to the amount of the income so calculated, was not a statement of the present existing expenditure, or of that which must exist for some years to come, but was formed from the probable reductions, which it was alleged would have taken place in the prospect of permanent peace towards the end of the year 1791: That the different branches of the revenue, in the period upon which the future was calculated, appeared to have been singularly productive, particularly in the customs: That it did not appear, that any means had been taken or information called for, in order to ascertain whether such an increase of revenue had arisen from causes which were likely to have a permanent operation or otherwise; and that such an investigation was indispensably necessary: That the uncertainty of estimating by such a criterion the expected future produce of the revenue, was still more evident upon a comparison of the quarter day ending the fifth of April last, with the same quarter in the preceding year upon which the future income was calculated; by which it appeared that the amount of the latter quarter was inferior in the article of customs by the sum of 188,215*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the former: That in the said report there were certain articles of receipt erroneously stated, as proper to be added to the future annual income, and other articles of expence erroneously omitted to be added to the expenditure: That the sums voted, and to be voted for the present year considerably exceeded 15,397,471*l.*: That the means by which the deficiency was to be made good arose from aids and debts that belonged to the present year only: That there was no surplus income now existing applicable to the reduction of the

national debt: That a surplus income in the ensuing quarters could arise only in the renewal of a loan for an extraordinary million, borrowed upon exchequer bills in the last year, and which it would be unnecessary to make but for the purpose of securing that surplus: That an extraordinary increase of exchequer bills was an inexpedient anticipation of that assistance which government might receive in the event of a peculiar emergency: That the saving to the public upon the interest of money borrowed in this way, was rendered precarious by the necessity of the more speedy issuing of such bills, in order that the object for which the loan was made might be effectually answered: That, admitting, that by the foregoing means the expected surplus would arise upon the three ensuing quarters, it appeared, that there would then be an interval of nearly four years, before the commencement of that permanent peace establishment, which was to furnish in the reduction of its services the expected surplus: That in this period it appeared from the vouchers annexed to the report and other papers that a sum amounting to 4,000,000*l.*, besides 2,000,000*l.* due to the bank, would be wanted above the stated annual income: Finally, that for this sum of 6,000,000*l.* there appeared to be no adequate provision or resource." The resolutions were carried in the negative without a division.

It was not discovered till the sinking fund bill was in a committee, that a part of the powers delegated by that bill to the new commissioners ran counter to preceding acts of parliament. The matter was thus explained to the house by sir Grey Cooper. The bill assumed and delegated a "power to pay off and redeem the redeemable public annuities



nuities at or above par upon such notice, and on the payment of such sums, as were prescribed and directed by the said clause." The error probably arose from a negligent and inattentive construction of the words "redeemable annuities." It might have been expected, that the person, who proposed this most important bill, should have known or been instructed, that the public annuities were not redeemable in the unlimited sense of the word, but only in a certain manner and under specific terms and conditions; with respect to the formalities that should precede, and the amount of the sums that should be paid off at each period of redemption. If the clause had remained as it then stood, the commissioners either could not have applied any portion of the money to be vested in them, towards the redemption of any part of the public debt at par; or if they should have taken any steps or given any notices for that purpose, all such proceedings and transactions would have been null and void. This would have been an inauspicious opening to a great plan for the reduction of the national debt. The credit of this country had been maintained by a regular observance of the plighted faith of parliament, and by an invariable adherence to the compact of the public with its creditor. The most minute aberration from this line of conduct, the least tendency to obliquity or indirection in any transaction with the stockholders, the most distant suspicion that an implied or a partial consent could break one fibre of the public engagements, would affect the future state and condition of the kingdom in its resources, and in its loans when necessity should demand them, infinitely more than the most prosperous success of the present measure could ever compen-

sate. An amendment was made to remove this objection.

A farther amendment was made by Mr. Fox in concert with Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox repeated the objection, which he had originally made to the circumstance of making the sinking fund unalienable in time of war, and stated that his objection rested upon the difficulty into which the country might consequently be thrown in the negotiation of a future loan. What he should wish therefore was, that, whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the minister should not only propose taxes, which were efficacious and productive to pay the interest of the loan, but also sufficient to make good to the sinking fund what had been taken from it; and that at the same time the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or so much of it, as should be equal to the cash of the public which might be then in their hands. He meant, that, if, when a new loan of six millions was proposed, there should be one million in the hands of the commissioners; in such case the commissioners should take a million of the loan, and the bonus or *douceur* of that million should be received by them for the public; so that, in fact, the public would only have five millions to borrow. Mr. Pitt was peculiarly happy to find a motion of this nature come from Mr. Fox, because it proved to him, that the idea which he had entertained of Mr. Fox's opinion upon the subject was erroneous. He had, he confessed, imagined, that his objection was built upon grounds much less politic and liberal. He had apprehended that Mr. Fox's principle had been, that the whole of the fund, as well the annual million as the accruing interest, should be liable at all times of difficulty to be applied



applied to the current service. Mr. Pitt added in recommendation of the amendment, that the chief apprehension, which could arise in the minds of those who wished well to the institution, was that it might afford a temptation to future ministers in times of distress, to apply the fund to the exigencies of government, in order to relieve themselves from the painful necessity of doing their duty in raising the supplies. Now this amendment would prove a means of preventing any temptation, because, without interfering with the main purpose of the establishment, every advantage, which could result to a minister by diverting the money to the current services, might be obtained. Mr. Pitt hoped that posterity would take an example from the present moment, and persevere in the perfection of the object which was now begun; and he thought it no inauspicious omen for the ultimate success of the plan, that its propriety and necessity had been so obvious, as to overcome the spirit and prejudice of party, and to create an unanimity and concurrence of sentiment in persons, who, more, he was sure, from accident than inclination, were in general of different opinions. The amendment was received.

The other objection of Mr. Fox was pursued with some variation in the house of lords by earl Stanhope. This nobleman suggested his idea to the house upon the second reading of the sinking fund bill, which took place on the twenty-second of May. He thought that no apprehension was more alarming, than that of the diversion of the new sinking fund in time of war, and that the only way to encounter this objection was by the subscription of individuals. He stated that 4,000,000l. of free revenue to which the sinking

fund was finally to accumulate, would enable a minister to obtain 80,000,000 by way of loan. He alluded to the speech of Mr. Pitt, in which he had stated it as a recommendation of Mr. Fox's clause, that it tended to diminish the temptation to divert the sinking fund. Earl Stanhope said, that any man, who could use such an argument, absolutely abandoned the defence of the bill. The plan he proposed was, that books should be opened at the bank in order to receive the names of such holders of stock bearing three per cent. interest, as should be willing to signify their consent to accept of 90l. for every 100l. of their present capital, whenever the public should be desirous of redeeming the said capital at that price; and that all holders of this new three per cent. stock, should be entitled to be paid off, before any part of any other public stock should be redeemed. It was not however earl Stanhope's intention, to deprive the commissioners of the power already delegated to them of purchasing stock at the market price during a certain period, but merely to pledge the public to redeem the new three per cents. at 90l. whenever it should be judged expedient, prior to their redeeming any other portion of the national debt. In recommendation of his scheme, lord Stanhope produced the letters of several eminent brokers, bankers and merchants, and of doctor Richard Price.

There was no situation, said lord Stanhope, however unfortunate, which did not afford some species of consolation; and, such had been the goodness of providence towards mankind, that circumstances of misfortune generally carried some alleviation along with them. The present situation of our finances afforded an instance of this. If we were rich,



rich, the nation might be haughty, and ministers might be proud, and might be tempted to involve the nation in rash wars, from the facility with which they could obtain supplies. But, if the nation were poor, if it were deeply involved in debt, if it were loaded with taxes which it could scarcely bear, ministers would not dare to involve this country in expensive wars without provocation and without necessity; for the nation would tear that minister in pieces, who, in the present situation of our finances, should involve the kingdom in a war, or attempt to lay on an additional load of taxes without a sufficient cause. But the bill of Mr. Pitt tended to subvert, as it were, the great system of nature. For without making us rich, it took from us any advantage which we might derive from our poverty.

Earl Stanhope stated, that it was a great advantage of the plan which he had now suggested, that it might another year be grafted upon Mr. Pitt's plan. The bill of the minister was not defective so much on account of what it did contain, as on account of what it ought to, but did not contain. It was his wish, that Mr. Pitt's bill should pass without a dissenting voice, in order to show foreign powers, that, whatever might be the differences of opinion in this country with respect to politics, there was one subject upon which we were unanimous, a firm determination to reduce our debt, and redeem our finances. People might wonder how he could reconcile it to his conscience to vote for so defective and so bad a bill. But his principal objection was, that a minister might be induced to involve this country into a war, in order to seize upon a large surplus; and that

objection did not now exist. The surplus of the year 1786 was not that tempting morsel, that seducing bait, for the operation of which upon a minister's integrity he entertained so lively apprehensions. Lord Stanhope concluded with moving a resolution, "that it was highly important to the public creditors, and necessary for the welfare of the country, that a plan for the reduction of the national debt should be rendered absolutely permanent; and that it was therefore essential that the public faith should be fully pledged to individuals, by an express compact being entered into between the state and the creditors, so that the breach of such a contract should be equivalent to an act of bankruptcy."

Lord Loughborough and lord Stormont paid very high compliments to the suggestions of earl Stanhope. They declared, that they had never recollected a first speech in that assembly, which was the circumstance under which lord Stanhope had spoken, that had come with more weight, or made a more evident impression on the house. His ideas and their own, respecting the principles of the constitution, and the conduct which ought to be pursued at the present moment, were perfectly similar. They however advised him to withdraw his present motion. To this lord Stanhope could not consent, as his principal design in suggesting it had been to enter his opinion upon the journals of the house. Lord Camelford replied to the arguments that had been employed. He expressed his wishes, that the house would proceed with such sound policy and extreme caution, as to avoid throwing the least discredit upon the bill, or giving the world an idea that it was thought



an imperfect measure. Nothing indeed was more desirable than that the plan should be permanent; but it was impossible to give it a higher degree of permanency than it would derive from the bill upon the table. With regard to the proposal of paying off the three per cents at 90l., lord Camelford thought, that the plan of paying them off at the market price was more advantageous for the public, because it made a period of war the time that it would be most easy for discharging the debt. The resolution of lord Stanhope was set aside by a previous question.

A motion was made by lord Stormont for a message to be sent to the house of commons, to know the grounds upon which they had passed the bill, that by this means they might obtain a copy of the report of the select committee. He reminded the house, that on a former occasion the minister had of his own accord sent up minutes of the evidence, that the commons had heard at their bar, and which they stated to have been the ground of their proceedings in the case of the Irish propositions. A message was drawn up by the duke of Richmond, and appeared at the moment to have received the countenance of Mr. Pitt; but it was discovered upon further enquiry, that no precedent could be found for a compliance with such a demand; and of consequence the house of commons, upon the motion of the minister, returned an answer to that purpose. Lord Loughborough and lord Stormont resisted all farther proceedings upon the bill of Mr. Pitt, upon the ground that the house had not before them the information which they had already declared to be essentially necessary;

but they were over-ruled by the sense of the majority.

On the same day, on which Mr. Pitt had originally moved his resolutions preparatory to the introduction of his sinking fund bill, a message from the king was delivered to both houses of parliament, stating, "that it gave him great concern that it had not been found possible to confine the expences of the civil list within the annual sum of 850,000l., now applicable to that purpose. A farther debt had necessarily been incurred, and the king relied on the zeal and affection of parliament, that they would take the debt into their early consideration, and make such provision as the circumstances might appear to require." Upon the motion for taking this message into consideration, Mr. Pitt remarked, that, when the last regulation took place with respect to the civil list, it was provided by parliament that an annual deduction of 50,000l. should be made out of the allowance for that purpose, for the payment by installments of a debt of 300,000l., due upon exchequer bills, which had been issued to supply the former deficiencies of the list. He put his argument from this circumstance into the form of a dilemma. Either parliament had directed, that at a future period the civil list was to be allowed 50,000l. more than was necessary, or it was put for the present upon a footing of 50,000l. less than was necessary. Experience had proved the latter to be the case. It had been found perfectly impracticable to meet all the demands with 850,000l., and a fresh debt of 30,000l. had accrued in addition to the sum of 180,000l., which yet remained unpaid of the exchequer bills. He

should



should therefore move for a sum, equal to the amount of both these taken together, to be granted to defray all incumbrances, and of consequence, that the full sum of 900,000*l.* should remain for the annual expenditure of the civil list.

Mr. Drake paid many compliments to the moral and religious character of the sovereign; but the pressing necessity of the times rendered oeconomy in every part of the public expenditure indispensably necessary. All ranks of people must make it their first object, and it was the duty of the crown in particular to set the example. Mr. Drake remarked upon the very large appointments of certain patent offices in the household; and his objections were answered by Mr. Pitt. Mr. Powys confessed himself aware of the indelicacy of seeming to object against the motion; but, before he could give his consent, he expected to hear Mr. Pitt pledge himself to the house, that he had used his utmost attention to prevent the debts being incurred by any unnecessary expences. Was he to believe, that no ambassadors had been appointed to foreign courts, and maintained on high salaries, while they were in fact perfectly inefficient, and had not even once for years together reached the court to which they were appointed? Was he to consider the having two ambassadors upon separate establishments at Paris; as a test of oeconomy? He acknowledged, that Mr. Eden was as well qualified for the task of negotiating a commercial treaty, as any man in the country; but he had ever understood, that commercial as well as political matters were under the care of the ambassador; and if the duke of Dorset either had not leisure, or was not competent to enter into the detail of commercial

concerns, he thought the proper way was to have sent out a person to assist him, whose rank in life would not have rendered it improper for him to act in a subordinate capacity. Mr. Pitt replied as to the appointment of an ambassador to Madrid, that, at the time of lord Chesterfield's nomination, there was not any room to expect that an ambassador would not have been dispatched from that court. As soon as it was discovered our representative was stopped from proceeding any farther. The matter had remained long in suspense, and as soon as any certainty had been obtained, lord Chesterfield was finally recalled. Several questions were put to the minister, respecting the future income of the prince of Wales, by Mr. alderman Newnham, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. By the latter, it was remarked, that he knew no proper method of bringing the business before the house, but by message from the crown, and he earnestly hoped ministers would advise the sovereign accordingly. If they did not, he should himself venture to introduce the business previously to the rising of parliament. The motion of Mr. Pitt was ultimately voted.

In both houses the present demand in favour of the civil list was contrasted with the bill of Mr. Burke for regulating the payment of the civil list expences, by which it was expressly enacted, that no debt under that head should in future be incurred, and with the speech from the throne in December 1782. It was absurd to let Mr. Burke's bill remain in full force, and yet come down in the face of an act of parliament, and call upon the house to vote money for debts of the crown. The speech that was alluded to had been delivered at a time,



time, when the principal ministers in both houses of parliament were in high office; and its language was very explicit. "I have carried into strict execution the several reductions in my civil list expences, directed by an act of the last session. I have introduced a farther reform into other departments, and suppressed several sinecure places in them. I have by this means so regulated my establishments, that my expence shall not in future exceed my income."

The allusion to this speech gave birth to an altercation between the marquis of Lansdown and lord viscount Stormont. The last of these noblemen, as well as the duke of Portland professed to have examined the estimate of the expenditure of the civil list, which had been produced during the administration of the marquis of Lansdown, and they had found a surplus of no more than 247*l*. It was highly blameable under these circumstances to have pledged the royal word, that his beneficencies and his extraordinary expences should for the future be confined within the limits of so paltry a sum. There were besides several glaring errors in the estimate. The embassy to Holland had been totally omitted, and the article of presents to foreign ministers had been estimated at a sum, which was notoriously inferior to the real expence. Lord Lansdown entered into a justification of his proceedings. His administration continued only six months, during which time he had made an annual saving, by striking off various sinecure and useless places, to the amount of 116,000*l*.; and he was proceeding to abolish a still greater number. This had induced him to advise his sovereign to make use of the language in question. Situat-

ed as he was, and plainly foreseeing that he should not long preside at the helm, he thought the last and best earnest, which he could give to his country of his wish to further its welfare, was to tie down the civil list and expenditure within certain bounds; and, as he then flattered himself, to put it totally out of the power of any minister to make any fresh demand upon the country. Lord Lansdown accounted for the errors that had been found in the estimate, by describing the time at which it had been drawn. It was well known, that after his resignation six weeks had passed away before the new administration was fixed; and all that time his name remained at the treasury, though he was in fact out of office. In the course of the time it was discovered by the clerks, that, according to an act of parliament, a paper respecting the civil list was to be laid on the table of the house of commons by the fourth of April. They were a good deal alarmed; and, having come to him upon the occasion, he had signed the paper. It was in fact however nothing more than a loose paper, hastily made out by the clerks of the treasury, without any sort of superintendence, without the sanction of any board, without appearing on the minutes, or being in any way a matter of official record. Lord Lansdown at the same time moved for a minute of the board of treasury of the fourteenth of March 1783, from which it appeared, that, according to his system, there would be a surplus for the extraordinary expences of the sovereign of 8,986*l*.

At the period of voting the estimates of the navy on the first of March, some observations were suggested by captain Macbride, that appear to deserve to be recorded.

He



He censured extremely the voting very large sums for the repair of sixty and sixty-four gun ships, and observed, that our having so many vessels of this sort was a principal reason of the many defeats we had suffered in the last war. The French had not now more than three or four sixty-four gun ships, and they took care not to build any new ones upon that construction. Another thing against our navy was, that the French seventy-four gun ships were of two thousand tons burthen, while our seventy-fours had been reduced to one thousand six hundred tons. Captain Macbride verily believed, that, if the number of our ships were reduced by one third, the navy of England would prove one third the stronger. He was still more severe in his condemnation of the absurd system of suffering the ships to remain in their copper bottoms during a time of peace. If we persisted in this idea, there would be no occasion to argue whether ships of one size or another should be built, for we should soon have no navy in our possession. The French had discovered the folly of the practice, and for some time had left off the mode of sheathing their ships. We ought therefore to do the same, or at least to take off the copper when the ships were to lie long in still water. The copper corroded, and eat more into their bolts than either worms or time. The consequence would be, that, the instant the ships which had long laid by were sent to sea, their bottoms would drop out, and thousands of brave seamen would perish in the ocean. The ideas of captain Macbride were confirmed by sir John Jervis; and so far as related to the sheathing with copper, by captain Luttrell. Sir Charles Middleton comptroller of the navy,

expected, that motives of delicacy would have prevented the agitation of the subject in the house of commons; and he was sure, that upon cooler reflection captain Macbride would be of opinion with him, that discussions of this kind could not be publicly brought forward without manifest impropriety and danger. Mr. Hussey replied, that this was a doctrine that could by no means be admitted, at the moment that the house was going to vote away 14,000l. or 16,000l. of the people's money for useless or pernicious purposes. Parliament, upon occasion of the fortifications, had shown, that there was still some spirit and virtue left in the nation. A great many gentlemen had the welfare of their country at heart, and all those would certainly join and support the gallant officer in his enquiry. The estimates were carried without a division.

A subject relative to the supplies, which excited some animadversion in the house of commons, was in relation to some buildings carrying on at the admiralty, and the expence of which was estimated at 13,000l. The subject was originally introduced by Mr. Jolliffe. The measure was vindicated by Mr. Brett and Mr. Hopkins, two lords of the admiralty, who stated, that the offices of the clerks in that department were so narrow, as to be totally inadequate to their purpose, and to occasion many inconveniences. Mr. Jolliffe observed in reply, that he found in the plans submitted to the house several rooms of such a description as usually constituted an elegant mansion, but nothing that resembled offices for clerks. It was answered, that the present dwelling-house of lord Howe was to be converted into offices and room for papers, and that the new



building was to be occupied by that nobleman. Mr. Fox observed, that, if there were really a propriety in building a new house for the first lord of the admiralty, he should never object to a vote for that purpose; but he did not approve of coming to the house of commons, and stating that there was a want of rooms for papers and clerks, and then producing the plan of a superb dwelling-house. He thought it was incumbent upon the board of admiralty to have first proved, either that new and sufficient rooms could not have been provided for by a smaller sum than it would cost to build a new house for the first lord of the admiralty; or that a more economical plan could not be discovered than the converting the present spacious habitation of the first lord into offices for clerks. Mr. Hussey remarked, that it was his constant rule to object to the applying the public money to useless or lavish purposes. At present two of the lords of the admiralty had no houses provided for them. Why then could not two more vacate their houses, and let them be converted into offices? They could easily be recompensed for this sacrifice by an allowance of two or three hundred pounds a year in lieu of their houses, and that would be but a trifling expence compared to the expence of the new building, the amount of which was not hastily to be concluded from the estimate before them. The house divided, ayes in favour of the estimate 63, noes 36.

It had been proposed in the preceding session, to pass an act for diminishing the number, and augmenting the salaries of the Scotch judges. But the unpopularity and odium, which were universally excited against this measure in that

part of the kingdom, had its effect in altering the intentions of ministers. The bill, which was this year introduced by Mr. Hays Campbell, the lord advocate for Scotland, and Mr. Dundas, departed from the first of these objects, while it retained the second. The salary of the lord president of the court of session, was fixed at the clear annual amount of 2000*l.*, and that of the inferior lords at 1000*l.* each.

Messages were delivered from the sovereign towards the close of the session, recommending it to the house of commons, to enable him to grant a pension of 500*l.* per annum to Mr. Brook Watson, alderman of London, and late commissary-general in North America, and a pension of 1000*l.* per annum, to sir Guy Carleton, upon the joint lives of lady Maria Carleton, his wife, and of two of his sons; the former to be paid out of the civil list, and the latter out of the aggregate fund. An argument employed in favour of the pension to Mr. Watson, was adduced from the promise made to him by lord North, when he accepted the office of commissary; and the promise of the sovereign given in 1776, was urged in behalf of the pension to general Carleton, which the general had for some time declined accepting from motives of delicacy. The former of these motions was recommended by the eulogium of sir George Howard, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Brickdale and Mr. Hussey, and passed unanimously. The latter produced an invective against the conduct of sir Guy Carleton from Mr. Courtenay, and a very spirited and eloquent eulogium from general Burgoyne. It was received without a dissentient voice.

A motion was brought forward in this session by Mr. Sheridan, for the



the printing of tax bills. The practice of printing bills was of a modern date; but it was highly beneficial to the purposes of free discussion, and there were certainly no bills more worthy of serious investigation, than tax bills. Custom indeed had not yet extended the practice to bills of this description; but custom was no sound reason why a method, that had but lately been employed in any case, should not now be made to include every subject that would be benefited by its application. Upon this question, as applied to the bill upon perfumery, the house divided, ayes for printing the bill 24, noes 119.

Several petitions were presented in the course of this session, for the repeal of the duties imposed upon retail shops. The petitioners were permitted to be heard by themselves and their counsel; and on the second of March a motion was made by sir Watkin Lewes, in pursuance of the prayer of these petitions. The motion was supported by the members of the city of London, by Mr. Hamet, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Thornton, sir Joseph Mawbey, and Mr. Francis. It was opposed by sir Edward Astley, Mr. Powys, Mr. Walter Stanhope, member for Hull, and Mr. Grigby, member for the county of Suffolk. Mr. Pitt upon this occasion stated those mitigations of the tax, which were afterwards reduced into the form of a bill, and which were calculated in a considerable degree to relieve traders, the rent of whose houses was below the sum of thirty pounds, as inducements to prevail upon the house to vote against the total repeal. "Perhaps," added he, "a perseverance in the attempt to give stability to the shop-tax, will either prevent the slightest acquisition of popularity, or lessen, if not anni-

hilate, whatever share of it might at any preceding period have been acquired. Yet, although no circumstance can prove more flattering to my heart than the enjoyment of the approbation of my fellow-subjects, nor any endeavour become a stronger object to my mind than that which tends to the earning from their generous partiality a tribute of honourable praise, I shall prefer what in my humble opinion I may deem their interests to their gratifications, and their real service to the imaginary causes of their contentment. The important duties of my station shall never even for a moment lose their first ascendancy in my recollection, and, amidst the principles which a becoming idea of these must naturally inspire, I shall regard all marks of popular applause as merely personal considerations, and therefore not worthy to weigh a feather in the scale, against my efforts to procure, upon grounds of unexceptionable justice, advantage to the revenue."

Mr. Fox took advantage of the mitigations, that were to be introduced by Mr. Pitt's proposed bill, to argue against the shop-tax in general. His opinions upon the subject of taxation were well known. Notwithstanding the numerous petitions on the table, and notwithstanding the instructions he had received from those whom he immediately represented, he made no scruple to declare, that he should have supported the minister in resisting the repeal of the shop-tax, had he not been convinced that the tax was radically bad, that it was founded in the grossest partiality and injustice, and that no modification could cure its defects, or render it fit to be endured. The greater part of Mr. Pitt's arguments had been intended to prove that the



tax was not personal, and that it must find its level, and fall upon the consumer. If this were true, what was there to recommend his modifications? He had stated, that he would take off and diminish the portion of the tax to be paid by the poorer class, which would considerably lighten and exonerate the shopkeeper. Would it? of what would it exonerate him? of the money paid by the consumer? Glaring was the inconsistency of the actions of Mr. Pitt, when compared with his arguments.

Though the petitions of the opposers of the shop-tax were more numerous, the hawkers and pedlars, who had suffered under the regulations of the preceding session, were not destitute of their advocates, and several petitions were presented to parliament in their behalf. On the sixth of April a motion was made by Mr. William Pulteney, member for Shrewsbury, for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of the last session upon this subject. A clause, which had been found particularly odious to the class of persons in question, was that for granting to justices of peace a discretionary power of imprisoning any person of this profession, from which power the injured party might appeal to the quarter sessions. The clause had been originally introduced by Mr. Marsham, and was now defended by him, as calculated to favour the pedlars where they were useful, and to suppress them where they were found to be injurious. In counties of the former description, the magistrates instead of forbidding their coming would naturally encourage it; and in counties where their presence was deemed a nuisance, the magistrates were by his clause authorised to prevent their appearing. It was

farther argued in favour of Mr. Pulteney's motion, that in only two or three counties had the magistrates been found severe enough to execute Mr. Pitt's bill, which was a strong proof that it was the sense of the kingdom, that it was full of hardship and injustice. The cause of the pedlars was pleaded with much earnestness, as being the cause of equity and philanthropy, by Mr. Powys, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Windham, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Hawkins Browne, the lord advocate of Scotland, sir Adam Ferguson, Mr. alderman Newnham, and sir Watkin Lewes. The bill was opposed by sir Edward Astley, Mr. alderman Hamet, Mr. Popham, and Mr. Thornton. It was rejected upon the second reading, ayes 99, noes 49.

The improvement of the revenue in the article of the duty upon wines, which Mr. Pitt had suggested to the house of commons in explaining the business of the sinking fund, was opened by the minister on the fifth of May. The general idea of the measure was to transfer a part of the duties on this commodity from the customs, to which they now belonged, to the excise, and it was built upon the acknowledged fact, that the revenue derived to government from the article of foreign wine, was at this time inferior by the sum of 280,000*l.* to what it had been in the middle of the century. Mr. Pitt assumed it as a principle, that the consumption of wine was at least not diminished, if not rather increased in that period. The frauds in question had been imputed to two causes; and, though he should allow somewhat for the operation of both, he was inclined to lay the principal stress on the latter. They were the frau-



fraudulent importation of a considerable quantity of wine without paying the duty, and the sale of a spurious and adulterated liquor, under the denomination of wine, but which in truth was not in any sort intitled to that appellation. The manufacture of home-made wine, was of itself very little intitled to the indulgence of the legislature; and it was a part of his plan, to impose duties upon this commodity equal to those to which foreign wines were at present liable. By suppressing this manufacture, a greater demand would arise for foreign wines, and a more extensive market be opened for the productions of national industry. In return for a fraudulent trade, which could not conduce to the commercial welfare of the nation, and the only object of which was to increase the property of the individual by the imposition of a spurious article of consumption, that cheated at once both the consumer and the revenue, we should have an opportunity of circulating our various fabrics, in which the industry, the capital and the navigation of the country were employed. The miserable substitute which was at present imposed upon us, he apprehended no member of that house would wish to see continued, either from motives of a commercial or a convivial nature.

Mr. Pitt observed, that a proposal, in some degree similar to that which he was about to make, had been formerly in contemplation, and that it had then encountered so violent an opposition that it had been thought proper to abandon it. He apprehended however, that the principal reason for that opposition was, that it had been coupled with another object, which had always been regarded by Englishmen with an

eye of jealousy. There was no intention in the present measure of introducing a general excise, the design being to confine it to those persons only who dealt in wine; and, so far from giving power to the excisemen to enter all dwelling houses, it would even subject only the entered cellars and warehouses of the dealers themselves to be searched. In fact, even of those upon whom the regulation was to operate, a very few only would have reason to complain that their situation was changed. For such as dealt in wine by retail, having in general licences for selling spirituous liquors, their houses were already liable to be entered by the officers, in order to take an account of their stock in that commodity. As to the expence of the measure now in agitation, it would amount to no more than 12,000*l.* or 13,000*l.* per annum; a sum by no means to be put in competition with the frauds it was intended to prevent; and the number of excisemen to be added, would not exceed according to his computation the amount of one hundred and sixty seven. So much were former prejudices against this mode dissipated, that Mr. Pitt really expected, when a cool and temperate view of the business had been taken, that he should have very few, if any dissentient voices against his proposal. He however particularly deprecated the objections of members in opposition, and pointed out the inconsistency of which they would be guilty, if they recollected their late conduct upon the business of the sinking fund. They had entertained ideas, more desponding than he thought had any foundation respecting the state of our finances, and had even recommended the imposition of new taxes to make up a supposed deficiency.



ciency. It would be unpardonable in the extreme for persons, who had used such language, not to support every measure, which was at all consistent with the constitution and with good policy for the improvement of the revenue. He hoped, that no person would take advantage of unpopular names or worn-out prepossessions, to create an aversion to a measure, which afforded a prospect of such signal advantage, and for which the situation of the country so powerfully called.

Mr. Dempster recommended to the house the utmost circumspection in giving way to bills, which might materially affect the rights and liberties of the subject. He reminded them of the general excise, which had thrown the nation into a flame, in the time of sir Robert Walpole. That, if he recollected, was no other, than a proposition to transfer the collection of the duties upon wines and tobacco to the office of excise. Was not the intended regulation respecting wines, somewhat of the same kind? And did it not go to the destruction of the favourite idea of every Englishman, that his house was his castle? The cyder-tax, imposed in the beginning of the present reign, had been repealed, because the suffering excisemen to enter men's houses was thought an odious and intolerable badge of slavery. In both these instances the people had resisted; and the consequence was, that it was thought wise in government to relax, and abandon the rigour of the excise laws. Mr. Dempster thought, that an alteration of conduct in the present instance, could no otherwise be defended than from the altered situation of the country; and he was by all means for our paying our debts like honest men: but he was persuaded, that the present measure

would not answer its purpose, or give an effectual check to the illicit trade.

Mr. Fox had heard nothing like an argument to prove, that wine was one of those articles to which the excise laws ought to be extended. He disliked experiments upon the liberty of the subject, and he regarded the present experiment as peculiarly rash. The duties on malt and beer had been found admirably adapted to collection under the excise, and a better mode could not be adopted for that purpose. But did it follow, that all duties would be best collected under the excise-laws? Experience testified the reverse to be the fact. The duties on tea, formerly a great and essential article of revenue, had been under the collection of the excise; and it was well known, how miserably that mode of collection had failed. It had succeeded no better in its application to the duties on spirituous liquors. The practice of the excise, that of gauging, applied to the breweries, but was of all subjects the most incompatible with the article of wine. With regard to the distinction Mr. Pitt had made, respecting the operation of the measure, that its several clauses would fall only upon dealers in wine, and not upon private individuals; Mr. Fox considered it as in a high degree idle and fallacious. That distinction had been urged as a great argument, when the cyder tax was debated many years ago. But to what did it really amount, unless it were a provision to favour the idle, and oppress the industrious? Traders, as the most useful set of men, were, in his opinion, the best entitled to legislative consideration. But sure he was, that no sound reason could be assigned, why they should be debarred of their share in that



that freedom, which the constitution held out as common to all.

The Earl of Surrey and Mr. Bastard recommended to Mr. Pitt, to withdraw the principal part of his regulation, and to introduce as a substitute, perfectly adequate, a heavy duty upon sweets or wines of our own growth. The measure was farther opposed by Mr. alderman Sawbridge, Mr. alderman Newnham, Mr. alderman Hamet, Mr. alderman Watson, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan. It was supported by Mr. Hufsey, Mr. Martin, Mr. Drake, Mr. Pye, and Mr. Gascoyne. A petition was presented against the bill by the wine-merchants of London, and they were heard in evidence at the bar of the house.

Mr. Beaufoy had in the last session introduced a bill into the house of commons, to amend the excise-laws, the principal object of which was, to give to those, who were accused as defaulters against this code, an optional right of being tried by their peers. What upon that occasion he had attempted with respect to the subject in general, he now conceived himself bound to bring forward in part, when an extension of the excise laws was the topic under discussion. Mr. Pitt observed, that it could not be without concern, that he should meet Mr. Beaufoy's clause with a negative. He paid a very high compliment to the great ability, and uniform integrity of his friend. He observed, that, if Mr. Beaufoy had manifested any such distinction between the wine-trade and the other subjects of the revenue laws, as could make out sufficient ground for an exception, he should have been extremely willing to comply with his motion. He added, that the summary mode of proceeding now employed, was ac-

knowledge to be, in many instances, convenient to the parties; and he concluded, that it would be highly unreasonable to give them an option of dissenting from that mode, solely in cases where it was actually necessary to the revenue. The amendment of Mr. Beaufoy was opposed by sir Grey Cooper, and supported by Mr. Fox. The latter condemned the mode of reasoning that had been employed against it in the strongest manner. The summary proceedings adopted by the excise laws, were exceptions to the constitution, warranted only by very extraordinary cases; the catalogue of those exceptions therefore ought not to be swelled without a cogent and sufficient reason. A right to trial by jury was what the constitution authorised; and, wherever it could be given with perfect safety to the revenue, there it ought to be allowed. But what was the nature of the offences cognizable under the present bill? Offences, which might be fraudulent in their design, or might arise from inadvertency: offences, the guilt of which ought to be estimated from the intention, and upon which therefore a jury alone was competent to decide. The clause of Mr. Beaufoy was rejected, and the house having divided upon the third reading of the bill, the numbers appeared, ayes 71, noes 33.

In the house of lords, the bill for transferring the duties upon wines was supported by Lord Townshend, and encountered the opposition of the Earl of Carlisle. Lord Carlisle affirmed, that, when any man of common sense came to examine the contents of the bill, he would find that it had no other motive, than the multiplication of the patronage of the crown, by an enormous and sudden increase of excise officers.



It was not, as had been stated in another house, an increase of one hundred and sixty officers, but of nearly two thousand. This was easily calculated. There were about seven hundred wholesale dealers, and ten thousand retailers, who would be affected by the bill. To each of the principal merchants there must be one exciseman. These would make seven hundred; and a moderate average among the rest, would raise the whole to the amount he had stated.

Lord Loughborough entered into the history of the measures, which had been adopted for the extension of the excise. Sir Robert Walpole, in the close of his ministerial reign, proposed a system of that kind. The patriots of those days opposed him. The measure was considered by all the principal country gentlemen as odious, and Sir Robert barely escaped from the house with his life. The measure was again thought of in Mr. Pelham's time, and upon the very plan of excising wine. But Mr. Pelham, as able a statesman, and as good a financier as any who succeeded him, rejected the proposal. It had not then suggested itself till the administration of Mr. Grenville, who was as excellent a statesman as had ever sat upon the treasury bench, and he had declared the measure to be totally inadmissible under any minister, who had a value for the interests of Great Britain, and a respect for the inestimable blessings of liberty.

Lord Loughborough took much pains in developing the history of the duties upon wine for the last fifty years, and he inferred from the whole, that, in proportion as the duties on sweets were taken off, so had the revenue from foreign wines decreased; and that, of conse-

quence, the restoration of those duties was a remedy perfectly adequate to the evil complained of. Lord Loughborough was remarkably severe in his animadversions upon a clause, which had not originally constituted a part of the bill, but which had been introduced as an amendment in the committee of the house of commons. By this clause a jury were expressly prohibited, in case of any suit commenced against an exciseman for improper seizure, and the exciseman being able to shew a probable cause for that seizure, to grant the plaintiff a verdict, exclusively of the value of things seized, of more than two pence damages or of any costs of suit, or to inflict a fine that should exceed one shilling. With regard to the exception of a probable cause, false information was a probable cause, and that might in every instance be assigned. Lord Loughborough conceived, that this was one of the most arbitrary measures with respect to the excise, that by any ministry had ever been attempted. It was an abolition of all appeal to the laws of the land for redress, and made cyphers of the authority of courts and juries. It made an exciseman of more consequence than any lord in the realm, by placing him above the jurisdiction of his peers. It set him out of the reach of constitutional justice and furnished him with authority to laugh at the courts in Westminster-hall. There were lords in that house, added Lord Loughborough, who, in times past, had defended the trial by jury, as the most sacred right which a Briton could enjoy. He trusted, that, when any of those came forward to favour the present measure, he would assign such causes for the alteration of his opi-

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nion, as should coincide with justice, and make mankind credit his sincerity, and admire his wisdom.

Lord Camden replied to Lord Loughborough. No circumstance could give him greater pleasure, than to find his sentiments perfectly coincide with those of that nobleman on so patriotic a principle, as that of defending the constitution. The extension of the excise laws was a dangerous system, and was fraught with multifarious evils. It unhinged the constitutional rights of juries, and overturned the popular principle, that every man's house was his castle. Lord Camden had long imbibed these principles, and he could not easily get rid of his early prejudices. They were the sentiments of his youth, inculcated by precept, improved by experience, and warranted by example. Strange however as it might appear, the necessity of the case obliged him to give his assent to the present bill. Lord Camden expatiated on the various impositions practised by the wine-merchants, to delude the public, to cheat the revenue, and to injure the health of the subject. It was to their iniquities that the present departure from the constitution was to be ascribed. They were guilty of all, that could offend the laws of their country in respect to its revenue, and were therefore properly marked out by the bill upon the table. With respect to the clause of fine and damages, upon which lord Loughborough had animadverted, lord Camden acknowledged, that it did not meet either his ideas of equity, or his principles of justice; but, as the bill had proceeded so far, and this alteration would destroy it for the present session, he must give way to the clause. If, at a period less advanced, he had dis-

covered its enmity, any well suggested alteration should most certainly have received his support. The bill was carried without a division.

In the month of June a message was delivered from the king to both houses of parliament, signifying, that the king was desirous that an enquiry should be made into the condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the crown, in order that they might be rendered as productive as possible; and calling upon parliament for their concurrence in such provisions respecting the subject, as they should judge most conducive to the public benefit. A bill was accordingly introduced, which, as it was conceived to contain some extraordinary clauses, encountered a small degree of opposition in the house of commons, and a still greater in the house of lords. Mr. Jolliffe censured the very singular manner in which the bill had been introduced, and its strange contents. It had been brought in in silence, without any notice of its real design. It had been read a second time and not printed, at a period when persons of the largest property had left London. The commissioners named in the bill were to continue during the term of three years, and were not removeable either by the king or by the address of either house of parliament. What an exclamation had been excited against the bill of Mr. Fox for the regulation of India, because it was supposed to contain a similar provision, though Mr. Fox's commissioners were removable by address of parliament, and though his bill had no concern with the immediate interests of the crown. Mr. Jolliffe farther animadverted upon certain clauses of the bill, by which  
a power



a power was given to the commissioners to call for and to detain the papers and title deeds of estates, and he moved an amendment to prevent the obvious abuse of this provision, which was received without a division.

In the house of lords lord Loughborough dwelt with much energy upon the clause by which the commissioners were rendered perpetual. He observed, that, in all former laws respecting the land-revenues of the crown, parliament had proceeded with circumspection and caution. In the reign of Charles the Second, when parliament had complied with the inclination of the king, in permitting him to alienate his landed revenue, they expressly stipulated for certain description of rents, which should not be sold. By the act of the first year of the present king, the income of the estate of the crown was directed to be carried to the aggregate fund, but the absolute and uncontrolled management of the estate was given to the crown. The present bill made sure work, and contained no reservation. Nothing could be more different, than the title and preamble of the bill, from its real contents. The estate of the crown was directed to be sold without the previous consent of the sovereign. The rents payable to the queen, and those which arose to the prince of Wales from the principality of that name, fell under the description of the bill, and might be disposed of by the commissioners. The rights of individuals were intrenched upon, and the respect due to the royal family was transgressed with less decorum and attention, than had hitherto been paid to the claims of the meanest subject in passing a common turnpike bill. The house of lords divided upon

the third reading, contents 28, not contents 18, and a protest was entered by the duke of Portland, the earls of Sandwich and Carlisle, doctor Wilson, bishop of Bristol, and lord Loughborough. The commissioners appointed by the bill were, sir Charles Middleton, colonel Call, and Mr. Arthur Holdsworth.

Lord Loughborough during the latter part of this session appeared in some measure in the character, that had been assumed by lord Thurlow. He took the lead in the proceedings of the house of lords, decided upon, and caused the rejection of bills, and seemed to be the moderator of that assembly. During the illness of this nobleman, he appeared to engross all the advantages of his situation, with the additional circumstance, whether we suppose him to have derived it from his inherent dispositions, or from his present character as a member of opposition, of seeming to plead the cause of experience against innovation, and of liberty against political encroachment. The last occasion of this sort that occurred related to a bill, which had been brought into parliament by Mr. Wilberforce, for explaining and amending the criminal laws of this kingdom. The bill had passed the house of commons without opposition. When it appeared upon the table of the lords, it was treated by lord Loughborough with the severest invective. He insisted particularly upon a part of the bill, by which it was directed that the judges should order the bodies of convicts for burglary and certain other crimes, to be delivered to the surgeons after execution. Lord Loughborough reminded the house of the natural mildness of the punishments of this country, and observed



served, that it was not till the middle of the present century, that a law had been made depriving murderers of the right of burial, and destining the body of the criminal to dissection. That addition had been found an essential advantage to the community. Criminals, hardened in vice and practised in villainy, had stood with a firm countenance during trial, and had heard sentence of death passed upon them without emotion; but, when the judge informed them that their bodies were to be deprived of sepulture, and that they were to undergo a public dissection, their countenances changed, they grew suddenly pale, trembled, and exhibited a visible appearance of the extremest horror. This sort of spectacle had always made a forcible impression on the minds of the bystanders, and was attended with the most salutary consequences to the morals of mankind, and to the good order of the community. Was it wise to destroy this salutary effect, by making the deprivation of burial a common and ordinary consequence of every conviction for almost any capital offence? Nothing could be more obvious, than that, if the same punishment were to attend the convict for burglary as for murder, robberies would generally be attended with murder here as they were in France, and criminals would take care to prevent the appearance of any witnesses against them at a future trial. Lord Loughborough said, that in London, where the criminals had been bred in every kind of vice, it might be otherwise, but at a distance from the metropolis, where the convict had been born of reputable parents, had a valuable wife, or good connections of any kind, a more edifying spectacle could not be imagined

than his last adieux, nor a scene of more useful woe be exhibited than that of his funeral. Respect for the family of the defunct, his former credit, and the recollection of his fate possessed the minds of the surrounding spectators, and were productive of consequences, which undoubtedly conduced to the preservation of the good morals of the vicinage. The lower ranks of the people entertained very strong prejudices upon the subject of burial, and the disposal of their bodies after death; and the bill would have an immediate tendency to banish all religious ideas and sentiments from their minds.

But there was still another ill consequence that resulted from this part of Mr. Wilberforce's bill. The clause effectually took away from the judges the power of granting a respite, a power which they had long possessed, and the exercise of which had been found in a high degree salutary. Lord Loughborough particularly instanced in the case of the trial for a rape. A more enormous crime could scarcely be imagined; and yet frequent instances were to be found, where the party accusing was a common prostitute. The law wisely made no distinction, and looked merely at the crime, not at the persons. The jury therefore did not possess a discretion upon the subject. But surely it was requisite that the judge, in the question of granting a respite, should be governed by the circumstances of the case. Lord Loughborough argued upon the other part of the bill, by which the punishment of women convicted of high and petty treason, was changed from burning to hanging. With respect to coining he had no objection to the alteration, though in reality by the construction of the

in-



indictment it was managed, that this punishment for coining was not inflicted above twice in a century. In the cases of petty treason, such as a wife's murdering her husband, and others of a very atrocious nature, lord Loughborough thought that the law was better as it stood at present.

But the matter, upon which he most strongly insisted, was that the bill, which was undoubtedly of the first magnitude and materially affected the criminal justice of the country, had been brought forward without the judges being in the smallest degree consulted with regard to the wisdom or utility of its provisions. The judges were the description of men most likely to discover any defect in the execution of our criminal laws, and their opinion had accordingly been taken in the first instance in all preceding times. He observed that the bill was drawn in a most loose and inaccurate manner, and sufficiently proved that the author was very little acquainted with his subject. He dwelt upon the impropriety of men not conversant with law turning projectors in respect to it, and in their moment of vivacity coming forward with raw, jejune, ill advised, and impracticable schemes. Lord Sydney followed lord Loughborough. He paid many compliments to the worth and humanity of Mr. Wilberforce, but admitted the justice of the objections that had been made, and the bill was rejected without a division.

A motion was made in the house of commons by Mr. Powys on the twenty-eighth of April, and seconded by Mr. Dempster, for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of 1774, commonly called the Quebec act. Mr. Powys desired, that the petition from several thousand

of the inhabitants of Quebec, which had been presented to the house in 1784, might be read. He expressed his regret, that the business upon which he was to enter, had not been taken up by some of the ministers of the sovereign. He described to the house the principal provisions of the bill he wished to introduce. At present the province was governed by a council, which acted upon all occasions in the character of its legislature. He intended to enact, that the members of this council should not be liable to be dismissed at the will of the governor. He would cause the judges to be continued in their offices during good behaviour. He would give to the British subjects in Quebec an optional right to the trial by jury. He would deprive the governor of the power of imprisoning any of the inhabitants, except in consequence of a legal trial, and for a limited time. In a word he wished to place the government of the province, which was at present fluctuating and despotic, upon the basis of known and definite law. Mr. Powys alluded to the circumstance of sir Guy Carleton's having been lately appointed to the government. He conceived that as an officer and a man, general Carleton had done himself the highest credit; but, if he might be permitted to say it, he could not consider that officer as the best and most able adviser of the house in its legislative capacity. He thought the opportunity of his appointment should be seized, as the era of happiness and liberty to the province of Canada, and that sir Guy Carleton should be fixed upon to be made the messenger of the glad tidings.

Mr. Pitt declared his opinion, that generally speaking, the privileges of the British constitution

ought



ought to be diffused as widely as the dominions of the empire. He had seen several petitions from the province of Quebec, and among them many counter-petitions, entirely hostile to that which was brought to the recollection of the house by Mr. Powys. It was a certain fact, that the principal part of the inhabitants of Canada were averse to any change in the present system of their government; and surely even the blessings of liberty ought not to be forced upon a people contrary to their inclinations. He desired however to be understood, as not declaring against the introduction of a new constitution into Quebec; but, as there were great differences of opinion upon the subject, he could not consent to adopt any half-concerted and immature measures for a general reformation. As sir Guy Carleton was going out to Canada, he had thought it proper to wait, till enquiries could be made, and information received from him. The attorney-general declared himself an advocate for liberty; but he thought it would be highly improper to proceed rashly in this business. With regard to the independency of the judges, as a professional man he must certainly wish to see it every where introduced; but there were several difficulties that attended it, and by no colony of Great Britain had it ever been adopted. In respect to trial by jury, in civil cases the kingdom of Scotland enjoyed no such privilege, and it was greatly limited in England. For peers could, in many cases, be tried by commoners, and commoners by impeachment. Mr. Young, lately elected for Saint Mawes, followed the ministers on the same side, and observed to Mr. Powys, that, if he would give himself the trouble to

trace the links in the chain, he would find that civil liberty and civil happiness were not always intimate acquaintance.

Mr. Courtenay spoke in favour of the bill. He observed, that sir Guy Carleton was the reputed author of the act it was designed to repeal; and that therefore there was something exquisitely absurd, in the idea of consulting him respecting the proceedings that should be adopted upon the subject. He asserted, that the former government of that officer had by no means been such as to encourage an application to him in the present instance, and he mentioned the arbitrary removal of Mr. Livius the chief justice of the province, a conduct, which had been censured by the late board of trade, and by the present committee of council for trade and plantations. Mr. Fox was a warm supporter of the motion of Mr. Powys, and was willing to go farther in the alteration of the act of 1774, than his friend had proposed. He would consent to give the people of Canada a house of assembly, and, if we had twenty colonies, he would yield to every one of them the same privilege. In the institution of such an assembly, he should be for having it consist of men chosen by the people, without restriction as to who were of the Roman catholic religion, and who were of the protestant, or indeed of any religion whatsoever. Mr. Fox asserted, that it had been proved in evidence at the bar of that house in the year 1774, that more than three-fourths of the inhabitants of Canada ardently panted for the blessings of being governed by British laws. The province of Canada had been in our hands three and twenty years, and it was extraordinary indeed, if we were yet ignorant what



system was best adapted for their government. He observed, that he should be glad to know what sort of language those petitioners held, who prayed not to have the blessings of a trial by jury, of the habeas corpus act, of independent judges and a free government? For himself he was so firmly persuaded of the inestimable benefit of such a government, that he would give it, even if the majority of any colony were so blind to their own interest as to refuse to accept it, animated with the most certain expectation that the time would soon come, when he should receive their most grateful thanks. The house divided on Mr. Powys's motion, ayes 21, noes 68.

As it had been a principal object of the measures of the present session, to extend and secure to Great Britain the blessings of peace, the melioration of her revenues, and the improvement of her commerce, the measures of a miscellaneous nature, that it remains for us to relate, and which were not equally productive of opposition and debate, were intended to promote these great objects, and particularly to give strength and permanence to our commerce. The first of them consisted in a bill, which was brought forward by Mr. Charles Jenkinson, for the farther increase and encouragement of our shipping and navigation. The object of this bill was, more fully to enforce the preceding acts of navigation, and to prevent the frauds by which they were supposed to have been evaded. It is well known, that the navigation laws of Great Britain are in direct opposition to the abstract and philosophical ideas that have been entertained in behalf of free trade; and it is not less notorious, that

they are an object of extreme attachment, and a source of high popularity among the majority of the subjects of the British realms. Mr. Jenkinson's bill was intended to enact, that in future no ships should be deemed British built, that were not actually built in Great Britain, or her dominions; it extended and regulated the mode of register upon that subject, and it raised to a higher amount what was called the aliens duty, extending it to the Americans, who were no longer entitled to an exemption from it. The bill experienced a favourable reception, and an amendment to it, that was proposed by sir Grey Cooper, was calculated not to diminish but to enforce its operation. He expatiated on the impolicy of which we had formerly been guilty, in the encouragement we had yielded to the art of ship-building in the American colonies; and he quoted sir Josiah Child, to show that that writer had predicted the revolt of the colonies as the result of this policy. At the very moment when it had been declared by the person who had borne the greatest respect and authority in that house (lord Chatham) that the colonies should not be permitted to manufacture the nail of a horse-shoe, they were fabricating with the connivance and applause of Great Britain, a manufacture, which was of all others, the most injurious and detrimental to the commercial and naval interests of the kingdom. Sir Grey Cooper expressed his apprehensions that American built ships should be smuggled upon us through the intervention of our colonists of Nova Scotia, and he proposed several schemes to encounter this evil. The suggestions of sir Grey Cooper were



were however given up for the present, in compliance with the sense of the house of commons.

Several measures, founded upon the same basis of monopoly and national preference, were brought forward about this time by Mr. Jenkinson. The acts of parliament by which bounties were given to the fisheries of Newfoundland, to the Greenland whale fishery, and to the whale fisheries of the South Sea would shortly expire, and it was intended to perpetuate and to vary these measures. In moving for the bill for increasing the fishery of Newfoundland, Mr. Jenkinson explained to the house the principle upon which that fishery ought to be conducted. It was essential to preserve it entirely a British fishery; and this could only be done by confining it to British ships, navigated from Great Britain, and by preventing any stationary settlement from being made on the island of Newfoundland. The obvious consequence of such a settlement would be, as it happened in New England, that the colony would take the fisheries into its own hands, and they would be ultimately and perpetually lost to this country. He suggested various provisions to remedy this inconvenience, and particularly that the stages, flakes, and curing houses on the island, should be no longer the property of those who might have erected them, than while they employed them in the business of the fishery, and that, if left, they should become liable to be occupied by those who arrived first at the time of the ensuing season.

The subject of the Greenland fishery excited a higher degree of contest and debate. The idea of the ministerial party, as it was stated by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Jenkinson, was to reduce the bounty from

forty shillings, which was at present given, to thirty shillings. They stated, that the sum, which this country had paid in bounties for the Greenland fishery amount to 1,265,461l., that in the last year we had paid 94,858l., and that by means of the consequent reduction of the price of the fish, the public at present paid sixty per cent upon every cargo. In the Greenland fishery there were employed six thousand seamen; and these seamen cost government at present 13l. 10s. per man per annum, though we were never able to obtain more than five hundred of that number to serve on board our ships of war. The vast encouragement given to the trade had occasioned such a glut to the market, that it was found necessary to export considerable quantities; and thus we paid a large share of the purchase-money for foreign nations as well as for our own people, besides supplying them with the materials of several important manufactures. The old bounty was pleaded for with much earnestness as essential to the existence of the fishery, by Mr. Dempster, Mr. Hufsey, lord Penrhyn, Mr. Ilay Campbell, Mr. alderman Watson, and Mr. alderman Hamet.

Mr. Beaufoy, who had last year, in consequence of the reports of the committee for enquiring into the British fisheries, brought in a bill for the encouragement of the herring fishery, now submitted to parliament a bill that was intended to extend our concern in the turbot fishery. This bill was not calculated, like that of the last session, to remove improper and impolitic restrictions, but to hold out exclusive encouragements. Mr. Beaufoy drew an animated picture of the progress the English nation had made in similar attempts. The



seamen of Great Britain rejected with indignation the insulting idea of Dutch superiority; and, confident from experience, were impatient for the trial. In the herring fishery our vessels outnumbered the vessels of Holland more than in the proportion of two to one. In the cod fishery the English had no rivals. In the fishery for whales, whether in the seas of the arctic circle, or on the confines of the southern pole, competition was nearly at an end. Had then their efforts succeeded in every other enterprize, and were they unequal to this? Had they obtained a decided superiority in competitions infinitely arduous, and would they be baffled in this the easiest of all? The bill of Mr. Beaufoy experienced a pertinacious opposition on the part of Mr. Rolle, and its author at length consented to withdraw it for the present session.

In the close of the session a bill was introduced by Mr. Macdonald the solicitor-general, to incorporate a certain number of persons, among whom the members of the committee to enquire into the British fisheries, were the most conspicuous, who had entered into a voluntary subscription, which already amounted to seven thousand pounds, for the purpose of building fishing towns and villages on the coasts of Scotland. The object of this association appears to have been liberal and disinterested; and it was indebted for its formation to the accurate investigations of Mr. Knox, to the patriotic spirit of Mr. Dempster, and to the industry and activity of Mr. Beaufoy.

An affair occurred towards the close of the session in the house of lords, which was a subject of much

speculation and conjecture among the nation in general. A bill having been introduced into parliament relative to the prize-money that had been obtained at the capture of St. Eustatius, lord Rodney embraced this opportunity of suggesting a fact to the house, which he conceived to be intitled to their serious attention. At the time that he took possession of the island in question, he appears to have conceived the highest indignation against the conduct that had been held by some of its leading inhabitants; and he was induced by his zeal in behalf of the government of Great Britain, to proceed against them in an exemplary manner. At the same time he had transmitted the papers of those merchants as documents of treason, to be lodged in the office of the secretary of state, which he had considered as a place of sacred deposit and undoubted safety, and from which he had intended to produce them whenever vouchers of this sort might be found to be necessary. Having called for them however in justification of his conduct before the court of appeal from the high court of admiralty, he had learned to his utter astonishment, that the books and papers had been carried away, and were no where to be found. Mr. Knox, who had been under-secretary in the office of lord George Germaine, was called as a witness to the bar of the house of lords, and from his evidence it appeared, that the papers had been safely lodged in the custody of government, and that early in the year 1782, soon after the appointment of the marquis of Lansdown to the office of secretary of state, the criminals, who had hitherto been detained, were enlarged,



ed, and the papers were in some manner withdrawn and secreted.

The bill which was under discussion was rejected without a division.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Mr. Francis's India Bill. Bill of Mr. Dundas, relative to the Political Government. Bill for Amending the Judicature. Bill of East India Relief.*

THE affairs of the East India company constituted one of those objects, which engrossed no inconsiderable attention in the course of the present session. To settle these affairs had been one of the earliest objects of Mr. Pitt's administration; and accordingly such measures, as he had conceived adequate to the purpose, had been introduced by him in the year 1784; and had received the sanction of the present parliament in its first session. In the session of 1785, nothing had been brought forward by ministers upon this subject; and in the debate upon the address in answer to the speech from the throne, in the commencement of this third session, it had been insisted upon by Mr. Fox, as a topic of blame against administration, that no notice of any kind was taken in that speech of the affairs of India. Mr. Fox spoke of the spirit of discontent, which had pervaded that part of our dominions. He asked, whether, after what had happened, the minister would still venture to talk of his India bill in a tone of triumph? He represented the state of our finances in that part of the world as in a high degree unpromising, and said, that upon inspection he believed they would now find, when compared with the predictions of the court of directors on the subject, not merely errors of fractions, but errors of millions. He repro-

bated the conduct that had been held by administration towards lord Macartney. Lord Macartney had acted, during the whole term of his residence in India, upon the most upright principles, and had come home with hands perfectly unsullied. From a conviction of the necessity of the measure, he had taken the collection and management of the revenues of the Carnatic out of the hands, not of the nabob, but of his agents and usurers, who plundered the natives, and robbed their principal, and had vested both in the hands of the company. This measure had been overthrown by the orders of the board of control. The fatal effects of their order had spread alarm and terror through the Carnatic, and impressed the council of Madras with so strong an idea of its impropriety, that lord Macartney went himself to Calcutta, to remonstrate with Mr. Hastings, and to deprecate the consequences. Let the house guess the surprise of this nobleman, when he found Mr. Hastings departed for Europe, and a commission appointing him governor-general, a situation which it was impossible for him to accept, while the order to restore the collection and management of the Carnatic revenues continued in force. How absurd was it to remove the governor-general, who recommended the measure, and appoint lord Macartney to the post of



governor-general, with orders to do what he had reprobated, as equally injurious to the interest of the nabob, and the interest of the company.

Mr. Pitt replied to these observations, that, with respect to the situation of India not being mentioned in the speech, Mr. Fox might as well have complained of a similar omission concerning any other of the foreign possessions of the empire. The reason was perfectly obvious. So many errors and miscarriages had formerly arisen out of the government of that country, that the king had, for many sessions, been induced to call upon parliament to adopt some mode of effectual regulation. Parliament had at last, taken up the business and applied a remedy; and therefore the necessity for the crown to remind them of it no longer existed. Mr. Pitt defended the measures, that had been adopted for the detection and punishment of delinquencies in India, and declared, that he could never have been so absurd as to imagine that a bill, which was in reality a bill of restraint, could be received with any sanguine marks of approbation and gratitude by those upon whom its restrictions were to operate. He would not for the present attempt an exact state of the surplus of the revenues of the East Indies; but he would only say, that he expected and believed, that that surplus would appear, and that the most salutary regulations and retrenchments had been introduced. His warmest wishes would indeed be gratified, and the most sanguine dreams of the prosperity of Great Britain would prove more than realized, if it could be found, that our resources for diminishing our debt bore any comparison to those of the East In-

dia company. Mr. Pitt repelled the supposed inconsistency of government in their conduct towards lord Macartney, and observed, that that nobleman was perfectly eligible to the presidency of Bengal, to the department of which the direction of the revenues of the Carnatic by no means particularly referred. He did not fall below Mr. Fox in his eulogium upon the character of lord Macartney, and instanced in his voluntary compliance with the clause, which called upon all persons returning from the company's service, to account upon oath for their acquisitions; though the operation of that clause had not yet commenced. This action was in itself so noble and disinterested, that, had Mr. Pitt even disapproved of his general conduct in his government, it would alone have been sufficient to atone for all former miscarriages, and to have entitled him to the highest glory, and most distinguished applause.

Mr. Francis endeavoured to demonstrate the fallacy of which Mr. Pitt was guilty, in the representation that he had made of the flourishing condition of the company's finances. At Bombay they had no revenue at all proportioned to their current expences, and the funded debt then amounted to 3,000,000*l.*, which bore an interest of 9*l.* per cent., and was continually increasing by half yearly conversions of the interest into capital. Of the pecuniary situation of Madras, Mr. Francis could not speak with so much precision; but he conceived, that some idea might be formed upon the subject from a part of Mr. Macpherson's letter to the court of directors, of the thirtieth of July 1785; in which he remarked, "In the Carnatic your late orders have been carried into some



some effect; the general ruin which that country has undergone from the devastation of war, will keep your affairs in that quarter a long time in distress." It was well known, that the revenues of Bengal were the means, upon which the other presidencies were obliged to lean for support, and constituted the only source from which the East India company expected to relieve her embarrassments. Upon this subject Mr. Francis reminded the house of the statement he had made in the preceding session, when he convicted the directors of an error of more than 3,000,000*l.* in their account of the revenues of one year. He animadverted upon the retrenchments of which Mr. Pitt had boasted, and again illustrated these from another part of the letter of Mr. Macpherson. "The great and most important work of a reform in the expences of this government, which was resolved upon, and in some degree begun, before the departure of Mr. Hastings, has been carried through under every influence that I could exert, and every effort of the abilities of the present administration. I must at the same time regret, that the progress made in this salutary measure is not equal to my wishes, and has not in any very alleviating degree relieved your distresses." In relation to the same subject Mr. Francis moved for, and obtained, on the seventh of February, certain papers calculated to illustrate the revenues of India.

The ballot for the members, who were to compose the court of judicature for the trial of East Indian delinquents, which, in pursuance of the regulating act of 1784, was to take place within thirty days after the meeting of parliament, was made in both houses on the fifteenth of February. At the time of this

ballot, lists of the names of persons to be ballotted for, of the nature of those usually denominated treasury lists, and which are conceived to originate with administration, were delivered by the door-keeper to the house of commons. This mode of proceeding was treated in terms of the severest reprobation by Mr. Sheridan. He alluded to the idea, which had been suggested by administration, when the bill had been under discussion, that the court of judicature should be chosen with perfect impartiality, and without the employment of any ministerial influence. On the contrary, government appeared desirous to realize the predictions of opposition, and to show how strongly the new mode of trial was contrasted with the constitutional and liberal mode of trial by jury. Mr. Sheridan added, that, if Mr. Pitt would dare to rise and avow, that the lists were prepared by his order, and delivered by his authority, he would pledge himself to move upon him the severest censure of that house. In order to bring home a charge, which he conceived to be in so flagrant a degree indecent and scandalous, he concluded with a motion, which was seconded by Mr. Francis, that Mr. Peafson the door-keeper be now called in and examined. The proceeding, which was complained of by Mr. Sheridan, was defended by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Martin, as a matter perfectly innocent and harmless, and they represented it as an insult to the house of commons to suppose, that the delivery of such lists could have the smallest influence in inducing any of its members to adopt the names it contained. The motion was rejected upon a division, ayes, 38, noes, 138.

On the seventh of March a motion



tion was made by Mr. Francis, and seconded by Mr. Windham, for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of the year 1784, for the regulation of the affairs of the East India company. Mr. Francis embraced this occasion of entering into an examination of that bill, and pointing out in the fullest manner, what appeared to him to constitute its impolitic and unconstitutional nature. He alluded to the petitions, which were said to be upon their way from India, against Mr. Pitt's act. He might be suspected on one side of a base intention to avail himself of the present temper of the parties for some mischievous purpose; and on the other he might be charged with acting precipitately and unfairly to the petitioners themselves in not waiting for their petition. To the last of these imputations he answered, that, though he acted independently of the petitioners, he was as much in earnest as they could be, to promote the object they sought; that what he did could not injure, and might assist them; and that the method he took to accomplish his object was most honourable to parliament, and most consistent with its dignity. With respect to the former he observed, that his sentiments upon the subject had always been known, and had always been the same. Perhaps upon his principles he might have been strictly bound, to have moved for an alteration of this law during the course of the last session; but he had his reasons for not adopting that proceeding. The attention of the house was wholly engaged in the commercial arrangement with Ireland. The most exceptionable parts of the India bill were not to begin to operate till a year or two

afterwards. But his principal consideration had been, that he wished to give time for the sense of the house to cool upon its own act, and for the general judgment of the nation to be collected on the merits of the measure.

The law obviously divided itself into three departments; first, the arrangement made for the distribution and establishment of power at home; secondly, the arrangements made for the government of the company's affairs abroad; and finally the institution of a special inquiry, and a new judicature in England, for the discovery and trial of offences committed in India. Under the first head Mr. Francis observed, that the constant and notorious complaint had been, that the power of the court of directors was defective and insufficient to enforce obedience upon their servants abroad, or to punish their disobedience. In order therefore to create a strong government, Mr. Pitt's act had divided the supreme power between two boards; had placed the nominal power in one set of men, and the real power in another, and had obliged the directors to affix their signatures to letters and instructions, drawn up in notorious contradiction to their declared sentiments. A more effectual contrivance to excite and irritate a spirit of disobedience could hardly have been imagined. Mr. Francis was not reasoning upon imaginary cases. The law had established two jurisdictions over the same object. They had already clashed in one very important instance, and he had reason to believe that they continued to do so in many others. The very moment the directors began to act, the board of control began to counteract; and the



the directors in the end were obliged to sign orders, against which they had previously protested.

Mr. Francis strongly condemned the power, which, by a fictitious vote and a casting voice, government had thrown into the hands of the governor-general; and observed, that by this method they had secretly placed an influence in the hands of the president of Bengal, which they had been ashamed to attribute to him openly. He employed many arguments to prove, that the predominant power in India was much less judiciously placed in the hands of a single person, than in those of a council. The fact was, that under the former species of government all those principles, which the present law condemned and prohibited, were brought into action, and all those effects were produced, which the present law professed to look back upon with indignation; which it threatened to punish, or promised to correct. Mr. Francis described the government of Bengal as being of a very peculiar nature. A governor-general understood nothing of his situation, if he thought, that any power directly vested in his hands, would carry half the authority with it, that would accompany the united acts of a governor and council. If he trusted to his own exclusive judgment, he would find himself surrounded by some of the most artful men that existed, by natives, who, without our general knowledge, were infinitely sagacious, who observed us attentively and understood us perfectly, and by some Europeans, who, in every thing but their habit and complexion, were perfect Asiatics. No single, unassisted English judgment was a match for such men, and for such peculiar faculties, as would collect about him from the moment of his arrival.

If he relied on his exclusive power, for want of clear and accurate knowledge, he would rarely venture to exert it. Every man who approached him would tell him a different story, or give him a different opinion. He would often doubt, and no vigorous determination could exist in a good mind that was not preceded by conviction. Even when he exerted his power, it would be feeble and ineffectual against the universal combination and clamour of all ranks and interests, that would be formed to counteract him in every measure, that tended to correct abuses, or reduce exorbitant emoluments. In a great community the reformer had the voice and approbation of the majority to encourage him; but in a very narrow circle he would have no part of the society in which he lived to support him against the rest. They would make a common cause against him, and, sooner or later, would overcome his resolution, or break his heart. Mr. Francis alluded to the government in which he had been concerned, and remarked, that if the personal character, the political views, and public principles of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwel had been such, as to have induced the minority to give them a steady and vigorous support, the government would have carried along with it an opinion, a dignity, an authority and a sway, which no faction could have resisted and no combination could have withstood.

Upon the subject of the third division of Mr. Pitt's act, Mr. Francis was more animated and warm. In the institution of so arbitrary a mode of pursuing delinquency, the instant suffering indeed belonged to the servants of the company in India: the consequence and the danger were our own. A capital innovation was made in the criminal



nal jurisprudence of England. New principles were introduced, not only into the system of our laws, but into the manners of our people. A new tribunal was erected for the trial of misdemeanours committed in India, and armed and accompanied with powers unheard of in this country. The ancient established mode of trial by a jury and by the country, was renounced as imperfect and inadequate; a new and arbitrary system of enquiry and trial was established in the room of it; and all this was done for reasons and pretences, equally applicable to any other sort of crime, and any other species of offender. Considered as a precedent, it held out a general menace to the whole kingdom; it operated directly upon a few, but it threatened us all. Upon this head Mr. Francis particularly insisted upon a passage in the king's speech of May 1784, which was intended to have a retrospect to Mr. Fox's bill, to which it did not apply, and which was forgotten when they came to agitate Mr. Pitt's bill, of the spirit of which it had been prophetic. "The affairs of the East India company form an object of deliberation deeply connected with the general interests of the country. While you feel a just anxiety to provide for the good government of our possessions in that part of the world, you will, I trust, never lose sight of the effect, which any measure to be adopted for that purpose, may have on our own constitution and our dearest interests at home."

Mr. Francis examined distinctly the different modes that were employed by the act, for making an inquisition into crimes. The first was that, which obliged every man to give in upon oath an account of his fortune. Mr. Francis examined this provision, as it would operate

upon the innocent and upon the guilty. From those who were innocent no confession could be extorted; but he denied, that it was in no case a hardship and an injustice to an honest man, to oblige him to declare publicly the exact amount of his property. It might even happen, that the act might be oppressive in proportion to the innocence of the party. For, though his poverty might prove his innocence, it might easily happen, that a man might wish to have his innocence proved by any other kind of evidence. We did not live in times in which poverty was respectable. Mr. Francis feared, that the contrary was true, and that the law, which compelled an honest man to discover the narrowness of his circumstances, whatever it might intend, would in effect only serve to fling disgrace upon ill fortune, and to make an honourable poverty ridiculous. With respect to the guilty the only tendency of the law was to invite him to add one crime to another; and, if he were already guilty of extortion, oppression and cruelty, to endeavour to cover it by perjury. The law should be tender of creating such dilemmas. It was an invitation to falsehood, because it annexed the expectation of impunity for one offence to the commission of another.

In the next place the law, in case of any complaint made to the court of exchequer, proceeded to subject the party to answer interrogatories upon oath, at the discretion of the court. It supposed the party to have been guilty of perjury in the first instance, and it called upon him either to convict himself of that crime, or to cover it by a series of new perjuries in his answers to the interrogatories. In both instances it revived a mode of inquisition and conviction, which the constitution



of this country held in abhorrence, and which our ancestors vainly imagined they had extirpated for ever, when they abolished the star-chamber. The law, having thus exerted its utmost power to extort a discovery by the confession of the guilty, proceeded to supply the defects of that mode by another course, which promised indeed greater success, but which in Mr. Francis's judgment was still more detestable, because it held out rewards to treachery and baseness, and tended to corrupt and destroy the little morality we had left in private life. The law formally acknowledged the office of a spy and informer, and rewarded him with a share in the forfeiture. Its temptations were held out to persons whom you might have particularly trusted, your agent, your secretary, your banker, or your friend. Who could tell but the invitation might seduce a son to betray his father, a brother to betray his brother, or, which was worst of all, a person whom you had essentially served to betray his benefactor? The very money you had lent him, if you had omitted it in your account, would be the instrument of his nefarious purpose. Mr. Francis appealed to every thing that was honourable and virtuous in that house; Was there an object of penal justice against any particular set of men, adequate to the price they must pay for it, if they suffered such principles as these to be introduced, not only into the laws of the kingdom; but into the manners of the people?

Mr. Francis asserted the institution of the new judicature to be totally unnecessary. A special jury of English gentlemen, was just as likely to be qualified for this or any other judicial office, as ten members of the lords and commons taken at

a venture. The tribunal abandoned the wise and ancient separation of the verdict from the judgment, and united in the same persons the verdict, the explanation of the law, and the sentence. As, according to this system, seven members constituted a court, one lord and three judges might find the facts, and on the other hand four commoners might determine the law against the opinion of the three judges. Mr. Francis observed, that, generally speaking, his present purpose was not so much to institute as to correct. He meant to take away a great deal, and not to enact much in the place of it. In other circumstances he should have thought himself bound to attempt more than this. If he had been united in views and sentiments with the acting administration, he should have extended his thoughts to a comprehensive positive institution for the better government of India. Standing as he did, he must take care not to aim at any thing but what might be really attainable, and that, while he was endeavouring to do good, he might be sure of doing no mischief. His purpose was to extirpate out of Mr. Pitt's bill the principal evils, to revert to that, which, if not perfect in itself, had not been improved by innovation; to strengthen what was good, if it were feeble; and not to enact much by positive institution. He would rebuild the house he lived in from the foundation if he could; but since that was not in his power he would endeavour to repair it.

Mr. Dundas replied to Mr. Francis. He employed some arguments in defence of the board of control; and, for the necessity of increasing the power of the governor-general, he appealed to the opinion of lord Macartney, who had declared, that



none but a madman would have consented to accept the government, while it remained upon its former footing. Mr. Dundas endeavoured to shew the necessity of instituting the new court of judicature, from the voluminousness of the evidence in the cases of sir Thomas Rumbold and Mr. Hastings, which was such as to make it impracticable for it to be gone through by a common jury, without totally changing its structure. Mr. Dundas retorted the argument of Mr. Francis, and endeavoured to show, that the introduction of those new rules of evidence, which it was found expedient to adopt respecting crimes committed in India, would create dangerous and improper habits in the minds of the juries of this country, would render the known rules of evidence fluctuating and liable to change, and would incline the jurymen to receive similar impressions from similar documents, where by the principles of English jurisprudence they were inadmissible. The hardship of the dilemma, which Mr. Francis had mentioned, and which subjected delinquents to the temptation of perjury, would be foreseen by them in the first instance, and would have a strong tendency to strengthen their consciences, and to restrain them from the commission of crimes. The compelling men to answer interrogatories, when their answers might tend to impeach themselves, was no unusual hardship. Such was the case of bankrupts, who were bound to answer, though in matters that might affect their lives, such interrogatories respecting their effects, as might be put to them by those intrusted with their affairs. Major Scott and Mr. Vansittart expressed their desire, that the inquisition into the property of persons

serving in India, established by the act of 1784, might be repealed, at the same time that they pronounced a high eulogium upon the judicious structure of the court of judicature. The previous question was put by Mr. Dundas upon the motion of Mr. Francis, to make way for a motion he should shortly submit to the house, for leave to bring in a bill to amend and improve in certain respects the regulating act of 1784; and was carried without a division.

On the sixteenth of March Mr. Dundas took occasion to suggest to the house the principal heads of the alterations he desired to introduce in the government of India. With respect to the power of the governor general, he should offer to their consideration an amendment, directly the reverse of that which had been pleaded for by Mr. Francis; and, instead of diminishing his power, he should bestow upon him the privilege in certain cases of deciding in opposition to the sense of his council; at the same time obliging him to make oath, that he was convinced that such deviation from their opinion was indispensibly necessary. He should further empower the governor-general to nominate a successor upon the death of any member of his council, instead of permitting the oldest in succession to rise as a matter of course. The principle of seniority, in the extent to which it was established by the act of 1784, was pregnant with various inconveniences, and therefore Mr. Dundas should propose, that the different heads of service in India should be distributed into classes, and that the servants should rise by gradation, only in those classes, for which by their preceding habits they were particularly formed. He proposed for



for the future, to vest the offices of commander in chief and governor-general in the same person, and he nominated earl Cornwallis to fill this important commission. He intended also by his bill, no longer to make the disclosure of the fortunes of persons serving in India open to public inspection, but to place it singly within the inspection of the board of control. Mr. Dundas suggested various alterations of inferior importance; and his motion for leave to bring in the bill was seconded by Mr. Pitt.

Upon the question for the speaker's leaving the chair, in order to the going into a committee on Mr. Dundas's bill, Mr. Francis strenuously opposed all farther proceedings. He had lately delivered his sentiments at large upon the act of 1784; but with all its absurdities he thought that act far less exceptionable, than the measure now under consideration. He predicted the most fatal consequences from the arbitrary power which was to be given to the governor-general, and he reprobated in the strongest terms the union of the offices of commander in chief and governor-general in the same person. He animadverted upon what Mr. Dundas had said in relation to the opinion of lord Macartney. The public judgment on the propriety of that nobleman's refusing the government of Bengal, must remain in suspense, till he should think it right to assign his reasons. They might be, that he thought the state of affairs desperate; they might be, that he objected to the persons who composed the existing council; they could not arise from the want of power attributed to that office, since the ministers, who were so loud in their applause, would not certainly have refused to

lord Macartney, what they so liberally conceded to earl Cornwallis. Mr. Francis objected to the idea of placing the inventories of property among the secret papers of the board of control, since an end would thus be put to the idea of popular prosecution, and the persons returning from India would be exclusively placed within the arbitrary disposal of the existing administration.

Mr. Burke pronounced an eloquent invective against the principle upon which Mr. Dundas's system was founded. He said that no maxim could be more palpably false, than that which ascribed energy, vigour and dispatch to a despotic government. On the contrary the constant features of arbitrary power were weakness, debility and procrastination. He appealed to the Turkish government for the truth of his assertion. He desired to know where the despotic government had existed, of which dignity and force were the acknowledged characteristics? To what had democracy in all ages and countries owed its triumphs, but to the openness, the publicity and the strength of its operations? It was in direct opposition to all theories of policy and all the principles of human nature, that the exertions of one mind, the most perfect upon earth, should be more solid and vigorous, than those which resulted from the joint experience and wisdom of multitudes, combined and matured for that purpose. Mr. Burke observed, that it was usual to presume the preamble to every bill to be founded in truth; but the preamble to the present clause, which laid it down as a principle that arbitrary power was necessary to give vigour and dispatch, was a libel on the liberties of the people of England, and



a satire on the British constitution. He compared the present bill with the act, which had passed that house in the year 1784. Had administration come down to parliament at once, and said boldly, Our plan is despotism and arbitrary government; the sense of the nation would have revolted at the proposal. In the bill of Mr. Pitt an abortion of tyranny, like an imperfect fœtus in a bottle, was produced and handed about as a show; at length however the charm was broke, and in the bill upon the table they were presented with a full grown monster of tyranny, shameless, undaunted and irresistible. The whole business of the India reform was a most contemptible result of the time and trouble it had cost him and other members of that house, in enquiries into the abuses of the East, and in preparing numerous and voluminous reports upon the subject.

Mr. Burke said, that it had justly been observed, that the clause in the original bill, requiring from every individual who had been in India an account of his fortune, would be sufficient in an honest and independent house of commons, to have ruined the whole. In what manner were delinquencies now to be detected? It was taken for granted that no man could have a large fortune by honest means. Mr. Burke supposed the case of a person in high trust, who, by every species of the grossest peculation, should accumulate enormous wealth, but who at the same time should waste his ill gotten property for the most flagitious purposes; and, though guilty of almost every crime that human nature could perpetrate, he might be a poor man by the time he came home. What then was the language held to him by this

law? "It was not an object worth while to prosecute his delinquencies." The law was a literal transcript of what had been done in India during the administration of Mr. Hastings. It enquired into the substance of individuals, and where it found money there it affixed guilt. The secrecy, that was now given to this inquisition, was still more strongly condemned by Mr. Burke. Mr. Dundas was erecting a whispering gallery for the board of control, and, armed with the new powers of auricular confession, it would prove a direct copy of the ear of Dionysius.

The leaders of the ministerial party endeavoured to repel the charge of despotism, which was made against the bill. Mr. Dundas said, that, before gentlemen showed themselves so forward in establishing a charge of this sort, it behoved them to prove that arbitrary government depended upon the circumstance of placing the principal authority in the hands of one, rather than in those of two or more persons. For himself, while a country was governed by known laws, while the rights and franchises of individuals were preserved, while cases of property were tried by the established judicature of the country, and while the free exercise of public and private opinion was permitted, he had ever imagined, that the liberties of the people were as perfectly enjoyed, as they ever had been, or were ever likely to be, in any nation of the world. Mr. Pitt pressed upon the attention of the house, the additional degree of responsibility, which, by the new powers given to the governor-general, was attached upon his conduct. Responsibility was the first and strongest feature of liberty, and it was of the essence



of arbitrary power, that it should be subjected to neither account nor control. In the present instance, the whole of the consultations upon the subject was to be recorded; the reasons which induced the governor-general to differ in opinion from his council, the circumstances by which the necessity of a discretionary proceeding was constituted; and the arguments of each of the dissenting members; who were required to enter a protest in justification of their persevering opposition. Here then parliament was presented with the most effectual means of responsibility that human wisdom had yet devised, or that the most wary suspicion could possibly suggest.

In the farther progress of the committee, it was moved by Mr. Sheridan, as it had been by Mr. Eden in the case of the regulating act of 1784, that the bill should be divided into two parts, and that the provisions, relative to the political government, and relative to the prosecution of offences, should be separately brought under the discussion of parliament; and in this instance his effort was successful. A few days after the adoption of this proposal, Mr. Dundas acquainted the house, that, in compliance with the sentiments and apprehensions of several respectable characters, he was desirous of altering the plan of the latter of these two bills, from the state in which he had originally presented it to the house, and to give up wholly and unreservedly the intended disclosure of property. In consequence of this alteration of system, he desired leave entirely to withdraw the bill, and to present it anew in an improved form. The bill relative to delinquencies, varied in another particular from the regulating act of 1784, and permitted an appeal from

the new court of judicature to the court of king's bench, and to the house of lords. It also introduced some change in the proceedings in relation to the ballot in the two houses of parliament, which was intended to facilitate that part of the proceeding. In the last stage of the bill explaining and amending the mode of government for India, Mr. Dempster proposed a clause, in imitation of Mr. Fox's India bill, limiting the duration of the act to the term of five years; but the suggestion was rejected upon a division.

In the house of lords, both these bills underwent a considerable degree of discussion. There was a clause in the former, which in its operation tended to deprive general Sloper, who had been sent out commander in chief in India in the year 1784, of his seat as a member of the supreme council; and of consequence, exclusively of the diminution of rank and importance, to reduce his emoluments from sixteen thousand, to six thousand pounds per annum. This circumstance excited much discussion in both houses of parliament. It was complained of by Mr. Sloper, brother to the general, and member for St. Alban's, who moved an amendment, limiting the operation of the clause to future appointments; and it was observed upon by Mr. Fox and others, as very extraordinary, that this mark of indignity should be fixed upon general Sloper, who had not yet had time to do any thing by which he could deserve the stigma. It was an indirect and an insidious way of compelling him to resignation; and on that account, was entitled to a strenuous opposition. The discussion called out an eulogium upon this officer from both sides of the house; and administration warmly disclaimed the idea of the measure, having been dictated by any kind of personality.



personality. On the other hand, earl Fitzwilliam, and lord viscount Stormont, strongly insinuated in the house of lords, that the fact originated in some secret motives, and that it was occasioned by the disappointment of a candidate who had entered the lists with gen. Sloper. By these noblemen, and by the earl of Carlisle and lord Loughborough, the bill was also generally opposed, while the rectitude of the measure was vindicated by lord Walsingham, the earl of Abingdon, and lord Thurlow. Upon the bill for the punishment of offences, an amendment was moved by the earl of Carlisle, the tendency of which was, to repeal the institution of the new court of judicature, along with the repeal, which government had thought fit to adopt, of the inquisition into delinquencies. The amendment was strongly supported by lord Loughborough and viscount Stormont; and opposed by the marquis of Carmarthen and lord Camden, who declared himself particularly pleased with that provision of the act of 1784, by which the offices of judge and jury were so happily blended, and by which the judges were called, as they had never been before, to concur in a general decision. The house divided upon the amendment, contents 9, non-contents 39.

During the pendency of these bills, and in the beginning of May, a bill was introduced into parliament by Mr. Dundas, and passed both houses with great rapidity, the design of which was, to obviate a doubt which had arisen in India, whether the king's sign-manual was not necessary to be subscribed to every commission, appointing a governor-general or commander-in-chief in India, and declaring the validity of such commissions, as that of lord Macartney and earl Cornwallis,

neither of which had been attended with this formality.

On the ninth of June, the house of commons proceeded to take into their consideration a petition, which had been presented on the part of the court of directors of the East India company, stating certain emergencies arising from the peculiar situation of their commercial concerns, and praying for parliamentary relief. An explanation of the nature of the case was given by Mr. Pitt. He observed, that the estimate, which had formerly been delivered in by the company, was found by experience to fall considerably short of the amount necessary for carrying on their trade. This did not arise from any want of accuracy in forming that estimate, but from a material alteration in the circumstances of the company, which had since taken place; but which at that time, could not have been foreseen. The increase of the company's sales of tea was, from about six million pounds annually, its former amount, to fourteen million pounds, beside an increase upon some other articles in which they dealt; and it was obvious to every one who considered the subject, that, in proportion to an increase of trade, an increase of capital became indispensably necessary. The commutation act, to which the present prosperity of the company was chiefly to be ascribed, had indeed in some degree forestalled this necessity. But certain heavy expences under which the company had recently laboured, and the extraordinary charges attending the winding up of the expenditure of the war, created a temporary difficulty, for the relief of which the assistance of parliament was now demanded. The company did not come to the legislature to ask a loan of the public money,



money, but merely to obtain leave to make use of their own credit for that purpose, from which, by the provisions of existing laws, they were at present restrained. Mr. Pitt stated 2,000,000*l.* as a sum, the immediate application of which he conceived would be adequate to their relief; and he explained the mode, by which the money was proposed to be raised, to be, first, by taking in subscriptions, at the present market price of East India stock to the amount of 800,000*l.* in addition to their present capital. This at 160 per cent. would produce about 1,200,000*l.* He also farther proposed to permit them to sell that part of an annuity, which was payable to them out of the exchequer, and which constituted the interest of a certain sum which they had raised for the service of government, that was yet unalienated; and the produce of this he estimated at 800,000*l.* He concluded with moving two resolutions, the object of which was conformable to the prayer of the petition.

Mr. Sheridan immediately rose to animadvert upon the conduct of Mr. Pitt, and he spoke again more largely upon the subject in the progress of the business. A report of the situation of the affairs of the East India company, intended to demonstrate the reasonableness and the advantage of the relief they desired, had been laid by the court of directors upon the table of the house of commons, and Mr. Sheridan particularly attached himself to the demonstrating the erroneousness and fallacy of their estimates. He observed, that it was highly reprehensible to introduce, at so late a period of the session, an important subject, and which required the most deliberate discussion; and particularly culpable, in his opinion,

was the negligent way in which it had been opened by the minister, as if it were of little consequence, and fit to be treated as a matter of course. He had no manner of doubt, that the delay was contrived on purpose, to supersede investigation, and elude the detection of the sophistry upon which the bill was founded. He placed the stress of his remarks upon two points in the report of the company, the quantity or amount of the remittance to China, furnished from Bengal, and the amount of the surplus of the revenues of that province. The remittance to China was taken at 275,000*l.* and Mr. Sheridan employed many arguments to demonstrate that not more than 6000*l.* or 7000*l.* had actually been furnished. The surplus of the revenues was estimated at 1,800,000*l.*, and this Mr. Sheridan, by his calculation, reduced to 1. He quoted the authority of Mr. Hastings in a pamphlet entitled, *A Review of the State of Bengal*, in which it was asserted, that the utmost surplus revenue that could ever be furnished by that province, was 1,000,000*l.* Mr. Sheridan observed, that the report upon their table set out with confessing the errors of which they had been guilty in their estimates of 1784, and called for a new degree of reliance upon their present representations, without their possessing in reality any better claim to the public confidence. He enlarged upon the immense quantity of bills drawn from India upon the company at home; and declared, that, in ten years time, bills would be due to the amount of 12,000,000*l.* Thus in fact, so far from the company's affairs in India wearing a promising aspect, their appearance was in the highest degree alarming; they seemed to be rapidly verging to



to a state of bankruptcy, and were already so deeply involved, that the relief now proposed was a mere tampering with the disorder, and could never work an adequate and effectual cure.

Mr. Dundas replied to these observations. He denied that the remittance to China had ever been stated as having been made entirely in specie; and he endeavoured to prove, that the sum that was given was accurate, including in his account the export of opium to that country, and the export of the raw material of the cotton manufacture. Mr. Dundas said, that he had no objection to confess that Mr. Hastings was with him a favourite authority, because he was, generally speaking, an authority to be relied on. But, in the present instance, Mr. Hastings's estimate was founded on the actual expence of the Bengal establishment at the time; and the reduction since ordered from home had been so important and effectual, as to have totally altered the nature of the case. Mr. Dundas undertook to evince the sound policy of the permission, which was granted by the present bill of relief to the company's servants in India, to transmit their fortunes to England through the medium of the company's investments, exchanging the money which was thus advanced for bills payable in Leadenhall-street. He stated, that the practice had been for the ships of other European powers, our rivals in the commerce of India, to sail for the Ganges, and to trust for the money to purchase an investment, solely to the transmission to Europe through their hands, of the fortunes of the servants of the company. In lieu of the twelve millions of debt predicted by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas remarked, that a new capital,

to the amount of twelve millions, was at the same time forming. As fast as it accrued, so much in proportion flowed into the company's treasury at home, and the means of discharging the debt uniformly accompanied its accumulation. This was the system which sound policy directed us to pursue; nor could he ever consent, that the company should call itself a wealthy and flourishing company at home, and a poor and distressed company in India. Mr. Dundas pronounced a panegyric upon the present state of this part of the empire. It was true, that, greatly exhausted by the late ruinous war, it required, as Britain herself did, to be managed with every possible care and attention. But then India had in proportion fewer difficulties to encounter. He hoped speedily to see our oriental possessions with a powerful army, upon which their existence depended, and a reduced and economical civil government, with their revenues increased, their expences moderate, their investments large, and their commerce flourishing.

Mr. Francis followed Mr. Dundas. He alluded to what was now acknowledged to have been the state of affairs in Bengal in 1784, when there appeared to be a deficiency of 1,650,000*l*. This deficiency, it seemed, was now converted, by a glorious reduction, into a surplus of 1,800,000*l*. so that between the one period and the other there was a difference of three millions. If Mr. Dundas was founded in his assertion, what must have been the establishment which could have admitted of such a reduction, and what sort of argument did this circumstance furnish respecting the conduct of the late governor-general? Mr. Francis expatiated upon the contrast between the



the present report and the report of 1784. He recited the different balances of cash in the treasury of Bengal, for the four ensuing years, as they had been stated in the former, and set against them the balances to the disadvantage of the treasury in these years, as they were admitted in the latter. He observed, that the amount of the bills to be drawn upon London were now admitted nearly to double the amount at which they had been stated to parliament in 1784; and he endeavoured to prove from authentic papers, that the company's debt in India at this day must exceed the sum of twelve millions. Mr. Francis animadverted upon a passage in the report, where it was said, that, whether the mode proposed for paying the bond debt took place or not; in other words, whether bills to the amount of six millions more should be drawn upon them or not; "it would not make any important variation in the state of the company's affairs, with respect to the sum wanted in India for the ordinary currency." They observed, that if the creditors preferred being paid in India, it would lessen the funds allotted to the investment; but, if they consented to be paid in England, the amount would be brought home in investments, and out of them the bills would be paid. If this state of the case were true, it would be bad enough, since then the investment would be brought home solely for the creditors, not for the company. Then however the money applicable to the discharge of the bonded debt would exist somewhere. But the fact was, that, so far from there being a single rupee of surplus in Bengal, they had not sufficient to pay their current expences, and were obliged to

borrow money, to provide for the annual interest of the existing debt. Mr. Francis described the company's credit in India as being in a ruinous condition, while their bonds were negotiated at thirty per cent. discount. In this situation, the supreme council had resolved, that the whole civil service, exclusively of the smaller salaries, should be paid by a further issue of paper; and thus of course they were increasing the discount, and sinking the value of the bonds to nothing.

Mr. Grenville remarked, in terms of great severity, upon what he denominated, the egregious attempt to deceive the members of that house, on the part of Mr. Francis. The fact was, that in the 1,650,000. the unfunded debt of Bengal was included; and therefore it would have been just as fair for any person, in comparing the annual income of Great Britain with its annual expenditure at the end of the war, to have included the thirty-six millions of unfunded debt, as a part of the deficiency of the year's income. Nor was Mr. Francis, in the opinion of Mr. Grenville, less wanting in respect, both to the house and to himself, when he glanced in terms of such ungovernable severity at the conduct of Mr. Hastings. In the course of the debates upon the relief bill, the question was revived, of how far government rendered itself responsible by acts of this nature, for the debts of the company. The affirmative side of the question was espoused by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Hussey, and Mr. Sheridan, and their reasonings upon the subject were answered by Mr. Dundas. A petition was also presented from the court of directors, stating, that the bill for the relief of the company, when before



the house, was defective in many particulars. But this proceeding does not seem to have effected any material alteration in the measure. In the house of lords the progress of the bill was attended with some debate. Its principle was attacked by lord Loughborough, lord Stormont, and the duke of Portland; and the ministerial side of the ques-

tion was espoused by lord Walsingham and earl Bathurst. It was proposed by the duke of Portland, that the farther consideration of the bill should be postponed for six weeks; and the house having divided upon the question, the numbers appeared, contents, 6, not contents, 14.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Motion for Papers. Maratta Papers refused. Debate on the Debli Papers. Production of the Charges. Mr. Hastings heard at the Bar of the House of Commons. Witnesses examined. Prorogation.*

THE remaining subject that belongs to the history of this session, is the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal. It is the wish of every true friend to his country, that the financial operations of the year 1786, may be productive of alleviation and benefit to our latest posterity. But unquestionably the transaction, during the existence of the present administration, the recollection of which will always most strongly arrest the feelings, and interest the passions of the human mind, is this great prosecution.

The acquisition of territories, so vast in their dimensions, and still more extensive in their influence, as we possess in India, by a mercantile company, is a circumstance unparalleled in the history of the world. The extreme disproportion between the power that governs and the object to be governed, is such as to strike the most careless observer, and might naturally be expected to be productive of calamities of various descriptions, and of the alternate evils of anarchy and despotism. Different statesmen

of the highest abilities have turned their attention to the impropriety of this situation, and have sought to introduce an adequate remedy. The first project of this sort was that of the earl of Chatham in 1766, and which was understood to include the total dissolution of the territorial power of the East-India company, and the assumption of the provinces in the name, and by the immediate authority of the legislature of Great Britain. This was a strong measure, and it is possible, that, if the proceedings of that nobleman had not been counteracted, either by a series of the most obstinate ill health, or by the operations of ministerial intrigue, all the abilities of this illustrious character might have failed in the introduction of so decisive a revolution. The next project for an effectual remedy did not occur till the year 1783, and it is understood to have been the joint production of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. The scheme of 1783 fell short in the extent of its operation of the scheme of 1766; but it seemed likely to be productive in the sequel of effects not less



less important. It was the intention of Mr. Fox to leave not only the commercial advantages, but the territorial revenues in the hands of the company, and to suffer them to continue, as far as any pecuniary interest was concerned, the sovereigns of the country; but at the same time to take from them irrevocably the administration of that sovereignty, the appointment of its servants, the deliberations of peace and war, and all those circumstances of which it is constituted. The measures relative to India, which took place in the interval between the administration of lord Chatham and Mr. Fox, and those which have followed upon the dismissal of the latter, are to be considered comparatively speaking as palliatives. Those of lord North are now generally acknowledged to have miscarried. Upon the merits of those of Mr. Pitt it is imagined, that there has not yet been a sufficient lapse of time to enable us to decide.

Two methods naturally occurred to the minds of all men for the remedy of the misgovernment, which was generally acknowledged to exist in India, one of them of the nature we have described, and the other an investigation of the conduct, and an exemplary punishment of the delinquencies, of some of those, who have successively been intrusted in this great administration. It has been a question among our practical statesmen, whether these two remedies ought to go hand in hand, or whether that of punishment is to be considered as only fit to be adopted, if we fail in our attempts to introduce the other. It appears to have been most commonly supposed, that the mode of retrospect and punishment ought on no account to be omitted, and this

idea must at least have strongly impressed itself on the minds of those, who condemned and derided as nugatory the East India regulations of Mr. Pitt from their first introduction. It is certainly of little consequence to say that the errors of our oriental governors ought not to be punished, because the system of government there is radically defective. This may be an excuse for lesser faults; it may be pleaded in extenuation of, and excite our pity for considerable crimes; but if admitted in its utmost extent, it would put an end to all ideas of criminal justice and severe retribution.

The prosecution of Mr. Hastings is, on many accounts, a subject of no common importance. If it failed, it was not unlikely that it would prove the last attempt of the kind that this country would ever witness. Whatever encomiums have been passed upon the judicial provisions of the British constitution, certain it is, that they have notoriously failed in the attempt to apply them to persons returning from India. The parliamentary prosecution of lord Clive by general Burgoyne was early defeated. The verdict of the court of king's bench against the persons, who had imprisoned and occasioned the death of lord Pigot, was such, as to be considered by the persons condemned rather as an object of merriment than a source of calamity. The bill of pains and penalties against sir Thomas Rumbold, which was introduced into parliament by Mr. Dundas in the year 1782, was found to be unfit for the purposes it had in view, and was given up by its author. It is not necessary for us to decide upon the criminality of any one of the persons thus selected for prosecution.



tion. But certainly there was in each of these cases too much similarity in the event of the prosecution. The last supposed delinquent, that was brought before the bar of the public, was Mr. Hastings. The last mode of proceeding was now to be tried in that ultimate reserve of the British constitution, the mode of impeachment by the commons of Great Britain.

The characters both of the accuser and of the person accused, were such as to give dignity and interest to the scope of this business. Mr. Burke was a man of the most original genius, of the most cultivated talents, and the most unwearied application. He received the highest compliments upon this occasion, and it will probably be thought deserved ones, for his integrity, from all the parties in their turn that exist in the English house of commons. Mr. Hastings on the other hand, was a man of imagination, of spirit, and of extensive observation. His mind was by no means cast in a mean and vulgar mould. The influence, that was possessed by this man, while he resided in India, was undoubtedly great, and was supposed to have contributed to the defeat of the project of Mr. Fox, and the ruin of his administration. It was scarcely to be believed that his influence, now that he was returned to England, could be totally extinguished, and it was the opinion of many, that Mr. Pitt would not dare, whatever were his genuine sentiments, to join in the condemnation of the proceedings of Mr. Hastings. From the first the opinions of administration ran evidently in favour of the ex-governor. The eulogiums that were pronounced upon him by Mr. Dundas were neither limited nor moderate; and Mr. Pitt, though he professed to

come to the subject with a mind fair and impartial, was certainly not prepossessed in favour of the accusing party, and was open in his commendation of the ability and the usefulness of a leading part of Mr. Hastings's later proceedings. The obstacles, which, whether they were thrown in the way of the prosecution by design or by mere chance, were such as to demand all the spirit, the perseverance, and the inflexibility of Mr. Burke to overcome them. Along with them he had to overcome a long series of unpopularity, the personal indifference that had been shewn to him by the house of commons, and their indisposition so much as to lend him the hearing; together with the coldness and the invincible frigidity, with which the nation at large were disposed to listen to the complaints of East India delinquency. All these bars to his success Mr. Burke has overcome; and, without entering into the demerits of Mr. Hastings, we may allow ourselves to bestow, upon the disinterestedness of his proceedings, and his resoluteness to obtain what he considered as a great national object, the highest encomium. The same praise is due to the house of commons which has ultimately supported him; and, if Mr. Hastings be innocent, yet the bold and decisive effort they have made to bring to justice a man whom they have supposed in the highest degree criminal, can be inspired by no other motives, than those which are virtuous and honourable.

It has already been mentioned that Mr. Hastings arrived in England on the sixteenth of June 1785; and as Mr. Burke was unwilling to lose any time in the prosecution of a business to which he was solemnly engaged, or to leave any room for uncertainty whether



or not he would support those charges in the presence of Mr. Hastings, which he had so peremptorily advanced during his absence, he gave notice on the twentieth of that month, of his intention to move for the meditated inquiry. It was probable there would not be sufficient time in the session of parliament then existing for such a proceeding; but, if there were not, he would certainly bring it forward at a convenient time in the session that should ensue. In the mean time, if Mr. Burke showed himself ready in the business of the prosecution, Mr. Hastings was not less forward to challenge enquiry, and to urge the proceeding with all possible expedition in a business so interesting to his reputation and his happiness. On the twenty-fourth of January 1786, the day upon which parliament met for the transaction of business, major Scott, the particular friend of Mr. Hastings, took the opportunity to remind Mr. Burke of the pledge he had made, and to request him to come to an immediate decision. Mr. Burke replied, that he should answer the major with a short anecdote of the duke of Parma, who came from Amiens to fight king Henry the Fourth in his capital. The king, uneasy at some delay, urged the duke to a speedy meeting; to which he replied, that he had not travelled so far as from Amiens to Paris, to learn from his enemy the properest time and place for meeting him in a duel.

One of the first circumstances, that was necessary to give any probability of success to Mr. Burke's undertaking, depended upon the question, whether or not he would be supported in the progress of it with the whole weight, and the sincere and strenuous effort of the

connection of men with whom he usually acted. This question was originally treated by many persons as a subject of uncertainty and scepticism. That he might remove all doubt upon the subject, Mr. Fox rose at the same time with Mr. Burke, in answer to the challenge of major Scott, and assured him, that, if his friend should so far neglect his duty, as to forget the redemption of his pledge, there were other members who would take care that the subject should be made a matter of investigation. The engagement, which was implied in these expressions, has been perfectly fulfilled; and Mr. Burke has been assisted in the whole progress of the business with an attachment and a gallantry, that seem to reflect equal honour on the party that received, and the party that exerted them.

Previously to the speech, which he made on Friday, the seventeenth of February, and in which he explained in some degree to the house the mode of proceeding he was desirous to adopt, Mr. Burke requested that the two concluding articles might be read, of a list of resolutions, which had been moved by Mr. Dundas, as chairman of the secret committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the Carnatic war and the affairs of the East India company, on the 28th of May 1782. These resolutions, that the reader may have at once before him all the particulars which were conceived to be most intimately connected with the business, we will transcribe. They are first, "That for the purpose of conveying entire conviction to the minds of the native princes, that to commence hostilities without just provocation against them, and to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion, are measures repug-



nant to the wish, the honour and the policy of this nation, the parliament of Great Britain should give some signal mark of its displeasure against those, in whatever degree intrusted with the charge of the East India company's affairs, who shall appear wilfully to have adopted or countenanced a system, tending to inspire a reasonable distrust of the moderation, justice and good faith of the British nation." And secondly, "That Warren Hastings, governor-general of Bengal, and William Hornsby, president of the council at Bombay, having in various instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the East India company, it is the duty of the directors of the company, to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the governor-general and president from their respective offices, and to recall them to Great Britain."

Mr. Burke now said, that it was not without considerable uneasiness, that he discovered that the task of introducing to the attention of the house the solemn and important business of that day was on the point of falling to his lot, when it might have been brought forward in the plenitude of weight and efficacy by the member whose propositions were the basis of the resolution, the contents of which had now been recited. The party of all others the most interested in the awful progress and the ultimate result of the proceedings which might arise, had, with becoming dignity of character, called on him to advance his charges; and so pointed was the nature of his challenge, that it rendered it impossible for him to evade the execution of

his duty. Under these circumstances most feelingly did he lament, as the unwelcome consequence of a devolution, caused partly by the natural demise of some, the political decease of others, and in particular cases a death to virtue and to principle, that he should now remain alone engaged in the attempt, to preserve the honour and the consistency of that house, in their unsullied lustre; and to impart vigour and efficacy to a sentence, subsequent to the passing of which a period of four years had elapsed. On the present occasion he trusted, that in common justice he should be considered in no other character, than as the agent of that house, which had fixed upon Mr. Hastings as an object of their particular and formal accusation. Acting under their sanction, he conceived, that he might without arrogance assert a claim to their protection; as far at least, as protection implied an honourable and candid construction of a procedure dictated by sentiments of rectitude and justice.

Mr. Burke recalled to the recollection of the house, the story of our transactions in India from the time of lord Clive, and the parliamentary proceedings which those transactions had occasioned. Such had been the military success of lord Clive, as to surpass the most sanguine expectations of his adherents and admirers. From the era of that success, riches had poured upon the British settlements, with the most astonishing rapidity; and they had brought along with them one of their too customary effects, by throwing open all the channels of ungovernable corruption. The most enormous abuses had in a moment been piled upon each other, till every spot of the British territories in India, became a shocking theatre



theatre of that variety of crimes, with which avarice and ambition so frequently inspired the worthless part of mankind. Disgrace naturally followed upon the commission of these enormities; the honour of Englishmen lost its lustre; and, while the princes of the East regarded with indignation the violent and lawless proceedings of the subjects of Britain, the states of Europe, with equal indications of abhorrence, adopted and dispersed their sentiments. The natural tendency of these circumstances was to excite the attention of parliament; and, among their proceedings upon the subject, Mr. Burke particularly enumerated the appointment of the two memorable committees of 1781, the secret committee, in which Mr. Dundas had presided, and the select committee, the motion for which had been made by general Richard Smith, no longer a member of that house, and seconded by Mr. Rouse, now secretary to the board of control. In the opinion of Mr. Burke it would have appeared more becoming, if the last of these gentlemen had undertaken the business, and had not left him to engage in a matter which was more peculiarly and immediately his own province. In addition to these obstacles, Mr. Burke alluded to the known sentiments of a nobleman in the full vigour of great influence, and extraordinary talents, who had treated the reports of these committees, the principles of which Mr. Burke was now to enforce, as of no greater value than the imaginary adventures of Robinson Crusoe.

Mr. Burke proceeded to enumerate the various methods which might be adopted in this business; and the three different sorts of pro-

ceeding against state delinquents, which were on record. The first of these was a direction to the attorney-general to prosecute. From this measure, Mr. Burke said he must acknowledge himself totally averse, because he had reason to believe, that Mr. Arden, who now possessed that office, did not feel any very zealous inclination to support the momentous charge that was to be made; and to bring it forward under the weight and sanction of his powers. Nor indeed did he conceive, that a trial by jury was of all others the most unexceptionable and best devised for the purpose of obtaining justice against so elevated an offender, and for crimes of so extreme magnitude. In the court of king's bench Mr. Burke imagined, that the dignity of the trial would ill assort with the varying multitude of lesser causes, of meum and tuum, assault and battery, conversion and trover, trespass and burglary, together with an innumerable tribe of different misdemeanours. The second mode of prosecution he would mention, was that of the introduction of a bill of pains and penalties. To this mode he had insuperable objections, as, in his opinion, the procedure must press with the severity of injustice upon the accused, in obliging him to a premature disclosure of the evidence upon which his defence was founded, and tarnish in no slight degree the character of that house, of which the members would thus preposterously appear in the twofold capacity of accusers and judges. The only method, which remained to him, and which was at once ancient and constitutional, was that of proceeding by the mode of impeachment. In the adoption of this measure however, he did not ap-



prove of the more usual practice, of first moving a bill of impeachment, and then appointing a committee, for the purpose of discovering and arranging articles, a practice, which appeared to carry in it an air of warmth and prejudice, exceedingly repugnant to the justice, the dignity and the honour of the house. He intended therefore, with their permission in the first place to move for the papers, the production of which, he conceived, would most immediately conduce to the purposes of substantial justice; and then out of these papers he would endeavour to collect the articles which it might be proper to carry up to the bar of the house of lords, and would submit them to the decision of the house. It was superfluous to dwell upon the necessity of acting with the most guarded caution, and the coolest impartiality. In the very moment when an accuser was advancing his charges against another, he was himself placed, in a considerable degree, under a state of accusation and trial. Mr. Burke concluded with moving for several of those papers which he conceived to be most immediately necessary for the purposes of the impeachment; and his motion was seconded by Mr. Windham.

Mr. Dundas followed immediately after Mr. Burke, in order to defend himself from the insinuations, which he conceived to be implied in the manner in which he had introduced his motion. He observed, that he was utterly at a loss to imagine what could have been the ground of those insinuations; since, at no period of his life, had he ever said, or dropped the remotest hint, that he intended to become the accuser of Mr. Hastings. On the contrary, he had examined his conduct minute-

ly, and the result had always been, that, where there was any improper conduct observable in the governor-general, there was always some letter of the court of directors, or some strong reason to bear him out, and to elude the possibility of annexing a criminal intention. To explain the cause of the expensive establishments in India, Mr. Dundas read a letter, written by Mr. Hastings in 1782, complaining of his situation, in consequence of the number of writers that were sent out; and declaring, that he had about him at that time two hundred and fifty persons, the younger sons of the first families in Britain, all gaping for lacks, and scrambling for patronage. This remonstrance was so far from producing its desired effect, that during the immaculate year 1783, and when sir Henry Fletcher sat at the head of the board of directors, thirty-six new writers were actually equipped for India. Mr. Dundas could not immediately turn to the list of these writers, but it was pretty obvious to him from what shop they had come. Nor was the hand of Mr. Burke less visible in some of the dispatches of the court of directors of that period, from the style in which they were written. Upon the whole, Mr. Dundas observed that since he had moved the resolutions of 1782, Mr. Hastings had done the most essential services to the company, and had received the thanks of the court of directors. Nor that Mr. Dundas wished to shelter himself under the authority of that vote: on the contrary, he was ready to avow, that, had he been a director, he should most undoubtedly have supported the proposition, from a thorough conviction that the thanks were merited. Though he had thought



thought it expedient to recall Mr. Hastings in 1782, on account of the breach of the treaty of Poorunder, and of the expensive establishments introduced by him in India; he however rejoiced that the resolution had not been carried into effect, because, in that case, he should have been the means of depriving the company of a most valuable and useful servant, and the public of a governor-general in India, distinguished by the most uncommon ardour, abilities, and capacity.

Mr. Fox rose with his usual promptitude, to repel the charge which Mr. Dundas had brought against the administration of 1783; and both he and Mr. Burke joined to assure the house, that the former had never been the means of sending out more than one, and the latter, not of one writer to India. Mr. Burke added, that Mr. Dundas was certainly but an ill judge of style, since it so happened, that he had never written a line in any one dispatch of the court of directors, in the whole course of his life. Before he sat down, Mr. Fox begged leave to say one word to the sort of defence Mr. Dundas had made. He had been reduced to the necessity of admitting, that he had once entertained an opinion, that Mr. Hastings had acted in a manner highly culpable; and had added that he was still of the same opinion. But he had endeavoured to confine his censure to two points in the administration of India. Gracious heaven! did the whole idea, which Mr. Dundas had entertained of the culpability of Mr. Hastings, amount only to this? Had the house heard nothing of the Rohilla war? of Cora and Allahabad? of Cheit Sing? of the Beguems? and of all the long cata-

logue of crimes committed in India; to the infinite disturbance of the peace of the country; to the misery, and even butchery of the natives; to the destruction of all confidence in British faith; and to the everlasting disgrace of the British name and character in Indostan? Mr. Fox remarked upon Mr. Dundas's approbation of the thanks given to the governor-general by the court of directors, and observed, that this was a declaration in other words, that the same person, who had prevailed upon the house of commons to resolve, in a grave and phlegmatic form, but in strong and energetic phrase, that governor Hastings deserved parliamentary censure, would have given that gentleman thanks for his long and meritorious services. What egregious inconsistency? Did not the word "long" in the vote of thanks comprehend the whole of the services of Mr. Hastings, as well those before 1782, as those subsequent to that period? Was there not in this conduct, a contradiction, insulting to that house, and inconsistent to a shameful degree?

Mr. Pitt spoke in vindication of Mr. Dundas. He should have been ashamed of his own feelings, could he tamely have suffered such insinuations to be made, and that by a man circumstanced as Mr. Fox was, without expressing some part of the indignation, with which his breast was filled, and in which, he trusted, no person of generous principles could avoid taking a share. By whom was this charge of inconsistency advanced? Let the house compare the charge, and the party from whom it proceeded; and then judge whether he deserved censure, for suffering his temper to be somewhat ruffled by so barefaced and shameless a conduct.



duct. Mr. Fox however had not deviated from his usual consistency, when, having first taken it for granted, that Mr. Dundas had during a series of years continued to load with the grossest and most extravagant reproaches a certain individual, and was now become the advocate of that individual; he had taken upon himself, from his own recent practice and experience, to dictate the form of words in which the recantation of Mr. Dundas ought to have been made. But his learned friend had no need of such a tutor; nor would the house be led to believe, as they might have done, had they not too well known the person by whom the charge was made, that his heart was in truth, capable of feeling and abhorring, the meanness and degradation of conduct he had imputed to Mr. Dundas.

Mr. Pitt undertook to prove, that the same principles which had led Mr. Dundas to condemn Mr. Hastings in one instance, irresistibly obliged him to applaud him in another. Considering his procedure under certain parts of his administration, and when embroiling the affairs of India by unnecessary and expensive wars, and exciting the distrust and animosity of the native princes against this country, by the infraction of treaties and the extermination of a whole people, no doubt but Mr. Dundas must have highly resented and disapproved of such a conduct. But again, when he contemplated the exertions of his almost unprecedented talents in the unexpected business of restoring peace and tranquillity, of re-establishing a confidential intercourse with the neighbouring powers, and of redeeming the credit of the government, he would have acted highly inconsistent with those feel-

ings and sentiments, which upon a former occasion excited his indignation, if he were not at once to acknowledge and commend the merit which had produced such salutary effects. At all events it was demonstrably certain, that, at the passing these resolutions, they were not intended as the foundation of any criminal proceedings. Their professed object was to recover the confidence of the princes of India, and in the pursuit of that object, it was of no consequence to inquire, whether the loss of that confidence had been occasioned by the imprudence of the governors, or by the execution of orders from home.

Mr. Pitt delivered upon this occasion a part of the sentiments he entertained upon the business of the Rohilla war, which Mr. Burke afterwards stated as the ground of the first of his charges against Mr. Hastings; and, though this subject does not directly suggest itself till the time when that charge came to be regularly discussed, yet as Mr. Pitt, upon that occasion gave a silent vote, we shall preserve in this place, the observations that he delivered upon the business of the Rohillas. Adverting to some expressions which Mr. Fox had employed upon the subject, he said, there was no person who had heard him, but would have imagined, that the event had been attended by the most unparalleled barbarity, and the general massacre of the wretched inhabitants of the country, without distinction of age, sex or condition. Such was the spirit of misrepresentation that now seemed to prevail, that Mr. Pitt would not be surprised to find himself held out, in consequence of what he was now saying, as attempting to describe the forcing a people from their possessions, and removing them



to a distance, as exceedingly insignificant, and not liable to the reproach of injustice and inhumanity. He did however consider such a mode of extirpation, though far short of letting loose all the horrors of fire and sword, in a most horribly alarming point of view, and as being so repugnant to every sentiment of human nature, that nothing could justify it but the strongest motives of political expediency, and the invincible principles of necessary justice. Mr. Pitt however observed, that it would be highly inconsistent and absurd, to consider Mr. Hastings now in the light of a culprit, for any measures taken by him previously to the period, in which he had been nominated by act of parliament governor-general of the British possessions in India, which was the highest certificate of legislative approbation.

Mr. Pitt did not wonder that Mr. Burke should have regretted, that Mr. Dundas had not come forward in the present case as the prosecutor of Mr. Hastings. He must confess, that, if there were any real guilt to be investigated, and any punishment to be inflicted, there could not be a properer person than his learned friend, to take the lead upon so momentous an occasion. But, as an opinion had been avowed by some gentlemen, that there were situations where the bounds and established rules of justice ought to be overleaped, and where a prosecution ought rather to be conducted by violence and resentment than by the dull forms of ordinary proceedings; perhaps, considering the business in that point of view, the gentlemen, who had taken it up, were the fittest persons to carry it through all its stages to the desired conclusion. Mr. Pitt added, that he was happy to feel that he

should come to the business with the most perfect impartiality; and, for himself, should Mr. Burke bring fully home to Mr. Hastings the violent imputations of atrocious crimes, far from contributing to screen him, he would wish to bring down upon him the most exemplary punishment.

Major Scott observed, that he had but one way of guessing at the charges that were intended to be advanced, and that was by reading a pamphlet which had been published two years ago, and was entitled, Mr. Burke's Speech on Mr. Fox's India bill. To that pamphlet he had written a reply, and he appealed to the good sense of every man, to declare, whether he had not satisfactorily refuted every charge of every kind, that had yet been brought against Mr. Hastings. Both the performances were before the public, and they had pronounced in his favour. He would go farther, and, as he had refuted what Mr. Burke had already asserted, he was not afraid of pledging himself to refute all that he might hereafter produce in the course of this enquiry. Major Scott took considerable advantage of the allusion Mr. Burke had employed, on the first day of the session, to the conduct of the duke of Parma. He complained, that Mr. Burke was now calling for papers, when he ought to be producing specific charges. If he had been a fair accuser, and had acted, not for private vengeance, but from a regard to public justice, this would not have been the mode in which he would have proceeded. But better things could not reasonably be expected from a man, who took for his model the treacherous and infamous character of the duke of Parma. Major Scott begged to be indulged



indulged in speaking in the name of Mr. Hastings, when he said, that he most anxiously wished for an enquiry into his conduct, the most rigid that the house could adopt; that he wished it to be brought down to the very day of his departure from Bengal; and that he desired to rise or fall in the opinion of the house of commons, and of the country at large, by the result of the enquiry.

Mr. Vansittart and Mr. alderman le Mesurier rose in this early stage of the business, to declare their high sense of the merit of Mr. Hastings, and the veneration they entertained for every part of his character. Mr. le Mesurier alluded to the remarks of Mr. Burke in relation to the trial by jury, and said, that, after so public an avowal of an opinion of this sort from that side of the house, the members of opposition surely would not, when the new court of judicature should fall again under discussion, express their disapprobation of it in so vehement terms. The objection was repelled by Mr. Francis; and, though his sentiments were not delivered in the course of this day's debate, yet they appear to form too eloquent and spirited a defence of Mr. Burke's conduct to be omitted in this place. He observed, that, if it were a contradiction to say, that, for the punishment of crimes of a special quality and magnitude, the trial by impeachment was the safest, the most effectual, and the best; but that, for offences of a lower order, we ought still to adhere to the established trial by jury, he, who maintained the affirmative, charged that contradiction upon the laws, the institutions, the practice, and the wisdom of England, ever since parliaments had a being. Mr. Francis was not

afraid of erring, with so powerful and venerable authority. The trial by impeachment was founded on a popular right, coeval with the house of commons: it was as well known and as well established in our constitution as the trial by jury, though it could not occur so often. There were cases of crimes and of criminals, to whom no other form of proceeding was adequate, to which no other mode of trial was commensurate. In such cases the trial by impeachment did that, which no other trial could accomplish. It not only forced the crime to an enquiry, it not only demanded justice against the criminal, and insured his punishment; but it provided for another object, which in some instances was not less interesting and necessary, than justice and punishment. It cleared the honour of the nation, in which such crimes were committed, and to which such criminals belonged: it vindicated the character of this country from reproach in the judgment of mankind. These were the occasions, in which the pre-eminence of the wisdom and justice of England displayed itself over all other nations. Other nations might rival us in our crimes, but there the competition ended. In England alone the dignity of the trial rose to a level with the eminence of the crime. When the house of commons impeached, it was a solemn appeal to the judgment of the world. When crimes were charged, by which the happiness, if not the existence of whole nations had been affected, by which states and princes, and all the highest orders of men, as well as the lowest, had been reduced by the base and iron hand of upstart power to misery and ruin; the trial by impeachment made proclamation to the princes and kingdoms



doms of the world to attend and look on, while the democracy of England advanced in person to the charge, assumed the noble office of accuser, and forced the crime to trial, before every thing that was great, and noble, and wise, and learned, and venerable in our country. The crime, the criminal, the prosecutor, the judges, the audience, and the trial, produced and constituted a scene, which no other country exhibited to the world.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas took up, in part, the objection of major Scott, and maintained, that it was improper to call for papers tending to the establishment of charges, without first specifying in some manner the nature of the charges, and the object which the production of the papers was intended to support. This difficulty was first pressed by administration, when Mr. Burke proceeded to move for the papers, which respected the recent situation of the province of Oude; and accordingly the motion was withdrawn for the present, and was again suggested to the decision of the house on the Monday following. On this occasion Mr. Pitt observed, that, while Mr. Burke confined himself within the limits of the reports of the Indian committees, he had been contented to consider those reports as amounting to a sort of specification of the intended charge; but, when he came to break new ground, he must take the liberty to insist upon his explaining to the house the object he had in view, and leaving them to judge of the propriety of his motions, before he could consent to a general and indiscriminate grant of papers. And, while in every criminal prosecution, he found authorities uniformly operating in his favour, he hop-

ed, in making this claim, that he should be considered as acting for, and pleading the cause of every individual in the kingdom, who in any future time might be the object of public and parliamentary prosecution.

Mr. Burke considered this pretention, as an invasion of the prerogatives which naturally belonged to a public accuser. He had a claim, in his opinion, generally, to all such documents, proofs and papers, as he saw or esteemed to be necessary, to support the charge which he undertook to advance. The downfall of the greatest empire in the world, had been agreed to have originated in the mal-administration of its provinces. But, even when Rome felt within herself the seeds of decline and the inroads of corruption, a man of the first families, connections and rank in the state, was brought to punishment. Verres, the governor of Sicily, was united in affinity with all that was most splendid and opulent in the seat of the empire, with the Hortensii and the Metelli. In the mean time, when Cicero undertook his accusation, the government itself adopted the prosecution; no less than one hundred and fifty days were granted to the accuser for collecting his materials, though from a province at so trifling a distance; and the justice of the Roman senate opened to him without reserve, all the cabinets from which documents were to be obtained. The period was not long elapsed, since the Cicero of the present age, Mr. Dundas, had brought in a bill of pains and penalties, against one of those characters returned from India, whom the house had considered as an object within its reach. How far he had pursued his point, was in the remembrance of every one; and yet the difficulties he had to encounter



encounter in the investigation were totally removed, by the general and concurrent disposition of every party with whom documents were deposited, necessary to accomplish his views. He had met with a body of India directors disposed to his purpose, and with a willing administration. Mr. Burke added, that, if Mr. Pitt adhered to his objection, the consequence that would result, would be a double injustice. If the accuser wanted collateral or explanatory aid, he ought not to be denied it, since without it he could not digest, explain, simplify, or methodise the facts of which he was already in possession. Or, if on the other hand, the grounds of accusation could be extenuated, and the severity of the charge abated, a denial of the chance, which was thus offered for an early acquittal, was an injustice to the supposed delinquent. Were the hand of power to deny him such documents as he demanded, he must then rest contented with the single conviction of having done his duty. If however the desolation of a province, like that of Oude, which extended fifty-three thousand square miles, and the internal wealth of which had upon every calculation, once amounted to eighteen millions; if the oppression and extermination of its nobility, were not sufficient inducements with the house to vote him the papers for which he moved; and if no other ground would be admitted, than that of specifying his charges; though he knew that he was acting inconsistently with the established orders and practice of the house, yet he would submit to this condition, rather than not substantiate the truth as soon as possible. Having accordingly read to the house an enumeration of the facts he expected to establish against

Mr. Hastings in the administration of Oude, the papers for which he had moved, were granted him.

In this period of the business, major Scott, who is to be considered as the parliamentary representative of Mr. Hastings, displayed a degree of impatience, that will probably be thought somewhat ludicrous. Four days after the house had agreed to the motion of Mr. Burke, for the papers in relation to Oude, he remarked, that during every minute, his eagerness and anxiety to see the papers produced continually increased, and that he had twice gone to the India house, to discover in what probable time they would be submitted to the investigation of the house. He had that morning been informed, that the greatest part of the papers were already prepared, and he would wish to move, that such as were ready should be submitted without delay to the inspection of members. The speaker advised major Scott to withdraw his motion, as it was contrary to the forms of parliamentary proceeding, and wholly unnecessary.

On the third of March, Mr. Burke, proceeding in the plan he had already described to the house, moved for several additional papers for the support of the prosecution, and among others for papers of different descriptions, which were calculated to illustrate the demerits of the negotiations, that had introduced the peace with the Marattas in 1783. Upon these motions Mr. Dundas remarked, that, if the papers moved for were made public, they would occasion that matter to transpire, which ought, from motives of the soundest policy, to remain a secret to all the powers of India; and that he therefore felt himself bound, by the attachment with which he

was



was animated to the interest of his country, steadily to oppose so dangerous a proposition. He pronounced a warm eulogium upon the benefits that resulted from the Maratta peace, which had in reality been essential to the salvation of the British empire in Asia. The plans under which this happy event was effected, were extremely improper to be made public, because they led to the discovery of the means by which the different confederate powers were rendered jealous of each other, and of the intrigues by which the rajas were induced to dissolve their league against the British empire, and would bring to light secrets of infidelity, which were calculated to do the most material injury to our interests.

Mr. Burke replied to these objections. He observed that it had been argued on a former day, that, if the enquiry was intended to seek after crimes, the papers could not be granted; but that, if a direct charge was made, there should not be any objection. It could not be maintained that this demur would apply to the present case. A specific charge was brought forward, it was committed in detail to writing, and indeed a great part of it might be found in the reports of that committee, of which Mr. Dundas had once been so active a member. With respect to the danger, which it was pretended would arise from making public these papers, this was an objection in the highest degree fallacious. There was not a manœuvre respecting the Maratta peace, of which the powers in India were not in complete possession. The sovereigns there were as well informed as any sovereign in Europe; the sources of their intelligence were such as could not fail them; and the most enormous sums

were expended by them, in procuring spies even in official situations in our settlements. By comparing notes they had fully and substantially discovered that treachery, which our officers had employed against them individually, and the consequence was, that they had already entered into a league of an offensive import against our possessions in Asia. Mr. Burke particularly recurred to the circumstance of the breach of treaty with the rana of Gohud. That unhappy prince was driven from his territories, and become a wanderer in the East; he now held up his hands and implored the British parliament; he conjured them by their own consistency, by the faith of treaties, by the honour of this nation, to do him justice, to fulfil their promises, and to punish the man by whom he had so undeservedly been sacrificed. Mr. Burke added, that, if the majority should by their dissenting voices, deprive him of the opportunity to gather up materials, indispensibly requisite for the complete substantiation of his charges, the great cause in which he was engaged should however never be abandoned; he would avail himself of the scattered fragments of evidence, and would endeavour from them to stamp validity upon his accusations.

As the friends of administration in general appeared disposed to persist in the objection that had been stated by Mr. Dundas, the advocates of the prosecution were very importunate with them to depart from their determination. Mr. Fox observed, that there was no behaviour which could operate more injuriously to the British interests, than to withhold the friendship and protection that was due to our allies. He observed, that the advantages



vantages of the English constitution far outbalanced its disadvantages; and that it was one of the leading principles of that constitution, to prefer the responsibility which belonged to its officers and servants, to the secrecy which was deemed so necessary in other countries. He warned the house, that they would do well to reflect upon the sort of precedent they were about to lay down in the present instance; and he affirmed, that there could be no enquiry of a public nature, in which circumstances would not come that might better have remained a secret.

Mr. Windham undertook coolly and rationally to remonstrate with administration upon the consequences that would result from their conduct; at the same time that Mr. Wilberforce rose on the other side, and recommended to administration to employ much circumspection and caution, before they suffered any papers to be produced, which were likely to do an injury to the state.

Mr. Pitt upon this occasion appeared solicitous to maintain the credit of his impartiality in this momentous transaction, and he acknowledged, that the gentleman, who had taken the lead in the prosecution, had expressed and acquitted himself with a degree of candour and openness which redounded much to his credit. But he certainly had not offered arguments of sufficient force to evince the necessity of producing these papers. With respect to the Maratta peace, Mr. Hastings had negotiated it at a time when a continuance of the war would have proved absolute and inevitable ruin, and he completed it with an address and ingenuity that did him immortal honour. In the mean time there was one of Mr. Burke's motions upon this subject, which

Mr. Pitt would certainly not oppose; he meant that respecting the rana of Gobud. However he might differ with him respecting the propriety of this prince's having been excluded from the benefits of the peace, he certainly thought that in this transaction there was a sufficient ground of enquiry. In consequence of Mr. Pitt's concession this motion was carried; and the house having divided, in relation to the question of granting the other Maratta papers, the numbers appeared, ayes 44, noes 87.

One of the points most warmly contested in this stage of the business, was relative to the papers moved for by Mr. Burke on the sixth of March, respecting the negotiation which Mr. Hastings had commenced with the Great Mogul in his capital of Dehli in the year 1783; in which Mr. Burke charged him, in the first place, with transgressing the spirit of the resolutions of the British parliament, against entering into engagements for offensive measures with the princes of India; and in the next place with disgracing the character and good faith of the British nation, by betraying and deserting the party of the Mogul, after the negotiation had been considerably advanced. These papers were refused by administration, upon the same ground upon which they had already denied the Maratta papers; and, in vindication of the integrity of his motives, and the innocence of the documents in question, Mr. Burke read several extracts from them as a part of his speech. The house having divided upon the question, the numbers stood, ayes 34, noes 88. In the mean time the party, by whom the prosecution was supported, displayed the same earnestness upon this subject which



they had done in the preceding instance. The papers instantly upon the division, were moved for in a different form. In a speech Mr. Fox delivered upon this occasion, he indulged himself in the most animated style of exclamation. "What a precious farce," cried he, "is daily acting within these walls? We see the friends of Mr. Hastings affecting to be eager, that every paper which is called for should be granted. We see the king's ministers rising to declare, that nothing, which can properly be granted, shall on any account be refused. We hear other gentlemen, who call themselves independent men, saying, By all means let the house know the whole, and be put in possession of every species of information. And yet we see the same men, all of them dividing together, to enforce a negative upon a motion for the most essential information, helping each other out with hints and whispers during the debate, and pointing to matters apposite to the argument on their side of the question, just as I and my right honourable friend would assist each other, when we are maintaining the same point, and arguing for the same purpose."

So little indeed was Mr. Fox satisfied with the decision of the house of commons upon the question of the Dehli papers, that he soon after gave notice, that he would bring forward the business once more for the deliberation of parliament; and accordingly on the seventeenth of March he urged the house with all the force of his abilities in a most able speech, to recede from what he regarded as a precipitate resolution. He was perfectly convinced, that, previously to all endeavours for the successful introduction of a motion for these

papers, he owed to the house an apology, upon the principle, that it must always prove indecent, frivolously to trespass upon their attention. But, if ever he had reason to be dissatisfied with the decision of that house, if he ever thought a motion of the first importance to their honour and their dignity required reconsideration, it was the motion for the Dehli papers; and that because the decision which the house had adopted, had proved a decision in the teeth of the resolutions, which they had voted in 1782, and which had reflected the highest lustre upon the character of Britain. In those resolutions they had held out to the country powers of India a code of wise, wholesome and salutary laws, as the basis of the future government of the British territories. Some persons had supposed, that our government and constitution were attended by certain disadvantages with respect to their intercourse with foreign states, arising from the public manner in which many important parts of our administration must necessarily be conducted. But from this evil, if an evil it were, a most important good would be found to result, when it was considered how far this publicity tended to create a confidence in all other nations, and how strongly it contributed to bind us to certain defined and specific modes of political conduct. From hence it arose, that we could lay down a particular system of proceeding, the due observation of which all those states might reasonably expect, an advantage not in the power of any arbitrary government. For, if a king were to issue an edict, setting forth the principles by which he intended to conduct himself with respect to foreign nations, it would be received only as a notification of  
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the will of the minister of the day, who by death or disgrace might lose his situation, and leave room for a successor of different sentiments, and who might pursue a different line of conduct. With us on the contrary, when the British house of commons published a system of foreign administration, they not only committed the whole nation in the persons of their representatives, but bound individually, as well all those who had already been ministers, and enjoyed a prospect of being so for many years to come, as those who were so at present. That he might if possible still more strongly impress the house with a proper idea of the magnitude of the duty which they had engaged to perform when they voted the resolutions of 1782, Mr. Fox should not hesitate to describe them as measures of a peculiar nature, and affording, he believed, the first instance, in which that house had thought it became them to depart so far out of their immediate province, as to interfere with any part of the exercise of the executive government; a circumstance, to which they would certainly have never consented, had they not imagined that the extraordinary complexion of the case authorised a deviation from common precedents and established practice.

Mr. Fox declared, that essential as these papers were, if they were not granted, Mr. Burke would still be in possession of sufficient materials to prove and make good every thing, which he had ever advanced respecting the delinquency of the late governor-general of India. His character therefore was safe and on shore; and Mr. Fox wished the character of that house to be equally out of the reach of calumny and misrepresentation. It was for this

reason, that he had again called for the Dehli papers, and that he would now enter into a brief examination of the reasons upon which they had once been refused. It had been stated by Mr. Pitt in the first place, that the papers were not essential to the charge against Mr. Hastings, that they proved nothing, and that Mr. Hastings had not authorised major Browne to enter into a treaty with the Mogul; and secondly, that they involved in them secrets, the divulging of which would tend to induce consequences, dangerous to the general interests of the British nation. For the refutation of the first of these points, Mr. Fox might rest his argument upon the language of major Browne's letters to the governor-general. The expressions of the resident were decisive and emphatical. "We have offered to treat; he has accepted: we have annexed conditions; he has approved of them." These words proved incontestibly that the treaty commenced in a voluntary offer on our part; and the subsequent words in which major Browne proceeded to urge Mr. Hastings, for the sake of the good faith, the morality and the justice of the British nation, to send troops to the assistance of the Mogul, in order to lay siege to certain districts of his country, proved in the same unanswerable manner that the treaty was a treaty of offensive alliance. It was evident, that the resolutions of that house had been trampled upon and contemned by Mr. Hastings in this instance; and it was more than matter of suspicion, that the treaty, at the time when it was begun, was never intended to be concluded. In the former debate upon this subject, when he had complained that Mr. Hastings had infringed upon the authority of the house of commons,



Mr. Pitt had thought proper to say across the house, that the treaty in question had never been completed. Mr. Fox asked, whether he was entitled from those words to conclude that it was taken as a merit, that the company's servants in India got into this dilemma. They violated the resolutions of the house by commencing a treaty, and they violated the national faith by deceiving the Mogul, and refusing to conclude the treaty which was begun. They proved to the princes of Indostan on the one hand how little security was afforded them by the vaunted code of laws of 1782; and on the other hand, how little safety was to be acquired by entering into treaties of alliance with the British government in India. Mr. Fox felt himself thoroughly justified in asserting, that, in spite of any narrow principle, which temporary distress or local circumstances might seem to demand, it ill became a nation of great weight and character like Great Britain, to depart from general systems founded in wisdom and justice, for the sake of any petty and momentary considerations.

With respect to the ground of the refusal of the papers, on the plea that their production would betray some secrets of negotiation, the divulging of which might prove dangerous to the tranquility of the powers of Indostan, what was the language of this reasoning, but to say to the princes of India, We know that our servants have committed delinquencies, and we are convinced that they have broken faith with you; but we must not enquire into their conduct, because that would betray state secrets, that would develop political mysteries, which must be kept sacred? Would not every man in India laugh at so

absurd a reason for refusing to do justice? Would it not plainly appear, that the board of control and that house were following the exact steps of the old courts of directors? that they were laying down complete systems of their ethics in their orders and resolutions, but refusing to take the only means possible to enforce their performance? The effect of such a conduct was too manifest to need illustration. Instead of reformation in India, it would encourage abuse and increase delinquency. Mr. Fox alluded to what had lately passed in India, respecting the debts of the nabob of Arcot; and affirmed, that, so far from the economical management of the revenues being made an object of attention, new loans were at this time going on, and new debts contracting. In a word, by such a conduct as that which was now held, the board of control and the house of commons would become answerable for having suffered the servants of the East India company to believe, that they were secure from enquiry, and out of the reach of punishment. What was the tendency of the late vote, but to put it in the power of the minister to interfere in every investigation, and by his single *veto* defeat the aim of that house in the exercise of its first, great, constitutional character, that of the grand inquest of the nation? Armed with such a power, to what lengths might not a minister proceed? Every criminal, however notorious his delinquencies, however numerous his crimes, however injurious to the national honour, would only have to secure the protection of the treasury to be able to laugh at accusation, and set conviction at defiance.

Mr. Pitt replied to the speech of Mr.

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Fox. He agreed with almost every one of his principles, as well with respect to the policy of the East Indian government, as with respect to the right and duty of that house to enquire into all the abuses which might arise in it; but in the conclusions which he had drawn from these principles, he widely and completely differed from him. Mr. Pitt undertook to show, that in the present instance there had been no alliance either formed or authorized by Mr. Hastings. To judge of the merits of the transaction which had been so strongly disputed, it was necessary to recollect the period in which it had taken place. A most dangerous attack was made on the company's possessions, by the European enemy of this country, in conjunction with the most formidable of all the princes of India, Tippoo Saib. The last mentioned prince, well knowing the influence which the name of the Mogul had upon the feelings and the prejudices of his countrymen, exercised all his endeavours to bring him over to his interests; and, if he had succeeded, an insurmountable addition would have been made to the difficulties under which the English government had to struggle. The Mogul had recently lost his minister, a person highly serviceable to the British administration, as he was closely connected in friendship with the nabob vizier of Oude, the decided favourer of this country. In this situation it was determined by the unanimous voice of the council, to send an ambassador to Dehli, in order to secure as much as possible an amicable disposition in that court. To this embassy major Browne was appointed by Mr. Hastings, and by his instructions he was directed to encourage with as much address

and delicacy as possible, overtures of an alliance, and applications for assistance from the court of the Mogul, but was expressly forbidden to enter into any positive engagements, till he should have referred to the council the proposals that were made. Such was the object of major Browne's mission, and the consequence was the alienation of the inclinations of the Mogul from the party of Tippoo Saib, and of France. With respect to the letter in question, Mr. Pitt treated it as the unauthenticated effusion of a chimerical projector, that could neither deserve the credit of the house, nor affect the character of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt exerted himself to defend the character of secrecy, to which the papers in question were intitled. If indeed he were determined to prove to the house, that the papers were really dangerous, and improper to be made public, he could do it in a very short and compendious way, to which however he confessed that he felt himself particularly averse. This method was by producing them; for he would undertake to say, that were they to be read by the members there could be but one opinion upon them, that of censure against him for consenting to grant papers, so extremely delicate, and so likely to injure our interests in India, by exposing to each other the views and considerations under which the princes of that country had acted in their arrangements with us. He had been called upon to point out how the production of the papers would prove dangerous; but surely by making the attempt he should literally incur the danger. Was it possible to explain the ill effects of communicating secrets, without, in a great measure, disclosing the secrets



crets themselves? He had already said as much, perhaps more, than could with safety be uttered upon the subject; and doubtless, if he consulted his ease rather than his duty, he must wish at once to submit the papers to public animadversion. Indeed, when he considered, that as yet all the documents that had been granted were of a nature calculated to support the charges against Mr. Hastings, and that those now moved for were such as would place in a conspicuous point of view the most meritorious and brilliant part of his administration, he could not avoid, from motives of compassion and justice, lamenting, that, in compliance with his duty, he must object to their production.

Mr. Sheridan contrasted the conduct of administration in the present instance, with the proceedings of Mr. Dundas in 1781 and 1782, when he had formed his motions for documents in the broadest and most general words, calling for all the papers relating to the revenue, and all the papers relating to the civil government. At that time, though it was a time of war, nobody dreamed of a secret respecting India. When the conduct of lord Clive was under discussion, when every other Indian enquiry was prosecuted, this discovery had not been so much as suspected. It had not been imagined that there could be a state secret in India till the year 1786. It was, Mr. Sheridan added, downright nonsense to talk with a grave face about secrecy, and the dangerous tendency of letting the papers be seen; when not only it was well known what were their contents, but when they were acquainted with every transaction to which they alluded. He entered into some detail in order to con-

vince the house, that these letters would establish a most extraordinary series of duplicity, and an unparalleled intricacy of conduct in the procedure of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Sheridan asked, what could be the reason of the backwardness of Mr. Dundas, who had built his fame on what he had done as a conductor of Indian enquiries? Was it, because he thought to secure the situation he had acquired by prosecuting one delinquent, that he took pains to protect another? or was it from a kind of gratitude to East Indian delinquency, to which he had been so much obliged, that he chose to be the friend of Mr. Hastings, and would not, as it were, kick down the ladder upon which he had risen? The motion for the Dehli papers was farther supported by lord North; and major Scott entered into considerable detail in defence of the negotiation. The house having divided upon the question, there appeared ayes, for the production of the papers, 73, noes, 140.

During the debates upon these papers, a subject was brought forward by major Scott, which has since been repeatedly suggested to the attention of the public. He stated to the house, that, in all the proceedings against Mr. Hastings, and amidst all the abuse poured out against him, he had never entertained the smallest apprehensions, or made any overtures of accommodation. On the other hand, when Mr. Fox brought in his India bill, an intimation was given him in a private conversation which had passed with a person of authority, that matters might be accommodated; and he made no doubt, had Mr. Hastings then come home, he would have heard nothing of this calumny, and all these serious ac-



cusations. Mr. Fox immediately rose, and said, that, on a subject which concerned his honour and his character, he would not hesitate a moment to offer himself again to the house, though he had already spoken more than once in the course of the debate. He would first premise, that at no period had any offers been made to him, either by Mr. Hastings or his agents, in order to bring about an accommodation, for if there had, he would instantly have treated them with the most absolute and peremptory refusal. At the same time he would assert upon his honour, that no proposal whatever was made to Mr. Hastings or his friends with either his knowledge or concurrence, and he was well assured that no such proposal had ever come from any of his colleagues. Indeed it frequently happened, that during the consultations that he held on the subject of his India bill, it had been intimated to him that it would be better to drop all proceedings against Mr. Hastings, as being a powerful enemy; but he would never consent to listen to any advances of this nature.

Mr. Sheridan, the person principally concerned in the transaction to which major Scott had alluded, entered into no explanation of the matter on that day, but immediately had an interview with the person who had gone from him to major Scott. In order to make himself more clearly understood, it would be necessary for him to state a little of some opinions, which he had hitherto ever reserved within his own mind. With regard to India affairs, he had thought that there were but two kinds of conduct to be pursued. The one was to recall Mr. Hastings instantly by the strong arm of parliament, and

punish him exemplarily; the other to bring in an India bill, in which, on grounds of expediency, on account of the times not bearing so strong a measure, and from the difference of opinion which prevailed upon the subject, no retrospect should be had, but all the clauses should look to the future. With these sentiments, when the India bill of Mr. Fox was preparing, and while he was secretary to the treasury, he had commissioned a friend to go to major Scott, to know whether Mr. Hastings would come home, if recalled by administration. In the course of the conversation which he had had with his friend, the intended India bill was certainly mentioned, but without the most distant idea of conveying to the major a proposition upon the subject. Major Scott admitted the truth of this representation, and thanked Mr. Sheridan for the fairness with which he stated the transaction. He had laboured under a mistake ever since the conversation had passed, but from the authority of the gentleman who had been the medium upon this occasion, he was now bound to acknowledge, that there had been in the affair no idea of a compromise.

In the interval between the different debates upon the Dehli papers, the preliminaries of the intended impeachment were not delayed. On Thursday the ninth of March it was moved by Mr. Francis, in the absence of Mr. Burke, that a certain selection of the papers which had been laid upon the table should be printed. Mr. Francis having at the same time suggested to major Scott the expediency of a similar selection being made in favour of Mr. Hastings, the major moved that all the papers should be printed without discrimination.



He was sorry to involve the public in so considerable an expence ; but he felt it impossible to make a selection, and he conceived, that there was not one of the documents, which would not contribute to justify and illustrate the merit of the conduct of Mr. Hastings. Four days after this motion, Mr. Francis moved, that, with a view to the subject of the impeachment, to the discussion of Mr. Dundas's India bill, and the examination of the great measure of the intended sinking fund, the house should be called over on that day three weeks. Major Scott hoped, that upon this occasion some assurance would be given by Mr. Burke of his bringing forward his impeachment near the time of the proposed call. Mr. Burke replied, that the going through a period of thirteen years, collecting the facts relative to the subject during that time, and arranging them in the form of a charge, was a matter of no easy accomplishment. The period however that he would name for this business was the day of the call. He would then move, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the papers which had been produced in relation to the government of Mr. Hastings, and he would submit to them what he had collected from verbal testimony upon the subject. The next day he gave in a list of the persons, for whose attendance he should move at the bar of the house. On the twenty-fourth of March, major Scott made a motion for papers which he had long promised. The chief object of this motion was to prove, that the directors had given no orders, and pronounced no censure in regard to Mr. Hastings's treatment of the raja of Benares, from the month of May 1779, when

they received an account of it, to the month of October 1783. Mr. Sheridan observed, that major Scott was well aware, that the answer to his motion would prove a *non est inventus*, and that it might perhaps tend to demonstrate, how unfit the directors were for their stations, but was in no degree calculated to exculpate Mr. Hastings. But motions from different sides of the house were fated to receive a very different encouragement.

On the third of April, in pursuance of the notice which had been given, the house resolved itself into a committee, having previously referred to that committee the reports of the secret and select committees, and the other papers which had been laid upon the table, in relation to Mr. Hastings. Mr. Burke immediately moved for the introduction of the witnesses, who had been ordered to attend the house on that day, and observed, that it was his intention to examine them, for the purpose of authenticating certain papers, which were already in his possession, relative to the transactions of Oude with regard to the treatment of the royal family, the imprisonment of the mother and grand-mother of the nabob, and the putting other persons of quality in fetters, with a view to extort sums of money from them. The papers ought to have been at the India house. He should therefore establish the authenticity of these papers by oral evidence, as well for the sake of enabling him to lay them on the table, as of proving, that the governor-general had withheld such papers of importance from his employers at home, as it was his unquestionable duty to have communicated.

Sir Lloyd Kenyon, master of the rolls, opposed the motion of Mr.



Burke. He was not much acquainted with the forms of proceeding of that house in criminal matters; but he well knew, that it was the practice of the grand inquest of every county, when a criminal prosecution was brought before them, to hear a specific charge first, and then go into the evidence, in order to the finding a bill of indictment. He should suppose, that something analogous to this practice did, or ought to obtain in respect of criminal prosecutions carried on by the house. He warned them to proceed with the most deliberate and impartial circumspection, when the business was in the hands of a person of so great and acknowledged abilities, and when the whole power and weight of parliament were about to be brought to press upon an individual. As the person who conducted the prosecution was known to possess as much candour as any man living, to that he should venture to appeal, whether it would not be fair in respect to the supposed delinquent, that the charge should in some sort at least be specified. He had fully expected, when he came down to the house, to have heard Mr. Burke state the charges which he meant to bring forward, that he and others might be enabled to judge how far the parole evidence to be produced at the bar, bore upon the charge, as well as whether the charge was of a criminal nature, and such as it became the dignity and justice of that house to entertain. The suggestions of sir Lloyd Kenyon were supported by the solicitor-general, the lord advocate of Scotland, and Mr. Nichols.

Mr. Burke answered, that so much did he admire and respect wisdom, that he would bow even to late wisdom. But surely, if

learned gentlemen of great weight and authority, because at the head of their profession, instead of coming down so late in the progress of the proceeding, in order to set the house right, and guide their steps in the business, had been so good as to have let them have the benefit of their superior legal knowledge a little earlier, their conduct would have been more kind, and their behaviour more friendly to the house, and to him. Sir Lloyd Kenyon had talked of the weight of that house being employed to crush an individual. He might rest assured, that neither would that house suffer its weight to be used in the unjust pressure of an individual, nor would he attempt to employ it for any such purpose. But in truth, the weight of the house in the prosecution of an East Indian delinquent, was not to be considered as of so dreadful a nature. The loins of the house upon a criminal, weighed not so much as the little finger of the law, nor was it so likely to crush him to the earth. For himself, he intended, through the whole of the proceeding, to shew himself as open as possible, more so than perhaps was well for the part which he had undertaken. With this view he had, in the very outset of the business, laid down the grounds of fact in a general manner, upon which he was induced to presume guilt of a great and enormous nature in the government of India; and, upon the hearing of which, the house had not ventured, except in one or two instances, to refuse him the papers for which he asked. In compliment to sir Lloyd Kenyon, Mr. Burke would again read the summary of the principal facts in respect of the conduct of the British in the province of Oude, to which



he meant solely to confine himself in his first enquiry. Mr. Burke concluded with enumerating the different steps which had already been taken in the business. The papers for which he had called, were many of them granted. He had then moved for a committee of the whole house, for the purpose of hearing certain witnesses. The witnesses had been ordered to attend, and they were at this moment in a committee, with a view to the calling in and examining them. Any thing therefore which the master of the rolls had to suggest against the form and order of their proceedings, must amount to a censure of that house; and he warned them to be careful of their own honour, and by no means to appear desirous of restraining evidence, or preventing full information upon the subject.

Sir Lloyd Kenyon expressly disclaimed the idea, that himself and the gentlemen of the law had been brought down upon that day for the purpose of preventing the witnesses from being examined. On the contrary he protested, that he had come with the expectation to have heard the charges stated by Mr. Burke. The production of these charges, he trusted, would in some measures counteract the exhibition of insinuations and libels, upon which it had been usual for the courts of law severely to animadvert in similar cases. Sir Lloyd Kenyon particularly alluded to a pamphlet, containing a letter of Mr. Hastings, upon the subject of money privately received, and which he had carried to the account of the company, for the purpose of paying himself certain arrears, which he considered as due to him. This letter was accompanied with many severe and acrimonious remarks,

and had been sent anonymously to many members of that house. The pamphlet was given by rumour to Mr. Francis, and it was treated by major Scott with the strongest epithets of iniquity and infamy. The speaker of the house of commons upon this occasion, supported the motion of the master of the rolls, and declared, that he did not think the committee competent to the hearing of evidence. The question however was not tamely given up by opposition; and the examination of the witnesses was farther urged by sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Mr. Fox. Mr. Sheridan observed in reply to the speaker, that, if the committee were rightly to adhere to forms, they had it not in their power to receive any charge, though it were actually exhibited; and in confirmation of this opinion he desired that the order for the house to go into a committee might be read. The idea of Mr. Sheridan appears in some measure to have been admitted, since, the question for the hearing of witnesses having been carried in the negative, Mr. Burke the next day laid his charges upon the table of the house, when the speaker was in the chair.

The charges, which Mr. Burke exhibited in the course of the month of April, amounted to twenty-one; and a farther additional one, the composition of Mr. Francis, was laid upon the table on the fifth of May. We will here state as briefly as possible, the principal subject of each of these charges. The first of them related to the war that had been carried on against the Rohillas. The second, to the provinces of Cora and Allahabad, which had been conferred on the Mogul by lord Clive, and the revenues of which had been detained, when that prince withdrew to his capital



capital of Dehli, and put himself under the protection of the Marattas. The third treated of the extraordinary aid which had been demanded on account of the war from the raja of Benares, the fine which had been imposed upon him for refractoriness, and his consequent expulsion from his dominions. The fourth related to the confinement of the princesses of Oude, the imprisoning and fettering their servants with a view to extort money, the distresses which were experienced by their families, and their compulsory resignation of their jaghires or appanages. The fifth regarded the treatment of the raja of Farruckabad. The sixth, of the raja of Sahloné. The seventh, the tenth, the eleventh, and the twelfth, treated of certain extravagant contracts into which Mr. Hastings had entered on the part of the company; and the enormous salaries which he had bestowed upon sir Eyre Coote, and upon certain boards of his own institution. The eighth treated of money privately received, and of illegal presents. The ninth regarded the authority which Mr. Hastings had given to certain persons in England, to resign the government in his name; and the refusal he had given in India, to submit to the consequent appointment of his successor. The thirteenth respected certain embassies to the nabob of Arcot, and the siba of the Decan. The fourteenth related to the desertion of the raja of Gohud, in the conclusion of the Maratta peace. The fifteenth to the uneconomical and arbitrary management of the revenues of Bengal. The sixteenth charged upon Mr. Hastings the declension and ruin of the province of Oude. The seventeenth regarded a certain native called Ma-

homed Reza Khan, who had for a long time been intrusted with the internal management of Bengal and was displaced by Mr. Hastings. The eighteenth accused Mr. Hastings of having, at a recent period, delivered up the Mogul into the hands of the Marattas. The nineteenth charged him with libelling the court of directors. The twentieth related to the guilt of occasioning the Maratta war, and the ill faith that had attended the conclusion of the Maratta peace. The twenty-first regarded suppression of correspondence: and the twenty-second related to the treatment of Fizzulla Khan.

On the twenty-sixth of April a petition was presented from Mr. Hastings, requesting to be allowed a copy of the articles which had been exhibited, and to be heard in his defence in reply to the charges they contained. The demand to be heard was readily conceded on the part of opposition, but they objected to the granting a copy of the charges, as a thing contrary to the practice of the house. The objection was over-ruled by the friends of administration. Upon this occasion Mr. Martin revived his favourite idea of an impeachment of lord North, and recommended the conduct of it to Mr. Burke. The repetition of this subject in this desultory way, was censured with seriousness, by both the parties to whom the allusion was made. We mention it in this place merely as it led Mr. Burke to relate to the house, that he had once drawn up seven distinct articles of impeachment against that nobleman. The marquis of Rockingham had indeed advised him to abandon the idea, and had taken from him the papers; and he had since endeavoured to find them, but



in vain. Mr. Burke added, that, when he had seen lord North abandon the system which had been the object of his censure, he had been willing to forget what was past, and to do that honour to his talents and virtues that they well deserved. He had now the happiness to rank that nobleman in the number of his friends, and he was proud to make this public acknowledgment of the sincerity of his professions, and the disinterestedness of his conduct.

All the charges, except the last, having been now delivered, Mr. Burke, in pursuance of the line of conduct, which, he conceived, had been chalked out to him by the master of the rolls, and which had received the sanction of that house, immediately moved, that the speaker should leave the chair, in order for the house to go into a committee, for the examination of witnesses. But a new opposition now originated with the same person. Sir Lloyd Kenyon objected to the motion, upon the ground that the situation of the business was completely changed, in consequence of the house having that day consented to hear Mr. Hastings, upon the subject of the charges. It was now become highly improper to allow a single step farther to be taken in the business; since what Mr. Hastings might have to say, might induce the house to drop the prosecution. In the courts below, it was a frequent practice to hear defendants *in limine*, and even indictments were quashed, upon proper cause being shown. Mr. Jenkinson enforced the same reasoning; and observed, that Mr. Hastings would, in all probability, be able by allegation and argument, to prove the half of each charge to be irrelevant and impro-

per; of consequence, it would be highly absurd to hear evidence, till they had first endeavoured as much as possible, to define the subject upon which that evidence was to be examined.

Mr. Pitt maintained that there was great inconsistency in granting Mr. Hastings permission to be heard, and then postponing that hearing till they had gone through the evidence. By this means, instead of giving him an opportunity of removing the prejudices, which might arise from the charges going abroad, and making an impression upon men's minds without being answered, which was what Mr. Hastings wanted; they would first add all possible weight to the impressions, and then leave him to attempt by his assertion and arguments, to overturn what had already been substantiated by evidence. It might be objected, that such a proceeding would occasion delay; but it was a maxim of our law. *Nulla de vita hominis cunctatio longa est*; and it could not be disputed, that to a person of Mr. Hastings's rank and consideration, good name and reputation were as dear as life. Mr. Pitt adverted with great freedom upon the structure of the charges. He was willing to admit that they contained criminal matter, and such as it was highly incumbent on that house to investigate; but they were so filled with aggravations and unconnected details, they were so confused, so complicated, so irrelevant, and in many places, so unintelligible, that he thought it impossible for the house at large, to be able accurately to separate those parts which were worthy of attention, from such as were foreign to the main design. He therefore thought, that it would be absolutely



lutely necessary for their author, to select from them those parts which most strictly belonged to the subject, and to model them anew, before it would be possible for the house of commons to pronounce upon them. He added, that, when he said there was much criminal matter contained in the charges, he did not mean to insinuate, that he had formed any opinion, whether the criminality were properly supported; and he should be inclined to hope at least, that the contrary would be made to appear.

The conduct of administration in respect to this question was strongly resented by opposition. Mr. Burke observed, that, with respect to the imperfections that might be fairly imputable to the charges, they were to be ascribed to the conduct of the other side of the house. It was well known, that it had originally been his intention to have called his evidence first, and then to have suffered the charge gradually to grow out of the evidence. But the house in its wisdom had thought proper to dictate to him a different mode of proceeding. For himself, it was totally unreasonable to expect that he should mould his charges into a different form; and was a thing to which he would never submit. He added, that, let the master of the rolls repeat as often as he would the practice of being slow in giving his advice, and embarrassing the business from day to day, he would not abandon his cause. Mr. Burke complained of the difficulty of keeping his witnesses together; some of whom were ill, and could not remain in town without endangering their lives. What he had heard led him to fear, that it was intended to quash the prosecution; for it was evident from the language of Mr.

Jenkinson, that one half of his accusations were gone already. It was struck with the dead palsy, and was to live no longer. He considered one arm of the business as lopped away; but, if he lost a leg, he would still persevere, and even, if reduced to the necessity, would fight like Witherington, upon his stumps. He concluded with suggesting a very lively apprehension, that, if the motion of the master of the rolls were received, it would prove fatal to the accusation.

Mr. Fox described the difficulties which Mr. Burke had experienced in his progress to that stage of the business, and said, that no man with inferior abilities would ever have surmounted them. As soon as he had brought forward the business in one shape, it was stated by the other side of the house, that the form of proceeding was wrong; and that another form must be adopted. Still new modes were proposed, new delays invented, new artifices played off to confound, impede and embarrass; but the house and the public must see through the whole. Unfair indeed was the ground taken by the defenders of Mr. Hastings; for the most practised advocate could not have acted with more artifice and chicane, had he been engaged to plead for him at ever so high a premium. Mr. Pitt had admitted that the charges bore on their face much matter of heinous offence; but he chose to complain of confusion and irrelevancy, and had gone the length of stating, that they were in some parts utterly unintelligible. Why were these complaints urged? Because in spite of every objection, conjured up for the sake of disguising their real effect, the guilt imputed was too clearly understood, and the impression it made could not be concealed.

Mr.



Mr. Wilberforce reproved the warmth of Mr. Fox. If the charges were true, they contained enough of criminal imputation to rouse and animate the feelings of every man in the house. He wondered not therefore, that they should particularly warm the mind, and animate the feelings of the gentleman, who had been the principal conductor of the prosecution. He had studied the affairs of India, before that house generally speaking, knew any thing about them; he had been brooding over them for years; and it was natural for him to see their enormity in a magnified point of view. Of Mr. Burke's head and his heart, of his abilities and his humanity, of his rectitude and his perseverance, no man entertained a higher opinion than he did. But though Mr. Burke's impetuosity and warmth were in a high degree justifiable, the same reasons and the same excuse would not apply to the passion of Mr. Fox. His passion might perhaps pass upon the public for nothing more, than a portion of that common and ordinary violence, assumed and exhibited by him upon every subject of parliamentary debate. He wished however, for the sake of national justice, and for the character of that house, that Mr. Fox would so far restrain his feelings, as to appear on so serious and important an occasion, to conduct himself with the temper and moderation it so well deserved, and not to throw out insinuations, which he was persuaded the house regarded as unmerited. If it should appear in the end, that Mr. Fox and the chancellor of the exchequer came nearer in opinion upon the subject, than the former might perhaps conceive, he was apprehensive, that Mr. Fox would feel a very great degree of

disappointment, and be disposed to more warmth and passion than he had hitherto shown.

Mr. Hardinge opposed the motion of sir Lloyd Kenyon. He examined successively the various grounds for hearing Mr. Hastings in this stage of the business. It was said that Mr. Hastings could satisfy the house, that their proceedings were injurious to him, as being ill constructed in their form, irrelevant and obscure. To this he would answer, that Mr. Hastings ought never to be heard with effect upon that ground, in this period of the enquiry. It had been farther alledged, that the information which he would give to the house, might enlighten their general view of the subject, and guide them in examining the evidence. Against this too he should protest, as a topic inadmissible on the part of the accused, prior to any legal charge which he could be called upon to answer. But it might be said if these objects were precluded, no other topic was left him; this however he denied. Mr. Hastings might be desirous to be heard, for the purpose of counteracting, by his own state of the subject, those general impressions, which he might conceive that such a charge would make to his prejudice. Whatever might be his view in desiring to be heard, the house ought to hear him not, as a point of right in this stage of the proceeding, but from that lenity, which, even prior to the question of a legal charge, his critical situation attracted. If they could see no possible end of public justice, they should not refuse to him the indulgence of his own preconception upon this object: but, if they agreed with Mr. Hardinge, that he could not be heard with effect so as to interfere with the course of the evidence, it followed,



followed, that the evidence ought to proceed without admitting the smallest alteration into the progress of the business. The motion was farther opposed by lord North and Mr. Anstruther, and it was supported by Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Nichols. The house having divided, the numbers appeared, ayes 140, noes 80.

Mr. Hastings appeared at the bar of the house of commons on the first of May; and on that and the following day delivered in his defence, in answer to Mr. Burke's charges. He concluded with requesting that the minutes of his defence might be permitted to lie upon the table. Major Scott made a motion in compliance with this request, and was seconded by Mr. Burke. As soon as this matter was adjusted, Mr. Burke moved to call the first of his witnesses to the bar, and proceeded in the examination of several persons returned from India during the three following weeks. In the course of this examination major Scott endeavoured to bring home to Mr. Burke a charge of partiality in the selection of some witnesses, and the rejection of others. For this Mr. Burke accounted, by observing, that it was no wonder, that he should have found the testimony of some of the witnesses for whom he had originally called to be unnecessary, since he had expressly told the house from the first, that of not one of them had he any personal knowledge; and with respect to others, he had thought it idle and absurd to call witnesses to the bar, to begin with a cross examination of them. In one of the instances however, which major Scott specified, he proposed instantly, with the approbation of the house, to call in the witness, and to examine him

with respect to the particulars with which he might be acquainted. Major Scott farther accused Mr. Burke of unnecessary procrastination and delay, in this stage of the business; but from this imputation he was defended by Mr. Pitt.

On the eighteenth of May, the evidence in favour of the prosecution being nearly concluded, Mr. Burke explained to the house the mode in which he intended to proceed, and mentioned a day for bringing forward a leading question upon the subject. The idea which he had formed, was that of first taking the sense of the house upon all the charges collectively, and obtaining from them a decision, whether they contained amass of misdemeanours, sufficient to authorise a prosecution by impeachment. In this mode of proceeding he had found that it would be impossible for him to sustain the fatigue of going through the whole of the accusation himself; and therefore he had obtained from other members a promise, that they would occasionally relieve him by taking up the subject alternately, till the whole should be brought at once under the deliberation of the house. Mr. Pitt objected to the mode specified by Mr. Burke, and suggested, that it would in his opinion be better, first to take the sense of the committee on each charge individually, and then determine, whether upon the whole, or upon any particular article, there would be sufficient ground for an impeachment. Mr. Burke used various arguments in support of his arrangement, but the next day expressed his willingness to comply with the suggestion of Mr. Pitt. When he reflected upon the lateness of the session, and the importance of the subject, he was the more convinced how valu-



able was the consideration of time in the prosecution of this business. Attached and partial he acknowledged himself to be to his original plan; but rather than waste the time of the house in fruitless altercation, he was now ready to adopt the proposition of Mr. Pitt, and to move specific resolutions on the different charges.

One other topic occasioned some degree of debate, previously to the actual opening of any of the charges. Mr. Hastings mentioned in his defence certain papers, containing chiefly the correspondence of Mr. Middleton, as resident of Oude, during the actual progress of the Rohilla war, as being deposited in the archives of the company in the East India house. This circumstance immediately struck Mr. Francis, who had fruitlessly exerted himself, together with general Clavering and colonel Monson, during his residence in India, to obtain the communication of these papers. He accordingly enquired into the circumstance, and found, that the papers had never been in the possession of the court of directors. It was therefore moved by Mr. Burke on the twenty-fifth of May, that Mr. Middleton should be directed to attend the house on the next day, in order to deliver up the whole of his correspondence with Mr. Hastings, during his residency in Oude in the years 1774 and 1775. The question was not put upon this motion; but in consequence of its having been proposed, Mr. Middleton waited on Mr. Francis, requesting him to communicate to the house the declaration, which he made upon his honour, that he had many years since delivered up to Mr. Hastings at his demand every letter, copy and minute of correspondence, carried on between him when he was

minister at Oude, and the governor-general. In compliance with this new circumstance Mr. Burke altered his motion, and proposed, that, instead of Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hastings should be directed to attend the house, to deliver up the correspondence in question.

This motion was again opposed by sir Lloyd Kenyon. He observed, that a writ of *duces tecum* was a circumstance entirely illegal, and which had uniformly been condemned by the highest authorities in the law. He had hoped, that the time for employing such arbitrary proceedings had long been passed over in the English history. They had never been brought forward, but in the worst of times, and when tyranny had the most unlicensed prevalence. One instance he remembered of a similar kind, which had been acted under the influence of a popish faction in the reign of Charles the Second, when the closet of the great Algonor Sydney was broken open, his papers ransacked, and afterwards made a subject of accusation against him. A conduct like this, the immediate tendency of which was to oblige the person accused to criminate himself, was worthy of the inquisition, and rather than admit it, he would advise the prosecutor at once to withdraw his motion, and to propose the introduction of the torture. The idea of sir Lloyd Kenyon was enforced by the attorney-general, and by Mr. Burton, member for Wendover.

Mr. Burke ridiculed the arguments of the crown lawyers. He observed, that there never was a case, in which the public papers of public men were not used in evidence against them; and, however the tender sensibility of the master of the rolls might convert into torture



ture what was so usual a proceeding, he could not help regarding it as the tenderest torture that ever was inflicted. It was by this torture that he had already been enabled to disclose such scenes of real suffering, as agitated the breast of every man, who possessed a fibre of humanity, or a nerve of sensibility. It was by the application of this torture that he had discovered the suppression of so material an evidence, and he was determined with the leave of the house to pursue his discovery. Mr. Fox observed, that, though he was no lawyer, he was so warm a friend to the laws of England, that he would not believe that they sanctioned a proposition so irrational, as that the house had not a right to demand from a person accused criminally, papers which afforded proofs of his criminality, when those papers were not the criminals, private property. Mr. Fox put the case of himself when secretary of state, and asked, if the king had demanded all his papers from him, whether he must not have delivered them?

The motion was at length altered upon the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, so as expressly to confine it to papers of a public tendency, and, instead of being directed personally to Mr. Hastings, it was addressed to the court of directors. This order produced two letters from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Middleton; in the former of which it was stated, that he had many years since delivered up copies of his official correspondence with Mr. Middleton, together with such parts of his private correspondence as related to the public business. Major Scott acquainted the house, that, though Mr. Hastings had refused these papers to the inspection of the

majority of the supreme council, when they were peremptorily demanded from him, and though from peculiar circumstances they had not been communicated to the court of directors, they had been surrendered up to the nobleman who was at that time the first minister of this country. It afterwards appeared, that they had been offered to the perusal of lord North, but, thinking that their perusal did not fall immediately within his department, or conceiving, as he said, from the manner of the offer that it was not wished he should accept it, he had refused to receive them. The business was pursued no farther.

The question of the criminality of Mr. Hastings's concern in the Rohilla war, was brought regularly before the house of commons, on the first of June; and, having been debated upon that and the following day, it was at length carried in favour of Mr. Hastings, the number being, ayes, for the impeachment, 67, noes, 119. On the thirteenth of June, a second charge, respecting the aid demanded from the raja of Benares, the fine that was imposed upon him, and his expulsion from his dominions, was voted. It was determined that this charge contained matter of impeachment against the late governor-general of Bengal, ayes, 119, noes, 79. We reserve the particulars of these debates for our succeeding volume, in order that we may present to our readers in a comprehensive view the whole of this interesting subject.

On the eleventh of July the king put an end to the session by a short speech, which was conceived in very general terms. He could not dismiss his parliament without expressing the particular satisfaction with



with which he had observed their diligent attention to the public business, and the measures they had adopted for improving the resources of the country. He thanked the house of commons for the supplies of the year, and for the provision they had made for discharging the incumbrances of the civil list. He expected the most salutary effects from the plan for the reduction of the national debt, and considered it as an object inseparably connected with the essential interests of

the public. He added, that the assurances, which he continued to receive from abroad, promised the continuance of the general tranquillity. The happy effects of peace had already appeared in the extension of the national commerce; and no measure should be wanting on his part, which could tend to confirm these advantages, and to give additional encouragement to the manufactures and industry of his people.

PRINCIPAL







P R I N C I P A L  
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1786.







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# PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1786.

## JANUARY.

6. **T**HE Halfewell, East India-man, capt. Pierce, failed through the Downs, on Sunday the 1st instant, and after experiencing a series of extreme bad weather, struck, at two o'clock this morning, on the rocks of Purbeck, between St. Alban's Head and Peverel Point, near Portland. One hundred and seventy men got ashore, but from the darkness of the morning, and surging of the sea, near 100 were dashed to pieces and drowned. Among the number saved were 18 officers, 30 seamen, and 25 soldiers.

Capt. Pierce, a little while before the ship went down, called Mr. Meriton (the second mate) into the cuddy, where his two daughters, two nieces, and three other beautiful young ladies, were clinging round him for protection, and on being told it was impossible for the ladies to escape, "Then my dear children," said he, folding his daughters in his arms, "we will perish together." The ship disappeared in a few minutes.

Mr. Meriton, who brought this fatal news to the India House, escaped the fate of those who were dashed to pieces on the rocks, by falling into a fissure of one of them, where he was, for some time, up to his chin in water. The chief mate, a nephew of the captain's, refused to quit the ship, declaring that he would die with his uncle and cousins.

Mr. Thompson, the quarter-master, was the first who climbed up the rock, and got on shore: he saw a light, about a mile off, whither he went: the people very humanely came down with him to the shore with ropes, which were the means of saving many lives, though several, after having been drawn part of the way up the rock, from fatigue let go their hold, and were dashed to pieces.

11. The Swallow Packet, from Bengal, arrived in the Downs, on the 9th instant, on board of which, lord Macartney came passenger. His lordship was several days in Calcutta, previous to the arrival of the dispatches of the Court of Directors containing his appointment of governor-general of Bengal. Immediately on their arrival Mr. Macpherson dispatched his secretary, announcing the appointment, and his readiness to relinquish the government. His lordship desired a few days before he gave an answer. The reason assigned for his lordship's delay, was the carelessness of the messenger charged with the dispatches, who had left his lordship's private letters at Madras. On the arrival of these, a few days after, his lordship sent his positive answer, that it was his determination not to accept the government.

This packet brought advice, that there had been a meeting of the British inhabitants in Calcutta, which ended in their passing several resolutions



lutions expressive of their disapprobation of the East India regulating bill of the 24th of his present Majesty.

This packet also brought over a copy of the sentence of the court martial on major-general sir John Burgoyne, bart. which honourably acquits him of every part of the charge against him.

*Chester, Jan. 12.* About a year ago, a person, took a house at Childer Thornton, a few miles from this city, which he furnished in a moderate style, and engaged a woman of this place to serve him as housekeeper: he had not been there more than nine months, before he was attacked by a violent indisposition, which carried him off in about thirty days. Immediately on the approach of sickness he made his will, and left the whole of his property to his housekeeper, although an entire stranger to him. A short time after his decease the woman came to this city, and lodged bank notes (amounting to 640l.) in the hands of a banker. Not many days after, one of the notes, value 100l. reached London for payment, when a letter was directly sent down, requesting immediate information from whom the said note was received, which being duly forwarded, with other particulars, it appears, that the deceased had lately been clerk to a hopfactor in London; that about 15 months ago, he eloped with notes and cash to the amount of 1200l. and notwithstanding repeated advertisements has never been heard of till this time. More than 500l. it seems has been dissipated. Seven weeks have elapsed, since this person was buried, and a gentleman is just arrived from London, in order to have the corpse taken out of the grave, and

if possible, to identify his person. It seems that he had changed his name; and his hand-writing of the signature of the will, as testator, is so much altered, that the gentleman cannot swear to it. [*The body was actually taken up, and positively sworn to. The real name of the deceased was John Cardell, and the Hopfactor he robbed was Mr. John Sanders, of the Borough.*]

16. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when seven convicts received sentence of death. At this sessions was tried John Hogan, a Mulatto, for the murder of Anne Hunt, servant to Mr. Orrell, of Charlotte-street. (See Vol. VI. page 41.)

The manner in which this wretch was at last detected is very remarkable. A short time before the murder, he had brought home some chairs to Mr. Orrell's; and a person answering his description having been seen in the neighbourhood that day, suspicion fell on him, and he was twice taken up, and twice discharged for want of evidence.

On being taken to the body of the deceased, he appeared not in the least agitated; but, putting his hand on her breast, he said, "My dear Nancy, I do remember you well; I never did you any harm in my life!" These expressions very forcibly added to the suspicions of his guilt, because her face was so exceedingly cut and mangled, that Mr. Orrell declared he he could not possibly have known her. Two other circumstances, which tended to criminate him, were a spot of blood on a waistcoat which he wore, and some slight marks of blood on one of the sleeves of his coat; which coat had been washed, though the blood on the sleeve remained; and an effort seem-



ed to have been made, but in vain, to rub out the spot of blood from the waistcoat.

The prisoner was afterwards tried for a larceny, and Mr. Orrell reading his trial in the Sessions-paper, it occurred to him to search at the pawnbroker's, where he had pawned the property stolen, for which he was so tried, to see if any of his property, which was stolen at the time of the murder, had been lodged with that pawnbroker; there he found a cloak of his wife's, pawned the morning after the murder, by the woman with whom the prisoner cohabited.

The principal evidence against him was the woman with whom he cohabited; who deposed, that he brought her home a cloak, which he said he had bought, on condition of paying for it at the rate of so much a week. The cloak was produced in court, and Mrs. Orrell swore to it as her property. The deponent further said, that after Hogan had been twice taken before a magistrate, he, at intervals, appeared to be very uneasy; that particularly he could not sleep in bed; that she said to him one night, "For God's sake what is the matter with you, surely you are not guilty of what you have been taken up for:" that his answer was, "Yes I am:—I am guilty:—I did it." She then was much troubled in mind, and apprehended fatal consequences to herself, particularly, as he said to her, "You must say nothing; you must be quiet; for if I be hanged, you will be hanged with me." And on her asking him, why he had murdered the young woman, he answered, because he wanted to be great with her, and she resisted him.

The prisoner being called on for

his defence, said, "I am innocent; and if any body takes away my life, I will never forgive them."

The jury brought in their verdict *guilty*; and he was this day executed on a gibbet, erected opposite Mr. Orrell's house.

At this sessions also came on the remarkable trial of Messrs. Goodridge and Evans, charged with forging the will of Mr. Thomas Sawtell, formerly a tallow-chandler, of Saffron-hill. The principal witness to prove the charge was an attorney, who swore, that at the instigation of the prisoners he made the will in favour of one of the Goodridges, who was appointed in it executor and residuary legatee. On his cross examination by Mr. Erskine he varied in many particulars; and he even avowed, that he had sworn directly contrary to the evidence he now gave, in a cause depending in Doctors Commons, to try the validity of the will. Several other witnesses, however, were called in confirmation of his evidence, and about half past ten at night the prosecutor finished his case. The prisoner's counsel then began their defence, which lasted till past four in the morning, when the evidence given by the attorney and some others was flatly contradicted in certain very material circumstances, and several witnesses were examined as to the relationship and affection between the deceased and the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Goodridge, and a great number of respectable persons testified the good character of the prisoners. The Judge, notwithstanding his great fatigue, fully summed up the evidence, with observations on it, and the jury, without going out of court, pronounced a verdict of, not guilty.

23. At a sessions of admiralty,  
(A 3)



at the Old Bailey, on Saturday, Wm. Shaw Hines was tried for piratically seizing, taking, and sailing away with a cutter in the service of the customs, on the 6th of March, 1781. It appeared on the trial, that the prisoner belonged to a smuggling yawl, commanded by one Knight, and being descried by the Swift cruizer, on the coast of Essex, was chased by her, come up with, and taken; and the master of the Swift proceeding to take the cargo of the yawl on board, was opposed by the prisoner, who finding his men superior to those in the Swift, seized the master and crew of the Swift, took them out to sea, and putting them into a small boat left them to shift for themselves. He was found guilty. [*He was executed on the 15th of February following.*]

At this sessions, the opinion of the judges was delivered, by Mr. Justice Willes, on the case of George Coombes, who, in June last, was convicted of the murder of Mr. William Allen. (*See Vol. VI. page 40.*) The verdict had been left special for the opinion of the judges, which being against the prisoner, he received sentence of death, and was executed this day.

25. The Coroner's inquest sat on the body of Charles Price, who was lately committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell for several forgeries on the Bank, and who yesterday hanged himself in that prison. They brought in their verdict self-murder.

This unhappy man, who was about 52 years of age, had been apprehended at Mr. Aldus's, a pawnbroker, in Berwick-street. He had passed through three examinations previous to his suicide. Great must have been the horrors of his mind before he could conclude upon his

own destruction; but the composure and deliberation with which he perfected it gave the finishing stroke to his character. About the Royal Exchange he was well known. His natural propensity to dishonesty was the spring of all his misfortunes; it made him shift from place to place to avoid the abuse of the mob, and the clamorous calls of lucky adventurers. His last office was the corner of King-street, Covent-garden, whence he was driven about six years ago, by a most unaccountable run of ill-luck, and esteemed himself happy in a private decampment.

Driven thus to expedients, and having a family of eight children to support, he turned his thoughts to that attempt which proved so fatal to him. His first attempt on the Bank was about the year 1780, when a forged note had been taken there, so complete in all its parts, the engraving, the signatures, the water-mark, &c. that it had passed through various hands unsuspected, and was not discovered till it came to a certain department in the routine of that office, through which no forgery whatever can pass undiscovered. This occasioned a considerable alarm, and notes upon notes flowed in about the lottery and Christmas times, without even the least possibility of tracing out the first negociator. Various consultations were held, and plans laid, but in vain.

Had Mr. Price permitted a partner in his proceeding, had he employed an engraver, had he procured paper to be made for him, with water-marks put into it, he must have been soon discovered; but Price was himself alone: he engraved his own plates; he made his own paper, with the water-marks, and he was his own negociator,



ciator, thereby confining a secret to his own breast, which he deemed not at ease in the breast of another; even Mrs. Price had not the least suspicion of his proceedings. Having practised engraving till he had made himself sufficient master of it, he then made his own ink to prove his own works: having purchased implements, and manufactured the water-mark, he next set himself to counterfeit the hand writings, and succeeded so far, as even to puzzle a part of the first body of men in the world.

31. The long contested cause between the vicar of Odiam, plaintiff, and the chancellor of Sarum, and others, defendants, was lately settled by the judges of the Exchequer, in favour of the plaintiff, by his having a prescriptive right to all small tithes, though he could not produce an endowment. By this decision that right of the inferior clergy to the tithes of clover-feed, turnip-feed, and all small tithes whatever, is finally settled.

*Edinburgh, Jan. 20.* The court of session this day determined a cause of a very singular nature:—Some years ago, the rev. Mr. William Shaw, formerly minister of Ardolach, published by subscription a Dictionary of the Gaelic Language. Previous to the publication, proposals were exhibited to the public, containing an enumeration of various particulars, which it was proposed should be inserted in the dictionary. After the dictionary was printed and published, about four-fifths of the subscribers accepted of the book, and paid their subscription money; but several of the subscribers declined paying their subscriptions, alleging, that, as the author had not specifically fulfilled the terms of his proposals, they were not bound to accept the book, which they also declared was a very

bad performance, and in no view a proper Dictionary of the Gaelic Language. An action was brought by Mr. Shaw against the refractory subscribers before the court of session, in which a proof was led, as to the merit of the work; and all the witnesses agreed, that the author had not fulfilled the terms of his proposals, although one or two of the witnesses, at the same time, thought the dictionary was an acquisition to the Gaelic language, and that they had derived considerable benefit from it. The court were of opinion, that although the pursuer had not fulfilled the terms of his printed proposals, yet as the defenders could not instruct that he had wilfully suppressed any of his materials, or been guilty of fraud or deceit in the execution of the book, the subscribers were liable; and the court also found the prisoner entitled to his expences.

## FEBRUARY.

3. Captain Raphael, of the brig Basil, who arrived at Liverpool on the 27th inst. on her passage from Dominica, on the 25th of December, lat. 26. 54. long. 66. 47. picked up the crew of the Charming Molly, from Bermudas to Turks Island, which vessel had foundered three days before, when the crew, ten in number, took to the boat, to the stern of which they tied a large log of wood, which served to keep her head to sea; in this situation they waited in hopes of being relieved by some vessel: when capt. Raphael took them up they had about one pound of bread, and two gallons of water, the latter of which they gave to each other in a wine glass full to a mouthful of bread, once in 12 hours. The boat (12 feet in length) being so very small, one half of the crew were



obliged to lie down in her bottom, as in any other situation she would have been top-heavy.

7. About three this morning a fire was discovered in the lower apartments of the house lately occupied by the chamberlain, which is supposed to have begun in the rooms preparing for an office for the city surveyor. The wind being very high, and the flames increasing with amazing rapidity, soon destroyed the chamberlain's-office (with the books in which were registered the admissions of freemen), and greatly damaged the house adjoining; but by the timely assistance of the comptroller and solicitor, with the carpenter to the sun fire-office, the city marshal, with the military association, and the extraordinary exertions of the engineers and fire-men, the adjoining parts of Guildhall received very little damage, and the other offices and their contents were all saved.

13. On Friday were tried before lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, thirteen debtors confined in the said prison, who had been committed to the New Gaol, for attempting, in the morning of the 14th of August last, to blow up the walls of their prison.

The indictment was laid against them for a conspiracy and misdemeanour. They were all found guilty, and this day received sentence: the four ringleaders to be confined in Newgate three years, three of whom are to find security for the same term, after the expiration of their imprisonment; six to be confined in Surrey Bridewell for two years; and three in the House of Correction for the same term, and to find security for their good behaviour for two years.

28. The foreign prints mention the death of the cardinal de Solis,

archbishop of Seville, at the extraordinary age of 110 years, 8 months, and 14 days, in the full enjoyment of every faculty except strength and quickness of hearing. He used to tell his friends, when asked what regimen he observed, "By being old when I was young, I find myself young now I am old. I led a sober, studious, but not a lazy or sedentary life. My diet was sparing, though delicate; my liquors the best wines of Xerez and La Mancha, of which I never exceeded a pint at any meal, except in cold weather, when I allowed myself a third more. I rode or walked every day, except in rainy weather, when I exercised for a couple of hours. So far I took care for the body; and as to the mind, I endeavour to preserve it in due temper by a scrupulous obedience to the divine commands, and keeping a conscience void of offence towards God and man. By these innocent means I have arrived at the age of a patriarch with less injury to my health and constitution than many experience at forty. I am now, like the ripe corn, ready for the sickle of death, and, by the mercy of my Redeemer, have strong hopes of being translated into his garner."—"Glorious old age!" said the king of Spain. "Would to heaven he had appointed a successor; for the people of Seville have been so long used to excellence, they will never be satisfied with the best prelate I can send them."—The cardinal was of a noble house in the province of Andalusia, and the last surviving son of Don Antonio de Solis, historiographer to Philip IV. and author of the Conquest of Mexico.

*Rome, Feb. 17.* The earl of Bristol (bishop of Londonderry) a virtuoso and a liberal encourager of the fine arts, being a few days ago at



at the Villa Medicis, to examine the paintings exhibited there, was struck with the works of Mr. Berger, a young pupil, native of Savoy. The English nobleman particularly admired his print of Epaminondas drawing the spear from his bowels: he immediately enquired for the author of it, purchased all his pictures at the price he set upon them, made him a present besides of 600 livres tournois, and settled a pension of 50l. per annum, during his life, on condition that he shall yearly furnish him with a picture, which his genius may suggest to him, and for which his benefactor will pay him, independent of his said pension.

### M A R C H.

1. The king of Sweden has prohibited the use of the torture in his dominions, as inimical to justice, and the interests of humanity. The edict bears date Nov. 22, 1785, although not published before February 1786.

6. Some villains broke into Burleigh house, near Stamford, the seat of the earl of Exeter, and stole from out of the jewel closet a gold bason and plate, and a variety of other curious articles to a very large amount. Many of the articles are invaluable to the noble owner, being family pieces, handed down from his ancestors, the famous treasurer Burleigh, &c. particularly the spoon which was used at the coronation of queen Elizabeth; a number of miniature paintings (one of Oliver Cromwell, and several of the Cecil family); some esteemed antique pieces, shells, pearls, &c.

*Dublin, Feb. 25.* Letters from Castlebar, in the county of Mayo, by yesterday's post, bring the following particulars of a most shocking murder. A difference had for

some time subsisted between George Robert Fitzgerald, and Patrick Randal M'Donald, esqrs. Mr. M'Donald kept much on his guard, as he received many informations, that several parties of Fitzgerald's men were looking out for him with an avowed determination to destroy him. In the evening of the 21st of February last, Mr. M'Donald went, for greater security to the house of Mr. Martin, in the neighbourhood of Castlebar, in company with Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Hipson. They had been there but a few minutes, when the house was surrounded by a party of armed men, who instantly broke in, bound Mr. M'Donald, Mr. Gallagher, and Mr. Hipson, and immediately carried them off to the house of Rockfield, where Fitzgerald, then was. After a short stay an armed party led out the unfortunate gentlemen into the park. In a few seconds a platoon was fired, and laid Mr. Hipson dead on the spot. Mr. M'Donald, and Mr. Gallagher were ordered to go about 50 yards farther, when a second platoon was fired. Mr. M'Donald instantly fell dead, upwards of 50 flugs passing into his body. Mr. Gallagher received also several flugs, but was not mortally wounded. However, he thought it prudent, after staggering a few yards, to fall and appear motionless, in order to deceive the murderers. In this wounded state they brought him back to Fitzgerald's house, where they had returned but a few minutes, when the house was surrounded by the army from Castlebar, many of the volunteers, gentlemen, and crowds of people from that town and neighbourhood. They speedily got into the house, delivered Mr. Gallagher in a most critical moment, seized several of the murderers, and after



a long search found Fitzgerald locked up in a large chest, and hid under two blankets. He and several of his people were immediately conducted to Castlebar, and safely lodged in the gaol. The same evening a party of armed men broke into the gaol, fired several shot at Mr. Fitzgerald, and much wounded him.

*Ostend, Feb. 25.* The Dutch East India company seems now at its last gasp. The missive they have presented to the states of Holland, is a full proof of it. It is as follows :

“ *Noble, great, and powerful Lords,*

“ Being under the necessity of laying before your great mightinesses our want of money, we think it our indispensable duty to inform your mightinesses that this want has come to such extremity, that if we do not obtain some assistance we shall be obliged to stop payment in a month’s time.

“ Being desirous to do every thing in our power to prevent the dangerous moment, we think ourselves bound to address their high mightinesses (the states general) praying them that they would be pleased to contribute to the utmost of their power to prevent the fall of the company, and consequently the ruin of our country. Permit us also to renew this request to you, and to implore that you will have a disposition as favourable as ready to comply with our petition of the 17th of January, by which we recommend to you the interest of a million of people. We pray God, &c.”

This petition is signed by the directors and principal proprietors of the East India company at Amsterdam.

*Chelmsford, March 8.* The noted Frances Davis was tried this day

at our assizes, for a remarkable robbery, in the dwelling-house of Agnes Bennet, the Three Rabbits, between Ilford and Stratford; she having stolen thereout cash and bank notes, to the amount of 125ol. the property of John Wrigglesworth. It appeared that this woman committed the robbery in the following extraordinary manner. She disguised herself in men’s apparel, and came to the above public house, enquiring for lodging, pretending to be going to town. Being told that she could have one, she ingratiated herself into the company of Mr. Wrigglesworth, who is a capital grafter, of Gosfield, in this county, and was going to Smithfield market next morning, to whom she assumed the character of a horse-dealer. In the course of conversation she contrived to discover the contents of Mr. Wrigglesworth’s canvass bag. After supper, each retired to a separate room, and early in the morning the *horse-dealer* opened the chamber door of Mr. Wrigglesworth, whom she caught asleep, and taking his breeches from under his head, went off with the sum above mentioned.

The next day she paid a visit to a female acquaintance in Newgate; gave her a guinea, and a pair of silver buckles, and boasted of the exploit: this woman communicated the secret to another person, and the consequence was, that Mrs. Davis was, the next day, apprehended in the Borough, with something more than 9ool. on her, the remainder having never been recovered. Positively sworn to by Mr. Wrigglesworth and the people of the house, although so disguised, she was found guilty, and the judge immediately passed sentence of death on her, observing, that from the



art and address with which the robbery was planned and completed, he did not think it could have been her first offence; indeed he well knew it was not, for she had been the terror of that county for some years back, and therefore advised her not to flatter herself that, in this case, her sex could afford her any protection. [*She was reprieved before the judge left the town, and afterwards transported.*]

16. This day was held a general court at the bank, when the chairman communicated to the proprietors the following information, viz. That the directors had agreed to prolong the payment of the loan of two millions which had been lent to government, upon condition that the same should be redeemed at half a million per annum. The proprietors approved of the measure, and it was agreed to. The chairman next proceeded to inform the proprietors, that as the national debt had increased so considerably, the directors had agreed with the minister to undertake the management of the business at the rate of 450l. for each million, instead of 562l. which had hitherto been paid for it. This circumstance made a saving to government of 25,000l. a year. The proprietors approved also of this measure, and it was agreed to.

*Hermanstadt, in Transylvania, Jan. 10.*

We have here a fresh proof of the degree of perfection to which unfortunate persons, deprived of sight, can carry the sense of feeling. A blind man of this city has employed himself in joinery work, which he executes with such art as to astonish the best workmen; the latter doubted a long time whether he did it himself, and imagined he only lent his name to some able workman, who made use of this means to dispose of his work

more readily, and to greater advantage, and they made him work under their inspection. The magistrates on their testimony have permitted the blind man to continue his work, and dispose of it for his own advantage.

*Rome, Feb. 15.* In consequence of a meeting relative to the affair of the cardinal Rohan, the pope unexpectedly called a consistory on Monday last, when it was resolved to allow the cardinal six months to appear here in person, or to send a representative to give an account of his arrest; and if he does not clear himself in that time, the pope and the holy college are determined to degrade him from the dignity of cardinal. (*See Vol. VI. page 63.*)

*Launceston, March 28.* This day captain Douglas was tried for the murder of Mr. Walton. (*See Vol. VI. page 58.*) After a hearing of four hours and a half, the jury retired for a few minutes, and returned with a verdict of manslaughter. Sentence of imprisonment for one year, and a fine of a shilling, was then passed on him.

30. An action was tried this month before Mr. justice Buller, at Guildhall, in which lord Loughborough was plaintiff, and John Walter, printer of the Universal Register, defendant, for a libel in propagating an infamous report, highly injurious to the honour and character of the defendant. The jury gave a verdict for the defendant, with 150l. damages.

#### A P R I L.

1. On Wednesday evening was decided at the assizes at Kingston, before Mr. justice Gould, the great cause which held three days, brought by way of indictment, at the suit of the corporation of London, as conservators of the river Thames,



Thames, against Mr. Watson, a shipwright and wharfinger, at Rotherhithe, for obstructing the navigation by erecting a floating dock. The jury, after five hours deliberation, found the defendant guilty.

2. Letters from Berlin say, that the king of Prussia, on the death of colonel Vantroske, a very valuable officer, sent the following letters to his widow :

I. "The death of colonel Vantroske, your husband, commanding the regiment of Old Waldeck, has affected me in a very particular manner. By his death I am deprived of a brave and good officer ; such was the reputation he enjoyed universally, and I know full well how to value the important services he has rendered me. The insignia of the order of Merit which he received from me, and which you return with thanks to me for the favours I had conferred on him, will remain for you and your children everlasting tokens of the well-earned distinction which he received at my hands. But I shall not stop here ; you may, on the contrary, rest assured, that I certainly will neither forget the widow of so deserving an officer, nor the children that he has left behind. Let me know, without any reserve, the real state of your domestic concerns at the moment of his death, the number and age of your children. Communicate this matter to me, as to one ever disposed to give you a proof of his benevolence."

*Potsdam, Jan. 21.*

In the king's own hand.

"P. S. I have honoured your husband, as the model of an excellent officer ; but since, alas ! he is no more, I shall be to his children a father : I mean to do for them and his widow all that a parent could have done ; let me have only

the true state of your means, and I engage to do the needful for the satisfaction of the family."

II. "I shall between this and next Trinity lay out 20,000 rix-dollars in the purchase of an estate for your three children, the whole direction and management of which shall remain in your hands. You must apply to the ecclesiastical department, to see whether there be two vacancies in a nunnery within the county of Cleves, or the province of Westphalia, for your two young ladies ; when marriageable, I shall take them away, and settle them in the world.

(Signed) FREDERIC."

*Edinburgh, March 25.* We hear from Perth, that on Tuesday last, the foundation of a large village to be called Pitcarine Green, was laid by the proprietor, Thomas Graham, esq. of Balgowan.

The ceremony was attended by Mrs. Graham, lady C. Graham, lady Charlotte Erskine, &c. amidst the acclamations of a grateful populace, who were liberally entertained by their beloved landlord. This village, the principal square of which will contain about eighty houses, is to be built in consequence of an extensive Callico printing field, lately established at Cromwell Park, in its immediate neighbourhood, by Mess. William Macalpine and Co. who are also to erect machinery for the spinning of cotton.

4. The following dreadful accident happened lately at Brodie-house, near Forres, in North-Britain : lady Margaret Brodie, sister to the earl of Fife, after spending a cheerful evening, retired about 11 o'clock to her bed-chamber, where one of her five children (a daughter nine years old) was in bed, being her constant bedfellow. It is sup-

posed



posed her ladyship took a book, and while reading by the fire, her clothes caught. She ran to the bed, in order probably to save her child, but the curtains also took fire. She then fell, and perished in the flames. The shrieks of the poor child alarmed the servants, as they did also Mr. Brodie, who slept in the room over lady Margaret. The servants, however, happily got out the child unhurt, but Mr. Brodie was much burnt in dragging out of the flames the burnt body of his wife.

5. Yesterday came on the election of a governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England for the year ensuing, when George Peters, esq. was chosen governor, and Edward Darell, esq. deputy-governor. And this day came on the election of 24 directors, when the following gentlemen were chosen: Samuel Beachcroft, esq. Daniel Booth, esq. T. Boddington, esq. Roger Boehm, esq. Samuel Bosanquet, esq. Lyde Browne, esq. Richard Clay, esq. William Cooke, esq. Bignel Coney, esq. Thomas Dea, esq. William Ewer, esq. Peter Gaussen, esq. Daniel Giles, esq. John Harrison, esq. T. Scott Jackson, esq. Richard Neave, esq. Edward Payne, esq. Christopher Puller, esq. Thomas Raikes, esq. Godfrey Thornton, esq. Samuel Thornton, esq. Mark Weyland, esq. Benjamin Winthrop, esq. Benjamin Whitmore, jun. esq.

*Gloucester, April 3.* On Sunday the 26th of March two young women, and three young men, of the neighbourhood of Westbury, in spite of the admonitions of their friends, determined to take pleasure on the Severn, instead of going to church, and whilst they were sailing down the stream, a sudden squall of wind overset the boat.

The two women and one of the men were instantly drowned. The other two men got upon the bottom of the boat, and were tossed to and fro upon the river till four o'clock the next morning, when they grounded on a sand bank, and with the utmost difficulty and hazard got to shore, nearly starved to death.

12. Came on the ballot for six directors of the East-India company, at the close of which the numbers were,

For Joseph Sparkes, esq.	755
Richard Hall, esq.	754
William Bensley, esq.	746
John Hunter, esq.	648
John Smith, esq.	647
John Travers, esq.	628
George Tatem, esq.	444
John Lewis, esq.	417

Whereupon the first six gentlemen were declared duly elected.

John Michie and John Motteaux, esqrs. are elected chairman and deputy-chairman of the East-India company.

The court of directors made the following arrangement of their servants at Bengal and Madras, in consequence of the new India bill having received the royal assent, viz. earl Cornwallis is appointed governor-general and commander in chief. General Sloper recalled, and to receive an annuity of 1500l. for life. The Bengal council to consist of earl Cornwallis, Mess. Macpherson, Stables, and Stuart; and Mr. John Shore to succeed to the first vacancy in the supreme council. The system of uniting the chief civil and military authority to take place at each presidency; of course, governor Sir Archibald Campbell is appointed governor and commander in chief at Madras. General Dalling also recalled, with an annuity of 1000l.

for



for life. The Madras council to consist of sir Archibald Campbell, Mess. Daniel, Davidson, and Cassamajor.

The directors also granted an annuity of 1500l. per ann. to lord Macartney, as a consideration for the unexampled integrity and ability displayed by that nobleman during his administration at Fort St. George.

*Carthage*, March 18. The beginning of this month an Algerine bark, of 26 guns, took a Neapolitan armed settee within three hours sail of this port, after a bloody contest. The next day the bark, with her prize, fell in with two Portuguese frigates and an armed polacre, and a most desperate battle ensued, for upwards of three hours, till at last the bark's masts, with most of her rigging, were cut to pieces, her rudder shot away, and she in a very leaky condition; yet she and her prize kept firing such incessant showers of grape-shot into the queen's ships as killed and wounded a vast number of people; the men of war also kept a continual and well directed cannonading into the pirates, till they sunk the bark, and retook the settee; but as soon as the Portuguese came to board and take possession of the prize, the Algerines set fire to her in three places, and her captain, together with all the crew, jumped into the sea, and were drowned; when she instantly blew up, and the prizemaster and all his people on board perished.

13. This day a man was committed to the New Gaol, charged with a murder, at Godstowe, in Surry, attended with circumstances of the most vindictive cruelty. He was a pauper, who, under the false pretence of being a cripple, had long been a charge upon the pa-

rish; but being detected by Mr. Burt, a surgeon of that town, the villain vowed revenge; and this day he seized the opportunity to put his diabolical purpose in execution. He had, as usual, taken his stand upon the road to beg alms, supported by crutches; and on Mr. Burt's passing from his own house to the poor-house, accompanied by his son, a lad about ten years of age, after exclaiming, "There goes that rascal Burt," he threw a bill at his legs, which fortunately missed them, and then pursuing, and presently overtaking him, by a blow from his crutch brought him to the ground; this was followed by a repetition of blows upon the head with his hand-bill, till he actually buried the bill in Mr. Burt's skull. Mr. Burt's hand was severed from the arm in endeavouring to save his head. At this moment, the little boy, seizing the murderer's crutch, struck him such a blow as to stagger him; but, fearing his father's fate, ran to call assistance; and in the mean while the villain made off; but was soon after found hid in a copse. On his being seized, he lamented that the overseers had escaped his vengeance. Had he done for them, he should have died contented. What he was not able to effect, his wife has threatened to perpetrate, if her husband is hurt.

Mrs. Burt, who had only a month to go in her pregnancy with her seventh child, is reduced to the most deplorable situation by this dreadful calamity, which has likewise greatly affected the health and spirits of the poor child that was a witness of it. [*The humanity of the public was greatly interested in this unhappy affair; and a subscription being set on foot by the benevolent Dr. Hawes, very liberal contributions were procured*



*procured for the future support of the unfortunate widow and her children.]*

—Yesterday twelve malefactors were executed before Newgate. The morning preceding the execution, major Arabin, called in Newgate upon Thomas Burdett (who was to be executed next day, for breaking open the house of Mr. Chancellor, at Holywell Mount), and asked whether he knew any thing of the robbery of his house, on the 7th of March last. (*See Vol. VI. page 21.*) To this Burdett answered in the affirmative. The major then desired to know if he had any accomplices, and if they were still at large; to which Burdett replied, “You, Major, I suppose, call yourself a man of honour!”—“Yes.”—“So do I.”—“Have you any hopes of a pardon?”—“No; nor would I make the desired discovery to procure it and my immediate enlargement. I have long been a wicked man; I deserve the punishment I am going to suffer, and am perfectly resigned.”

*Hereford, April 17.* This evening, the west tower of our church unfortunately fell down.—For about *nine days* before the tower fell, the stone work of the inside roof kept falling, but nobody suspected the tower itself to fall till between six and seven this evening, when all that beautiful and magnificent structure fell down; and with it part of the body of the church. There was a great number of people in the church-yard, but none were hurt.

This tower was esteemed one of the most beautiful and majestic remains of Gothic architecture that were to be found in the kingdom. The height of it was 125 feet. It was erected in the 12th century by Giles de Bruce, then bishop of Hereford.

24. The Society of Antiquaries met at their apartments in Somerset Place, and elected the following noblemen and gentlemen as Council and Officers for the year ensuing.

#### OLD COUNCIL.

The earl of Leicester, F. R. S.  
Thomas Astle, esq. F. R. S.  
Sir Joseph Banks, bart. P. R. S.  
The Rev. John Brand, M. A.  
Owen Salusbury Brereton, F. R. S.  
Edward Bridgen, esq. F. R. S.  
Richard Gough, esq. F. R. S.  
Michael Lort, D. D. F. R. S.  
Rev. William Norris, M. A.  
John Peachy, esq. F. R. S.  
John Topham, esq. F. R. S.

#### NEW COUNCIL.

George lord Arden, F. R. S.  
John lord bishop of Bangor, F. R. S.  
Gustavus Brander, esq. F. R. S.  
John lord Cardiff.  
Rev. John Douglas, D. D. F. R. S.  
R. Banks Hodgkinson, F. R. S.  
Richard Jackson, esq.  
George duke of Montagu, F. R. S.  
Sir William Musgrave, bart. F. R. S.  
Richard Warren, M. D. F. R. S.

#### OFFICERS.

The earl of Leicester, President.  
Edward Bridgen, esq. Treasurer.  
Richard Gough, esq. Director.  
William Norris, M. A. Secretary.  
John Brand, M. A. ditto.

After which the President appointed the following Gentlemen Vice-Presidents:

Owen Salusbury Brereton, esq.  
The rev. Dr. Lott.  
Sir William Musgrave, bart.  
John Douglas, D. D.

25. It has been observed, that, though robbery is less frequent in France than in England, yet murder with robbery is much more prevalent. Of this the following is a melancholy and very recent instance.

Capt. Roberts, of Shoreham, in returning



returning from Paris to Dieppe, having occasion to change his horse, stopped at a house on the road for that purpose, at a time when no horse happened to be at home. Rather than wait the return of one, he chose to walk forward, desiring, at the same time, if one should return soon, that it might be sent after him; he accordingly set out, but had not been gone long before a horse came home, which, agreeable to his desire, was immediately sent after him by a servant, who, overtaking the captain, alighted for him to mount, which he was about to do, when the villain, taking advantage of his posture, drew out a long knife, and gave him three stabs in the back, of which he instantly died on the spot. The assassin then robbed him of what money he had, and having dragged the body to some distance out of the road, remounted his master's horse and rode home, saying, on his return, that he could not overtake the gentleman. He had not been at home long before suspicions fell on the perpetrator, who, it was remarked, was unusually flush of money, and not being able to give an account how he came by it, he was taken up, and confessed the fact.

Two days after, the body was discovered by some persons of fashion, who were led to it by their dogs. By some papers found in the deceased's pockets, his name and connexions were known.

The murderer had seen Capt. Roberts take out his purse at his master's house, which, he said, tempted him to the commission of the horrid crime.

27. This evening the daughter of the earl of Salisbury was christened at his lordship's house in Arlington-street. Their Majesties, with the Princess Royal, were spon-

sors. Every preparation was made to celebrate the ceremony with the utmost splendor. The Princess Royal went first in her chair. The Queen next in her chair. The King last in his chair. Lady Salisbury sat up in her bed to receive them. The bed was of green damask, with flowers in festoons, and lined with orange-coloured silk. The counterpane was white satin. The queen was dressed in dark green, coloured with silver gauze; but ornamented with the greatest profusion of diamonds perhaps ever seen at one time. Her head was covered with diamonds; diamond stomacher; diamond sleeve bows; diamond bouquet, &c. &c. The king was dressed in scarlet, most superbly embroidered with gold; diamond George, diamond hat-buckle, &c. The Princess Royal was in light green, covered with silver gauze. The company present were the earls of Hillsborough, Talbot, Exeter, Essex, Clarendon, Denbigh, Waldegrave, Aylesford, Aylesbury, marquis of Lothian, countess Talbot, lord and lady Fairford, countess of Essex, countess of Clarendon, and Mrs. Strode. —The archbishop of Canterbury performed the service. —The queen received the child from lady Essex, and the archbishop received it from the queen, who named it, **GEORGINA-CHARLOTTA-AUGUSTA**. Their majesties staid about an hour and a half, during which time none of the company sat down. About ten o'clock their majesties, and the princess royal, returned to the queen's house.

The present which his majesty gives on this occasion, is a piece of plate of one hundred and twenty ounces weight, which is inscribed with the name of the child, the sponsors, &c.



## M A Y

1. About six o'clock there was a very smart fall of snow for near 20 minutes; which was succeeded by an intense frost, which proved fatal to the blossoms wherever it was felt; and, between 10 and 11, were some of the most luminous appearances of the aurora borealis ever seen in this kingdom: the coruscations were as vivid as the flashes of lightning in the hottest season.

*Utrecht, April 30.* The assembly of the Seventeen have addressed an official letter to Mr. Pitt, minister of state to his Britannic Majesty, thanking him for the generous assistance he gave to the Verboorg East Indiaman, while in the harbour of Dartmouth. [*This ship had put into the port of Dartmouth in great distress, a contagious disorder raging among the crew. The inhabitants not daring to admit them into the town, Mr. Pitt brought in a bill, which went rapidly through both houses, and received the royal assent, authorizing the immediate erection of proper buildings on shore, for the accommodation and recovery of the distressed seamen.*]

8. Copy of a letter from Mr. Jenner, to the Right Hon. Lord George Gordon.

"My Lord,

"In answer to your lordship's letter, I acquaint you, that it is impossible to hear the cause of Hendry against Kidd, with any safety to my client, without your evidence; and though I would do every thing which propriety would admit of, to accommodate your lordship, I cannot sacrifice the interest of my employers to the scruples of others. It therefore only remains for me, in compliance with your lordship's request, to acquaint you, that if you do not obey the compulsory, by appearing and undergoing your

1786.

examination, the excommunication will be published in the face of the church on Sunday next, forty days after which (your lordship still persisting in your refusal to undergo your examination), your contempt of the authority of the court will be signified to his majesty, and (the ecclesiastical courts having no farther power) the temporal courts will be applied to for a writ de excommunicato capiendo, by virtue of which you will be imprisoned till you comply with the order of the court.

I have only to add, that it is, and has been, during the whole of this business, my earnest wish to shew every respect and attention to your Lordship's rank and situation; and nothing but my indispensable duty to my clients could induce me to proceed to these extremities.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obedient servant,

"R. JENNER.

"Doctors Commons, May 5."

Lord George Gordon was excommunicated yesterday from the parish church of St. Marie-le-bonne. The excommunication was very long, and took near twenty minutes to read it before the sermon.

— On monday the 1st inst. earl Cornwallis embarked on board the Swallow packet at Portsmouth, and sailed immediately for the East Indies. After beating about the Isle of Wight for some days, the Swallow was obliged to return to Portsmouth.

His Majesty, previous to the departure of earl Cornwallis, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, as a preliminary to his having transmitted to him, and being invested in India with, the Blue Ribband.

The manner in which the king made known his intention of giving

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the vacant blue ribband to lord Cornwallis, reflects the highest lustre on his character.—It was after his lordship had taken his final leave, and was preparing to withdraw.—“I now do it,” said his Majesty, “to obviate every unworthy idea that might be entertained, that your lordship had made terms with your sovereign.”

The above is fact; but for the return of the Swallow packet the above circumstance had not transpired, as lord Cornwallis kept it a secret here from his most intimate friends.

8. Yesterday between one and two in the morning, a fire broke out in Mr. Gillebrand's house in Ludgate-street, which consumed the same, and the house of Mrs. Newbery adjoining, together with one other house backwards, and greatly damaged the house of Mr. Shuttleworth, optician, Mr. Wightwick, watchmaker, in Ludgate-street, the house of Mr. Gould in St. Paul's church-yard, and the back-part of Mr. Wall's, adjoining. The flames were so rapid, that the maid servant of Mr. Gillebrand fell a sacrifice to their fury; and Mr. Gould with difficulty saved his two daughters at the imminent danger of his own life.

11. The celebrated cause between Miss Mellish and Miss Rankin was reheard before lord Loughborough, in the court of common pleas, when, after a trial of eleven hours, the jury brought in a verdict for Miss Rankin. (*See Vol. VI. page 49.*)

*New York, March 28.* A gentleman of South Carolina, has invented a machine, that will raise water in any quantity, from 50,000 to 100,000 gallons per minute, from 26 feet in height to 200 feet perpendicular; also pumps that will fill an indigo vat in one minute; their construction simple; and easily worked; pumps to throw an a-

mazing quantity of water out of ships or vessels, so as to prevent them from sinking, should they unfortunately start a plank; pumps for stopping and putting out fires in cities, &c. even when the wind blows high.

18. The purser of the Rodney Indiaman, Henry Wakeman, commander, from Coast and Bay, came to the East India house with an account of the safe arrival of the said ship in the Downs; the Rodney sailed outward bound from the Downs, the 15th March, 1785.

The Rodney has brought the following account of the loss of the Montague Indiaman, written by Mr. James Elliot, who belonged to that unfortunate ship.

“December 6, 1785, as we lay at Diamond Point, about seventy miles below Calcutta, we had taken in 4100 bags of salt-petre, and were stowing them; the caulker's mate was going to heat pitch upon the upper deck, to pay his work: he called down the fore-hatchway to the gunner's boy, to hand him up some fire, upon a small shovel of the armourer's, to make a fire in the forge, to heat his pitch; the boy handing the fire up the fore-hatchway (the fore-hatches being unlaid) let a piece of the fire fall down upon the saltpetre (one of the bags having burst); there was loose salt-petre in the square of the hatchway, which immediately caught fire. We attempted to smother it; but the flames increased so fast, that we could not stay above three minutes in the hold after the first took fire. Mr. Bengier, the chief officer, came down into the hold, but was forced to go up again immediately. Our cutter and yawl were hauled on shore, and the long-boat was aground in Diamond Creek. I came out of the hold with the chief officer,



ficer, and went into the stern gallery to look for a boat. The third officer was then almost along-side the Dutton, with some men in the jolly-boat. Perceiving there was no assistance near, I left Mr. Benger in the stern-gallery, and got out of one of the quarter-ports into the mizen chain, and jumped overboard; when I swam under the stern, Mr. Benger was hanging by a rope, which he quitted, and immediately the ship blew up. I never saw any more of Mr. Benger. Mr. Williams, the third officer, picked me up in the jolly-boat, with a great many more. I was not above twenty-yards from the ship when she blew up. From the first of her taking fire till her explosion, did not exceed five minutes. We lost Mr. Benger, the chief officer; Mr. McIntosh the fifth officer; Mr. Sampson, surgeon's-mate; Mr. Wier, Mr. Vincent Williams, Mr. Collins; Mr. Chamberland, midshipman; Mr. Sangster, gunner; and twenty-five foremast men."

*Peterborough, May 17.* On Sunday morning, about one o'clock, a murder was committed near this place, by a young man named Henry Lowe, on the body of Mr. Robert Shenstone, a grazier, three miles from hence. Mr. Shenstone kept an inn, which Lowe used, and was got in his debt, and refused being trusted any longer, and knowing Shenstone was come to this market on Saturday to sell some fat beasts, and that he generally returned home late in the evening, he took that opportunity of revenging it, for which purpose he had planted himself on the second step of Mr. Shenstone's door with a large wooden hammer; about one o'clock Mr. Shenstone got home, put his horse in the stable, and was going into his house, the family being all gone to bed; as soon as he

came to the first step of his door, and seeing a man stand upon the next, with a great club in both his hands extended over his head, Mr. Shenstone stopped short, and said, "What now?" The words were scarce out of his mouth before the blow came upon his head, which felled him to the ground; after that the villain struck him several times, then picked his pockets of eight guineas, half a crown piece and a sixpence, but did not take any bank notes or bills, though Mr. Shenstone had many about him. During all this time none of the family were disturbed, so that Mr. Shenstone lay in that condition till his people got up, at their usual hour, on Sunday morning.

Lowe was seen loitering about this city all day on Sunday, and observe to look very dull, and tremble much, which gave people reason to suspect that he was the man; however he went off on the same evening, but the coroner the next morning, after sitting on the body, dispatched two men in quest of Lowe, who was found playing at nine-pins, at Market Deeping, on Monday afternoon, and brought to this city before the Justices, when he confessed the whole. When the two men entered the skittle ground in search of him, he cried out, "Well, my lads, I am the man you seek: come, I will go with you, for it was me that killed Mr. Shenstone."

20. The foreign prints mention, that the famous Mr. Blanchard ascended, on the 8th ult. for the 17th time, from Douay, in French Flanders. This voyage, from the violence of the wind, may be considered as the most perilous experiment which this wonderful aeronaut ever made. He went 96 miles in the same number of minutes, and descended at l'Etoile, a village in



Picardy. Over St. Amand, in Artois, he dropped the following letter: To the Editors of the Paris Journal.

In the air, April 18, 1786.

“ I am reckoned an original, and am proud of the title. With an unsteady hand, on the border of my undulating car, and soaring eighteen thousand feet above the surface of the terrestrial globe; an immensity of space at my feet, and a wide extent of airy regions before me, I address, gentlemen, this letter to you. I intend to drop it over the first town I see when I am descending, and will send you a more particular account, when I am firmly fixed on the earth, and at leisure to make the necessary calculations.

“ I have the honour, &c.

BLANCHARD.

24 Owing to the long continued easterly winds, a sand-bank has for some time been forming at the mouth of Leith harbour, which is now so very high and extended, that hardly any vessel can go out or come in with safety. Several vessels have been lately grounded upon it, and the magistrates of Edinburgh and Leith, have it in contemplation how to remove it.—The Highland society, lately established for the purpose of building villages on the Northern coasts of Scotland, to improve the fisheries, have already subscribed 5000*l.* towards that laudable undertaking; and a plan of the villages to be built has already been presented to his majesty by Mr. Knox.

## J U N E.

2. This day afforded a beautiful sight in the cathedral church of St. Paul; 6308 boys and girls, assembled under the dome, all educated, clothed, and supported

by voluntary contribution. So glorious a picture of the young offsprings of distress relieved from want, and becoming useful members of society, by the donations of their fellow-subjects, no country but England can boast. Here was something to gratify the heart that can feel; here was something for foreigners to gaze at with admiration. And, to do justice to the inhabitants of both London and Westminster, the eagerness expressed to see the assemblage, and the numerous company of genteel persons who filled the cathedral, did honour to the metropolis.

7. This day ended the sale of the noble museum of the late duchess dowager of Portland, which lately began at her grace's house, in Privy Gardens, and lasted 38 days. They were sold by auction by Mr. Skinner. Among the many curious articles in this collection were the following:

A very curious rosary, by Benvenuto Celini, said to be the rosary of Henrietta Maria, queen of king Charles I. who, in her necessities, pawned it to the duke of Orleans. It consists of six plum and fifty cherry stones; the first most curiously carved with parts of history, the latter with the heads of emperors; and on the reverses emblems and mottos. It was sold to Mr. Jones for 46*l.* 4*s.*

A most remarkable fine ditto, by ditto, said to have been the property of pope Clement VII. consisting of 32 plum-stones of exquisite workmanship of sculptures on both sides, in relieve; and between each stone is a pearl, 32 in number, with a larger one on the top of the tassel. It was sold to Mr. Randall for 18*l.* 18*s.*

A lock of the hair of Mary, queen of France, daughter of Hen. VII. taken



taken from her corpse at St. Edmund's Bury, 1784, by the late sir J. Cullum, bart. now sold for *six guineas*.

A piece of carving in wood, representing landscapes, with views, in which is introduced water with vessels sailing, and on land various representations of hunting, with boar, stag, dogs, and men on horseback: the whole executed in a manner beyond description, and in the highest preservation. It was sold to Mr. Webb for 15l. 15s.

A small cameo of fine antique Mosaic, set in gold as a ring, and turns upon a swivel. The figure has the wings and feet of a bird, with a human face, and seems to be an *hieroglyphic*.—Sold to Mr. Townley for 12 guineas and a half.

A precious fragment of an antique intaglio, an exceeding fine cornelian, set in gold for a ring. It represents Hercules as low as the waist, sitting in a skiff, and a lion's skin for a sail; one of the paws is fastened by a string, which hangs over the head of Hercules, whose strength in neck and back is wonderfully expressed in so small a compass. It was sold to Mr. Jones for 45 guineas.

A cameo of the head of Augustus Cæsar, upon a remarkable fine onyx, the head white, upon a jacinth ground, the workmanship of superlative excellence. It was found at Malta.—Sold to Mr. Jones for 225 guineas.

The head of Jupiter Serapis, cut out of a green basalt, a most inimitable piece of sculpture, of Egyptian workmanship, from the Barberini cabinet; the size about four inches. The countenance is highly expressive of sublimity and dignity, tempered with sweetness and grace.—Sold to Mr. Humphries for 165 guineas.

The celebrated antique vase, or sepulchral urn, from the Barberini cabinet at Rome. It is said to have been the identical urn which contained the ashes of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus, and his mother Mammea, which was deposited in the earth about the year 235 after Christ, and was dug up by order of Pope Barberini, named Urban VIII. between the years 1623 and 1644. The materials of which it is composed emulate an onyx, the ground a rich transparent dark amethystine colour, and the snowy figures which adorn it are in bas-relief, of workmanship above all encomium, and such as cannot but excite the highest idea of the skill of the ancients. The dimensions  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and  $21\frac{3}{4}$  in circumference. It was sold to the duke of Marlborough for 1039l.

The collection of Hollar's works in 13 vol. consisting of the most beautiful impressions of many scarce etchings, including many inedited drawings by that celebrated master, 385l.

Eighteen drawings of Hollar's, in one lot, sold for 20 guineas

Two miniatures of sir Walter Raleigh, and his son, capt. Walter Raleigh, 44l.

A portrait of the duchess de la Valiere, by Petitot, 84l.

Two miniatures of Milton and his mother, 34l.

A fine miniature head of Christ, by Isaac Oliver, 20 guineas.

Queen Elizabeth's little Prayer Book, containing six prayers composed by her majesty, and written by her own hand in the neatest and most beautiful manner on vellum; two in English, the other four in Latin, Greek, Italian, and French. On the inside of the cover her own portrait, and that of the duke of Alençon; the binding black



shagreen, with enamelled clasps, and in the center of each a ruby. It sold for 100 guineas.

A very fine illuminated missal, presented by the duchess of Bedford, sister to the duke of Burgundy, and wife of John, duke of Bedford, regent of France, to Henry VI. 1430, with original portraits of the duke of Bedford (engraved among Houbraken's illustrious heads) and his wife Anne, duchess of Burgundy, and her deed of gift to the king, bound in crimson velvet, with gold clasps, on which are engraved the arms of Harley, Cavendish, and Holles; quarterly. Mr. Edwards, 2131.

A most beautiful missal, six inches by four, illuminated by Julio Clovio, in the highest preservation, inscribed by him to the duke d'Alençon, 1537, purchased by Edward earl of Oxford, from the Arundelian collection, with gold plates, covers, and clasps. It sold for 1681.

The whole amount of the sale was 11,521. 4s.

*Plymouth, June 5.* Yesterday morning, the Pegasus, captain his royal highness prince William Henry, and the Rose, captain Hervey, sailed for Guernsey, whence they are to proceed to Halifax and Newfoundland.

8. A duel was fought near Kensington, between lord Macartney and major general Stuart, of which the following account was published by the seconds, col. Fullarton, and col. Gordon, the former to lord Macartney, and the latter to the general: "The place and time of meeting having been previously fixed, the parties arrived about half past four in the morning, and took their ground at the distance of 12 short paces, measured off by the seconds, who delivered to each one

pistol, keeping possession of the remaining arms. General Stuart told lord Macartney, he doubted, as his lordship was short-sighted, he would not be able to see him. His lordship replied, "he did perfectly well." When the seconds had retired a little on one side, and as the parties were about to level, general Stuart observed to lord Macartney that his pistol was not cocked: his lordship thanked him, and cocked: when they had levelled, general Stuart said he was ready: his lordship answered he was likewise ready, and they both fired within a few instants of each other. The seconds observing lord Macartney wounded, stepped up to him, and declared the matter must rest here. General Stuart said, "This is no satisfaction;" and asked if his lordship was not able to fire another pistol. His lordship replied, he would try with pleasure, and urged col. Fullarton to permit him to proceed. The seconds, however, declared it was impossible, and they would on no account allow it. General Stuart said, "Then I must defer it till another occasion." On which his lordship answered, "If that is the case, we had better proceed now: I came here in consequence of a message from general Stuart, who called upon me to give him satisfaction in my private capacity for offence taken at my public conduct, and to evince that personal safety is no consideration with me, I have nothing personal: the general will proceed as he thinks fit." General Stuart said, it was his lordship's personal conduct to him that he resented. The seconds then put a stop to all further conversation between the parties, neither of whom had quitted their ground, and general Stuart, in consequence of his situation, had been



been under the necessity from the first of putting his back to a tree.

The surgeons, Mr. Hunter and Mr. Home, who were attending at a little distance, were brought up by colonel Fullarton. Colonel Gordon in the mean time assisted his lordship in taking off his coat, and requested him to sit down, apprehending he might be faint through loss of blood. Colonel Gordon then left the ground, in company with general Stuart, and an easy carriage was provided to convey his lordship home.

The seconds cannot help expressing, that no two persons ever met on a similar occasion, who shewed more firmness and composure; and they are happy to add, that the ball is extracted, which was lodged in lord Macartney's right shoulder, and that there is every reason to hope for his recovery.

W. FULLARTON.

A. GORDON.

The above singular circumstance of the general placing his back against a tree, having been left unexplained by the seconds, will be clearly accounted for by the following extract of sir Eyre Coote's letter to the Secretary of State, containing the particulars of the battle with the late Hyder Ali, in the Carnatic, on the 27th of August, 1781, "General Stuart had the misfortune to lose his leg, by a cannon shot, whilst bravely conducting the second line to the support of a post which I had occupied at the commencement of the engagement, and on which the enemy had kept up a very severe fire." (*See Vol. III. page 44.*)

*Brussels, June 6.* The emperor has published an ordinance for suppressing all the Free Masons' lodges in the Austrian Netherlands

except two, or at most three, which are permitted to be held in this city, subject to the regulations prescribed in the first ordinance published at Vienna respecting the fraternity of Free-Masons.

14. A diamond of immense value was presented to his majesty this day at the levee, by lord Sydney, Mr. Hastings being present, of which major Scott gives the following account.

The Nizam sent a bulse of diamonds, sealed up, to Bengal, directed to Mr. Hastings, for the purpose of his presenting them to the king on his arrival in England. Mr. Hastings had sailed for England before the diamonds arrived in Calcutta. They were therefore entrusted to the care of captain Church, of the 102d regiment, who took his passage home in the *Hinchinbroke*; the fame of these diamonds, and of their immense value, had gone abroad; and when the *Hinchinbroke* went down in Bengal river, a Lascar took advantage of the confusion, broke open the trunks of captain Church, and got possession of the bulse; it was however, rescued from his hands before he had broke open the seals, and was returned to Mr. Crofts, the agent of Mr. Johnstone, who is resident at the court of the Nizam. Mr. Crofts sent the diamonds to England by one of the late ships, addressed to the care of Mr. Blair, of Portland-place, who is the brother-in-law of Mr. Johnstone. Mr. Blair handed them to Mr. Hastings; Mr. Hastings entrusted them to Major Scott; Major Scott delivered them to lord Sydney; and lord Sydney presented them to the king.

15. Came on to be argued in the court of King's Bench, a question reserved on a special case at the late



Salisbury assizes, in an action of ejectment, brought to recover possession of a house in Salisbury from the defendant, who held it as tenant from year to year, upon giving him half a year's notice, "not ending with his year." The point was determined in favour of the defendant. So that in all cases where a tenant holds the premises from year to year, it is necessary for his notice to end with his year, or an ejectment will not be well grounded.

16. By an estimate delivered into parliament by the accomptant-general of the East India company, the importation of tea so far exceeds the consumption, that there is the highest probability, if the ships should arrive as expected, that there will remain in the company's warehouses, on the 1st of December, 1790, twenty-three millions of tea unfold. The consumption of tea of all sorts, amounts annually to about 16,000,000 of pounds, according to this estimate, and the imports to about 18,000,000.

On Thursday last came on to be tried before Mr. justice Buller, at Guildhall, a cause wherein Thomas Thomas, who described himself to be a merchant in Palace-yard, Westminster, was plaintiff, and Mr. John Vaughan, an eminent sugar-baker, in Thames-street, was defendant; which action was brought by the plaintiff as the holder or bearer of a cash note or draft drawn by the defendant, upon the cashiers of the Bank of England, for 249l. in favour of Richard Neave, esq. and which draft was picked out of the pocket of Mr. Neave's clerk, as he was going to the Bank, and afterwards came to the hands of the plaintiff, who alleged he received it of one Watson Ashton for a valuable consideration. In the course

of the trial it appeared, that the draft was dated the 2d of March, and not presented for payment until the 1d of April, and that on the same being refused to be paid, the plaintiff and Ashton voluntarily made affidavits before the lord mayor, stating the circumstances of the receipt of it, and the consideration they respectively gave for it, in order to exculpate themselves, and to induce Mr. Neave or Mr. Vaughan to pay the money, and which affidavits were read in evidence for the defendant. The judge observed to the jury, that the only question was, whether the plaintiff was a fair honest *bona fide* holder of the draft, and that whatever the opinion of the jury in this case might be, credit of paper would not be at all shaken by it. The jury found a verdict for the defendant, to the entire satisfaction of every one who heard it.

Tuesday at the adjournment of the sessions at Guildhall, an excise officer and his assistant were tried for forcibly entering the house of Mr. Parker, silversmith, in St. Paul's Church-yard, to search a hamper, under pretence of its containing run goods, which contained a stone jar, and assaulting Mr. Parker, who instantly charged them into custody. The recorder said, that the proceedings of the defendant were clearly illegal, but if run goods had been found, that would have cured all informality. They were convicted, and sentenced to pay 5l. each, and the assistant, whose case was aggravated by his behaviour, to be imprisoned one month.

On Saturday came on in the court of King's Bench, at Guildhall, a cause, wherein a cornfactor at Bath, was plaintiff, and Mr. Samuel Ward, bargemaster, defendant; the action was brought to recover 142l. the value



value of a quantity of oats which the plaintiff had put on board the defendant's barge at Bristol, to be conveyed to Bath, and which were lost in consequence of the barge being sunk at Bristol bridge, occasioned by a piece of timber brought down in the stream with a great fresh, in the night of the ninth of January last; an accident which could neither be foreseen nor prevented. The court and jury were clearly of opinion that the defendant was not answerable for the loss, and the latter found a verdict in his favour.

*Dublin, June 13.* On Thursday the 8th instant, a special commission was opened at Castlebar, for the trial of George Robert Fitzgerald and others, for the murder of Mr. M'Donnell [See page 9.]

It was first thought necessary by the attorney-general to proceed on the trial of the persons who had forced open the gaol of Castlebar, and violently assaulted Mr. Fitzgerald, while under the protection of the laws. The court agreed to the propriety of this request, and accordingly the following persons, viz. James Martin, esq; Mr. Andrew Gallagher, Mr. James Gallagher, Charles Higgins, Luke Higgins, and Daniel Clarke, were immediately arraigned, for having broke open the gaol of Castlebar, and assaulted George Robert Fitzgerald, esq; a prisoner in the said gaol. In the course of the trial, no evidence appearing to indentify the persons of the prisoners, the jury returned their verdict *not guilty*.

The next day, Mr. Fitzgerald was brought to the bar. The indictment set forth, that he had procured Timothy Brecknock, Andrew Craig alias Scots Andrew, Ja. Foy, William Fulton, J. Fulton, John Chapman, Wallis Kelly, John Cox,

James Masterfon, David Saltry, Philip Cox, Archibald Newing, John Berney, Henry George, Michael Brown, John Reheny, and Wm. Robinson, and that he had incited, stirred up, and provoked the said persons to murder Patrick Randall M'Donnell, esq; and Mr. Charles Hipson, which murder the said persons perpetrated on the 21st of Feb. last.

"To this indictment Mr. Fitzgerald pleaded Not Guilty.—The attorney-general then proceeded in an examination of the witnesses on the part of the crown; and the facts being clearly established, and the evidence on both sides closed, Mr. Fitzgerald made one of the most able defences that had been ever heard. He spoke for three hours with an astonishing degree of composure and strength of imagination. The lord chief baron then gave an excellent charge to the jury, who withdrew, and in a few minutes brought in their verdict guilty.

The next day, the lord chief baron informed the attorney-general, that the reason why sentence of death, and execution, were not awarded against George Robert Fitzgerald, had been owing to his recollection how the law of murderers stood in England; for that the criminal there had the benefit of the sabbath. His lordship, therefore, thought it a good precedent to go by, particularly as he had consulted with his brother judge (Mr. baron Power) who was of the same opinion.

John Fulton, William Fulton, Archibald Newing, John Reheny, and David Simpson, were this day tried for the same murder, and found guilty; and ten others were acquitted.

Mr. Brecknock was tried on Monday, and found guilty. When this trial was over, Mr. Fitzgerald be-

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ing brought up, the judge proceeded to address him in a very pathetic speech, in the course of which he was interrupted by Mr. Fitzgerald, who implored him to grant him time to make his peace with heaven. The judge declared that this was not in his power.

The same day, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Brecknock, and John Fulton, were executed at Castlebar; but the execution of the four other convicts was postponed to a future day.

The body of George Robert Fitzgerald was, immediately after the execution, carried to the ruins of Turlagh-house, and was waked in a stable adjoining, with a few candles placed about it. On the next day it was carried to the churchyard at Turlagh, where it was buried on what is generally termed the wrong side of the church, in his clothes, without a coffin.

19. This day was tried before Lord Loughborough, in the court of common pleas, Westminster, the action brought by the right hon. Charles James Fox, against Thomas Corbet, esq. high bailiff of Westminster, for not having made a return of him as representative of Westminster, when duly elected by a legal majority of votes. The damages were laid at 100,000l.

There were two counts in the declaration.—The first was for defendant's maliciously and illegally postponing to make a return to the writ directed to him by the sheriffs, to return two representatives to sit in parliament for the city of Westminster, whereby plaintiff was prevented from taking his seat for 10 months, though duly elected.—The second was for defendant's maliciously, &c. granting a scrutiny, which he was not authorised to do. After a trial of nine hours, the ju-

ry brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 2000l. damages.

21. Six malefactors were executed before Newgate, among whom was Jonathan Harwood, for assaulting Mr. Drummond on the highway, and obtaining money from him by threats of charging him with an odious crime. Phoebe Harris was burnt, about the same time, for counterfeiting shillings.

24. A common hall was held for the election of the annual city officers; when Charles Higgins, esq. and Edward Watson, esq. were elected sheriffs; and the chamberlain, bridge-masters, and aleconers re-elected. The election of auditors was attended with some extraordinary circumstances; to understand which it is necessary to observe, that by immemorial usage (which in all cities and corporations is law, when not altered by act of parliament) the auditors, who are four in number, are elected for the city, two every year; that is, the two seniors are removed, and two new ones are elected; but in the present year Mess. Tomlins and Loveland, who have served two years, refused to be removed; and their friends supported their re-election. The recorder, from the hustings, explained the law. The livery present, who were very few, refused to acquiesce in this explanation, and insisted on the election of Mr. Tomlins and Mr. Loveland: Mr. Stock and Mr. Nettlehip, two new candidates were put up. Respecting the two gentlemen elected only last year, viz. Mess. Wilson and Thorne, there was no hesitation about continuing them. The sheriffs, Mr. Alderman Sanderson, and Mr. Alderman Watson, finding the temper of the hall to be against the opinion of the recorder, thought it most



most prudent to return the whole fix. The question was debated in the court of aldermen above an hour and a half. When the lord mayor and aldermen returned to the hustings, the recorder declared the report of the sheriffs; viz. that Mess. Higgins and Watson were elected sheriffs; that Mr. Wilkes was re-elected chamberlain; that Mess. Dixon and Burbank were re-elected bridge-masters; that Mess. Hardy, Oldaker, Brooks, and Nebitt were re-elected aleconners; that Mess. Tomlins, Loveland, Wilson, Thorne, Stock, and Nettlehip were returned as auditors, and that the sheriffs had declared the majority of hands in favour of the first four: but that by the law and usage of the city, the two first were ineligible. A poll was, however, demanded for the first two; which was granted. (*See Page 31.*)

Yesterday was tried before lord Loughborough, in the court of common pleas, Guildhall, a cause wherein Richard Leake, a master hat-maker of Southwark, was plaintiff, and one Andrew White, a journeyman hat-maker, defendant. The plaintiff had sustained a very great injury by a combination of journeymen hat-makers, who had formed themselves into a society, which they called "Laudable;" but which, in fact, was to harass, oppress, and govern the capital hat-makers, and hinder lesser masters from taking apprentices, and the plaintiff was a master of the last description. Some time ago the members of this combination singled out the plaintiff for the purpose of obliging him to part with his apprentices, and they deputed five of their members to go to the manufactory of Mess. Cox and North of Southwark, who employed the plaintiff in the finishing branch of the said trade, to inform them that

if they any longer employed the plaintiff, they should not have a man to work for them; the said Mess. Cox and North were therefore obliged to discharge the plaintiff from their employ, or entirely stop their manufactory, wherein 70 or 80 men were constantly employed, and by this means the plaintiff has been deprived of employ for himself and apprentices ever since, to his almost utter ruin.—The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff with 100*l.* damages, and costs of suit.

*Salisbury, June 24.* A remarkable instance of the terrors of a guilty conscience occurred here lately. On the 16th inst. Jarvis Matchem, a sailor, went before our mayor, attended by a companion, and voluntarily confessed himself to be guilty of the murder of a drummer, in Huntingdonshire, about seven years ago. He declared that he had lived in various situations since; that, excepting this murder, he had at no time of his life done any injury to society; that until the moment of committing it, he had not the least idea thereof, and that he had no provocation from the deceased, excepting that he gave him ill-language; that from the fatal hour he had been a stranger to all enjoyment of life or peace of mind, the recollection thereof perpetually haunting his imagination, and often rendering his life a burthen almost insupportable; that in travelling with Sheppard his companion, on Thursday the 15th instant, upon the road to this city, they were overtaken near Woodyate's inn by a thunder storm, in which he saw several strange spectres. Sheppard corroborated this part of the story, so far as relates to the horror of the unhappy man, who was often running about like one distracted, then falling on his knees



knees imploring mercy, and, as appeared to him, was quite insane; he questioned him when he was more composed, as to the reason of such extraordinary conduct, when he told him of this murder, and begged that he would deliver him into the hands of justice at the next place they should arrive at, for that his life was hateful, his nights without sleep, and full of woe. The man persisting in his confession (though he declined signing it), and shewing no appearance of insanity, was committed to the gaol.

26. Yesterday morning early, some thieves broke into the public office belonging to the masters in chancery, in Symond's-inn, Chancery-lane; but not meeting with their expected booty, they set fire to the chambers in several places, which are entirely destroyed, together with the papers thereof. Fortunately the fire was timely discovered, and the lives and properties of many individuals saved, by the immediate assistance of engines and plenty of water.

30. A very interesting cause was determined in the cockpit by an appeal to the lords of the council from the court of admiralty. The question related to the prize or capture made by commodore Johnstone, last war. It was whether the capture was prize or booty, and then consequently whether the property then taken by the fleet and land forces under his command came within the prize act. As the destination of the armament was against the Cape of Good Hope, and as a considerable land force under the command of general Meadows, was aboard and shared in the action; their lordships determined that the case in question did not come within the prize act. The consequence is, that the whole property is claim-

ed by the crown, and the captors must relinquish their hopes of prize-money, and depend on the royal bounty for whatever compensation his majesty may think proper.

*Paris, June 11.* Yesterday the parliament published an arret, relative to the famous affair of the necklace. (*See Vol VI. page 63.*) Of this arret the following is the substance, viz. the word *approuvé*, and the signature "Marie Antoniette de France," were fraudulently used in the bargain which took place relative to the diamonds, and those words are falsely attributed to the queen. The comte de la Motte is fully convicted of contempt of court, and condemned when taken to be whipped and marked with the letters G A L, and to be sent to the galleys for life. Madame Jeanne Valois de la Motte to be whipped, marked with the letter V upon the two shoulders, with a halter round the neck, and confined for life in the Salpetriere. Villette is condemned to perpetual banishment from the kingdom. The cardinal de Rohan and M. de Cagliostro are discharged from all accusation, and Mademoiselle Oliva put out of court.

All Paris applauds the above arret. The cardinal returned to his hotel the same evening. The memoirs of Madame de la Motte are suppressed as false.

*Paris, June 22.* Yesterday at a quarter after six in the morning, one of the turnkeys of the prison went up to Madame de la Motte's sleeping apartment, and told her in terrible accents, to "rise and follow him." The affrighted female refused to obey; but when she was informed that a royal mandate was sent to require her compliance, she, though reluctantly, followed the turnkey, and was by him conducted to the inner gate. She



Se was only allowed time to put on one petticoat, so great was the hurry of the magistrates to execute the arret of the 31st of May. She no sooner descended the last step of the stairs than she was seized by two satellites of the law, by them handcuffed, and inexorably embraced. When the countess appeared before the greffier, and her sentence was read to her, she hurried into the most unheard of imprecations against the court, the parliament, and the cardinal; but this same great spirit deserted her, when she felt the hangman putting the rope about her neck: she was at that instant seen in tears. The instruments for her farther punishment, the brand, some other tools, and an ardent fire, called up all her former courage, for she then cursed and swore in the most unwoman-like manner, and uttered alternate cries of grief and despair. It was with difficulty that the hot iron could be applied to her shoulder; the executioner must have been an adept to have succeeded in that part of his profession. She rolled herself on the ground, and kicked at him with such violence, that some strength was required to perform the ignominious operation. The very instant the execution was over, she was dressed in the utmost hurry, and put into a hackney coach, in which were two tipstaves that conducted her to the Salpetrierre, where she is destined to spend the remainder of her days. She had the rope about her neck all the time. On her arrival at the place of her destination, she threw herself on the floor, and motionless seemed to be deprived of every vital sentiment. When she came to herself she appeared quite calm, and without testifying any visible anxiety, patiently let herself be unrobed, and with

the greatest ease put on the coarse stuff that is to be her future clothing; her hair was cut off. Mr. de la Motte, her husband, was on the same day burnt in effigy on the Place de Greve, from one to three in the afternoon.

## JULY:

5. Came on before the lords commissioners of appeals, two causes against lord Rodney, general Vaughan, and the other captors of Eustatia—Mr. Lindo and Mr. Ingram, appellants—the first to the amount of about 12,000l. the latter 1000l. Upon both these appeals the captors were cast in damages, and full costs. The lords who attended were Camden, Grantley, and Mulgrave.

*Berlin, June 8.* The king has passed sentence upon a counsellor of the regency, which makes a great stir here. Mr. Glave, counsellor at Konigsberg, being accused of corruption, his majesty charged the president of the chamber of that place to make the necessary judicial enquiries into the affair, and the delinquent was condemned to two years imprisonment in a fortress; the counsellor, not satisfied with the decision, made another appeal; the king, after a mature examination, not only confirmed the above sentence, but ordered that the delinquent should work at the barrow during the two years of his imprisonment.

*Vienna, June 18.* On the 13th, sentence was passed upon count Podtasky and his accomplices, for forging bank notes; he is deprived of his nobility, and rendered incapable to inherit any legacy whatever; besides which, he is condemned publicly to sweep the streets, and to draw barges up the Danube for ten years; his accomplices, as  
principals



principals in the above crime, are to stand three days in the pillory, to receive 50 lashes, to sweep the streets, and draw barges up the Danube, 20 years. The informer is to receive only the interest, for his life, of the 10,000 florins, with liberty to leave them to whom he pleases.

*New-York, April 8.* We hear from the infant colony of New-Brunswick, that cultivation and population are carried to the greatest perfection, and that large tracts of the unsettled country are fertile to a degree, and likely to be equally flourishing from the almost incredible exertions and industry of the loyalists, who deserve every encouragement from government. Of the old settlements, the most flourishing and populous are the townships of Windsor, Norton, and Cornwallis, on the Bay of Mines, between Halifax and Annapolis. Of the new settlements, the most remarkable are Shelburne, Parr-town, Digby, and New Edinburgh, and the great number of houses that have been erected in each, the immense labour that has been employed in digging foundations, forming streets, and collecting materials, exhibit the most pleasing prospect of the magic of human industry. The natural advantages of this colony are very great, not only in point of soil, but by the number of navigable rivers, basins, and inlets of the sea.

*Lemberg; in Poland, May 25.* Baron Wolskohl has invented a gun, which being once loaded, may be discharged thirty-six times without interruption. This piece is neither larger nor heavier than a common musket.

*Versailles, June 27.* An arret of the council of state has been issued here, revoking the regulations of

the arret of the 13th of November last, by which persons importing foreign carriages into France were obliged to deposit a sum of money as a security for such carriages not being sold in the kingdom; in lieu of which they are now to sign engagements to convey such carriages out of France in the space of one year, unless they obtain a prolongation of that term. [See Vol. VI. page 95.]

*Dijon, June 15.* Dr. Methenier, of this city, in a memoir published on the subject of wax, says, "I mixed a portion of weak nitrous acid with olive oil in a vessel exposed to a gentle sand heat; an effervescence succeeded, and a considerable quantity of fixed air was disengaged; the oil thickened, and soon after assumed a beautiful yellow colour, nothing but pure air seeming to remain in the composition, which appeared like wax. I set a part of it on fire, which yielded no smoke, but emitted a pleasing aromatic odour, resembling that of fine wax." This discovery may in time become a matter of very great importance.

*Cadiz, June 14.* M. Sequira, surgeon of the garrison at Port Mahon, has lately raised the tea plant from seed, near Ciutadella, in Minorca. The shrub was in great perfection, and the leaf equal to the finest Souchong imported from China.

*Dublin, June 30.* Last week, 67 oak trees of immense bulk, and upwards of 150 years growth, were sold on the lands of Shillelah, at an extraordinary price, amounting on an average, to 45l. each. These are the last remnant of that once celebrated wood, which extended from Carnew to Enniscorthy, near 30 miles in length. The wood of Shillelah is now totally extinct, and lives



lives only in the mouth of fame, after having had the honour of supplying Westminster-hall, Guildhall, and many other noble buildings in Great Britain with timber, which from its present soundness, seems to put time to defiance.

*Vienna, June 12* The emperor has suppressed the chapters of Wigthrengen and Trelergen, in Carinthia; and those of Lambrecht, Neuberg, Stanz, Croatman, and Pallau, in Styria. The convents of capuchins, recollets, and dominicans, are also abolished.

*Frankfort, June 12.* They write from Schleiden, in the district of Aremberg, that the duke has granted the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and assigned to their use a spacious hall in his castle, till a church shall be built for them.

*Ostend, July 2.* We now reckon no fewer than five protestant churches or chapels in the Austrian Low Countries, and they are likely to increase, on account of the emperor having tolerated the fullest enjoyment of religious sentiments, provided they are not mixed with political questions. The church at Bruges was lately the chapel of the convent of St. Antoine, bestowed by the emperor as a free gift.

*Rome, July 1.* The pope continues to give fresh proofs of a true catholic spirit, and convinces the world of what had been before asserted, that he would prove another Ganganelli. The English travellers are much caressed, and visit him constantly: indeed, the pope's levees are made up of men of all persuasions, so that the spirit of toleration will in time become universal, much to the benefit of religion, and the happiness of mankind.

*Birmingham, July 3.* A farmer in this neighbourhood, finding his turnips for some years taken by the

fly, was induced to try many experiments to prevent it. The following luckily proved a remedy: to 6lb. of turnip seed he put 4 oz. of flour of brimstone, and four oz. of black brimstone, which he sowed together; the brimstone effectually destroyed, or gave such a distaste to the fly, as to prevent their usual ravages, and he has produced great crops.

6. Yesterday the sheriffs declared the numbers on the poll for auditors for the ensuing year, which was made in the usual form to the court of aldermen, viz.

Mr. Wilton	704
Mr. Thorne	702
Mr. Tomlins	576
Mr. Loveland	545
Mr. Nettlehip	472
Mr. Stock	470

After some little conversation on the subject, the court came on the hustings, and declared to the common hall, by the recorder, that although Mess. Tomlins and Loveland were among the majority on the poll, yet it was contrary to the city laws, as appeared on searching the records for full two hundred years back, to return the same persons that had served that office the two preceding years. They were accordingly declared ineligible, and Mess. Wilton, Thorne, Nettlehip, and Stock, declared duly elected. (*See page 27.*)

—This day came on before the house of lords, the hearing of an appeal in the case of Edward Ayllette, convicted of perjury some months ago. (*See Vol. VI. p. 88.*) Mr. Erskine, in behalf of the plaintiff in error, maintained, that the original indictment which was removed, by *certiorari*, from the court below into the king's bench, was defective and insufficient; for that the names of the jurors by whom the indictment was found, were not stated



stated upon the said record, so as to enable the plaintiff in error to enquire into, or object to the competency or incompetency of them to find such indictment.—To this Mr. Bearcroft answered, that it was unnecessary to specify the names of the grand jury in the record of the caption, it being enough to aver, that the indictment was found by 12 good and lawful men; that the party indicted has an opportunity of resorting to the original caption, where the names do appear; that this objection has been frequently over-ruled in the king's bench for more than 30 years; and if now allowed, would be contrary to the entries and precedents of record for more than 50 years past.

When the pleadings were finished, earl Bathurst left the woolfack, and moved, that the following question be put to the judges present:

“Whether, in a criminal cause removed from an inferior court into the court of king's bench, by writ of *certiorari*, it be cause of error, that the names of the grand jurors are not inserted in the record and proceedings?”

The question being accordingly put, Mr. justice Gould, after having consulted his four brethren, (viz. the barons Eyre, Hotham, Perryn, and Mr. justice Heath) declared the unanimous opinion of the judges present, that there was no cause of error in the particular case assigned. Then earl Bathurst moved, that the judgment be affirmed, which was ordered accordingly.

—This day was tried in the court of king's bench, before Mr. justice Buller, a cause wherein Mr. Profser, a stable-keeper, of Tottenham-court-road, was plaintiff, and William Hyde, esq. a justice of the peace, defendant. The action was brought against the justice for re-

fusing to accept the plaintiff's sureties for prosecuting an appeal against two of his convictions for not entering horses, and paying the duty prescribed by the act, and for not returning his convictions to the quarter sessions of the peace, whereby the plaintiff was deprived of his appeal against the said convictions. It appeared in the course of the trial that two of the plaintiff's horses were stopped at Hyde-park turnpike by the informers, who went about for that purpose; and in consequence of an information being laid, the plaintiff was convicted by the defendant in the penalty of 20l. on each horse. On the trial it was proved, that the horses had been entered, and the duty paid. Warrants of distress were granted by the defendant against the plaintiff's goods, and the constable levied 47l. 8s. It was also proved, that the plaintiff had made frequent applications to the defendant to let him appeal to the sessions, which was refused by the defendant. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 100l. damages.

The same day came on before lord Loughborough, in the court of common pleas, a cause of great importance to such persons as may have the misfortune to have their goods distrained for rent. The action was brought by William Briggs, a basket-maker, against his landlord, for making an unreasonable and excessive distress for rent, contrary to a very ancient act of parliament, made at Marlborough, in the reign of Henry the Third. It appeared upon the trial, that the plaintiff being indebted to the defendant in 14l. 19s. 6d. for a quarter's rent, which it did not suit him to pay, the landlord thought fit to distrain the plaintiff's goods, of the value of 80l. to put three men



men in possession, and at the end of eight days to remove and advertise them to be sold to the trade; that at this iniquitous trade-sale, the plaintiff's wife was not permitted to buy any part of her goods, and together with her husband and five children, were thus turued out of doors, bereaved of their property, without a single bed, blanket, or covering to lie on.—The jury gave the plaintiff a verdict for the whole value of the goods.

*Whitehall, July 8.* Whereas divers applications have of late been made, by people of different descriptions, to the foreign ministers resident in England, to be appointed secretaries to some or other of the said foreign ministers, in order to avail themselves of the protection due to persons in that situation, against the ordinary course of legal proceedings in various cases: and whereas such indulgence is liable to many abuses; it is his Majesty's pleasure, that henceforth no subject of his majesty shall be permitted by the secretary of state to have his name inserted at the sheriff's office, in the list of those who are to be deemed under the protection of any foreign minister, excepting only such persons as may be employed by the said foreign ministers in the capacity of menial servants.

#### CARMARTHEN.

*Newhaven, Connecticut, Feb. 2.* Henry Harford, son of the late lord Baltimore, presented a memorial lately to the legislature of Maryland, stating, that by the operation of the act of confiscation his losses amounted to 327,441l. and praying relief—but it was rejected."

10. At a common hall for the election of a sheriff, in the room of Edward Watson, esq. who had paid his fine, Paul Le Mcsurier, esq. was declared duly elected.

1786.

12. An action for a trespass was lately tried in the court of king's bench, in which the right to pursue foxes was determined; the declaration of the plaintiff stated, that the defendant, with dogs, hounds, and horses, ran over the grounds of the plaintiff, broke his closes, and destroyed his hedges. In his plea, he said, he was huntsman to Mr. Sturff, a gentleman who had a right to hunt the said dogs and hounds; that some short time previous to that mentioned in the declaration, he found some noxious animals called foxes near where the trespass was committed, and that he did follow the said dogs, and in order to kill the said foxes, he did break the said closes of the plaintiff; that he could not kill them without doing as aforesaid, and that by so doing, he did kill them. After the verdict for the defendant on a demurrer, lord Mansfield, Mr. justice Willes, and Mr. justice Buller gave their opinions in favour of the defendant, by which the law is confirmed, "That starting a fox or a badger in your own grounds, and running it into your neighbour's, was not a trespass."

19. The following simple and easy method for preventing hay, &c. from taking fire in the rick, has been communicated to the public as infallible, viz. Make two channels across the ground of brick or stone, about a foot wide and a foot deep, of the length and breadth of the stavel of your intended rick, which will divide it into four quarters; fill up the quarters with faggots, boughs, or other materials; and put slabs over the tops of the channels, leaving an open space of about two feet in diameter in the center, where the channels meet, to serve as a chimney, which is to be continued up through the rick,

(C)

and



and be made in the usual way by drawing up a basket or sack, stuffed, as the rick rises in making; by which means the air from without passing freely through the channels below up the chimney, the foul air will be expelled, and the hay rendered sweet and good, though put together ever so green. This method was practised in Cornwall last year with great success, during a very bad season; was then tried on a field of grass, near Salisbury, which had only one day's drying; and has this season been practised with the like success on a large rick in the same neighbourhood.

26. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when twelve convicts received sentence of death, among whom was Samuel Burt, for the forgery of a banker's draught of 100*l.* who had been recommended to mercy by the jury, his conduct having evinced some degree of insanity. On being asked the usual question, "Why sentence of death should not be passed upon him," he thus addressed the recorder:

"My lord,

"I am too sensible of the crime which I have committed, and for which I justly deserve to suffer; my life I have forfeited, and wish to resign it into the hands of him who gave it me. To give my reasons for this, would only satisfy an idle curiosity; no one can feel a more sensible heart-felt satisfaction in the hopes of shortly passing into eternity, wherein, I trust, I shall meet with great felicity. I have not the least desire to live, and as the jury and the court, on my trial, thought proper to recommend me to mercy— if his majesty should, in consequence thereof, grant me a respite, I here vow in the face of Heaven, that I will put an end to my own existence as soon as I

can. It is death that I wish for, because nothing but death can extricate me from the troubles in which my follies have involved me."

When this prisoner had done speaking, the Recorder addressed him to the following purport:

"Samuel Burt,—as you appear to have still remaining on your mind some impressions of conscience, and a sense of the submission that you owe to your Creator, and of a future state of existence, I think it my duty to address a few words to you in particular, on the melancholy situation in which you now stand: happy should I be, if any thing I could say to you, in your unhappy state, could ripen those seeds of conscience and of religion in your mind, into a proper sense of your duty to your Creator:— you have expressed a submission to the laws of your country, which is highly praise-worthy; but you must not deceive yourself by imagining that a desire to die, ranks equally with that submission: it is the duty of those that have violated the laws, to submit with patience to the punishment of those laws; but it is a crime against your country, to wish to throw away your own life; and this unhappy wish appears but too plain from what you have now said, as well as from some circumstances on your trial, to have actuated you to the commission of a capital offence. If that was the motive, you greatly deceive yourself, in supposing that it is no crime to rush uncalled into the presence of him that made you, for that is highly criminal in itself. Your Creator best knows when you shall have fulfilled the purposes of your existence, and he best knows when to call you out of this world; and it is therefore the highest degree of presumption in you to take



that secret judgment to yourself, and to wish to throw away your life. It is that disposition which I would earnestly pray to God to convert in your mind, before you are called hence; but if there are any circumstances in your case (which I cannot promise you there are) that should induce our gracious sovereign to mitigate your sentence, and prolong your existence, it is your duty to receive from God, and from him, the boon of life with gratitude, instead of peevishly throwing it away. It now remains for me to pronounce on you the sentence of the law, which your crimes have merited, and which it is your duty to submit to, but not to desire."

*Oxford, July 29.* At our assizes came on to be tried before Mr. Baron Eyre, a cause of great importance to the public in general, on a question, Whether a farmer who occasionally dealt in horses was subject to the bankrupt laws, as a trader? It was an action of trover, brought on the assignees of John Davis, a farmer of Whitchurch, in this county, against Mr. John Sherwood, of Purley, in the county of Berks, to recover back 249l. 18s. which he had received under an execution levied on the bankrupt's effects; when the jury, after an hour's consultation, brought in a verdict for the plaintiffs, whereby they established the trading, and gave the above sum in damages, together with full costs of suit.

*Madrid, July 4.* The king being desirous that the accounts given by different navigators of the Strait of Magellan should be examined and corrected, some time ago caused the frigate Santa Maria to be fitted out at Cadiz for that purpose. The command of the vessel, as well as the care of executing the im-

portant commission, was vested in Don Antonio Cordova y Lafo. The vessel sailed on the 9th of last October, and after a series of bad weather, entered the Strait Jan. 1. Notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers of the expedition, Don Antonio perfectly succeeded, and has brought home a chart of the Strait, in which all the capes, bays, promontories, and other remarkable objects on both coasts, are laid down, with their longitudes, latitudes, and respective distances, from astronomical observations. On Feb. 5, he arrived at Port St. Joseph, the most southern of the continent. They here found two bottles with an inscription, which they copied, containing an account of M. Bouganville's having passed that Strait. The officers copied the inscription, and added another, containing an account of their own voyage, in six different languages. D. Antonio then went in his boat, and directed his course for the channel of St. Barbe, three leagues from the above port, on the coast of Tierra del Fuego, where they found the passage which had long been conjectured to lead into the South Sea. After examining the western part of the Strait to Capes Lunes and Providence, which are eleven leagues distant from those called the Pillars and Victoria, they returned to Port St. Joseph, whence they set out on their return, on the 11th of March, and arrived safe at Cadiz on the 11th of last month, after a voyage of eight months, three of which they passed in the Straits. In this long and dangerous voyage they lost only two men."

*Gottingen, July 25.* The three youngest princes of Great Britain were entered of this university on the 6th of this month, each of



them accompanied by a governor, a preceptor, and a gentleman; their royal highnesses are lodged in one house, and the expences of their table fixed at 600 crowns per week, including two grand institution dinners, to which the professors and some students are invited. Professor Mayer teaches the princes the German language; Mr. Heyne instructs them in Latin; the ecclesiastic counsellor Less teaches them religion; and the counsellor Feder instructs them in morality; these masters are rewarded by an extraordinary appointment of 1000 crowns per annum each.

*Philadelphia, April 15.* The laws which our legislature passed last year, laying an additional tonnage on British vessels, and imposing extra duties on merchandize imported in them, are now repealed; and all vessels have now full liberty to trade here on equal terms with those of the United States.

*New York, May 30.* Col. Humphreys, lately arrived from France, has brought with him a number of elegant swords, made agreeable to different resolves of congress, to be presented to a number of gentlemen, who, by acts of heroism, distinguished themselves in the late revolution.

31. This month has been distinguished by a very extraordinary circumstance in the conduct of his royal highness the prince of Wales, of which the following appear to be authentic particulars: the prince, finding his affairs embarrassed by the smallness of his income, applied to his majesty for assistance; assuring his majesty, that, if any part of his conduct was thought improper, he would, upon its being made known to him, alter the same, and conform to his majesty's wishes in every thing that was becoming a gentleman. The

king ordered a state of the prince's affairs to be laid before him. A state of the prince's debts was made out, amounting in the whole to about 230,000*l.* to which was added 24,000*l.* for completing Carlton-house, making in the whole 250,000*l.* which account was laid before his majesty. On the 4th instant, in the evening lord Southampton received his majesty's answer, which was a direct and positive refusal. His royal highness, upon being informed of this answer, took his resolution to retire to a private station.

In consequence of this determination in his highness, letters were on the 7th written to the gentlemen of his household, stating, that their services would for the present be dispensed with.

The conduct of lord Southampton, during the whole of the negotiation, has been exceedingly honourable and correct. The messages which passed between his majesty and the prince were all in writing, and the noble lord conducted the business in the most impartial manner.

The four gentlemen whom his highness has chosen to retain in his household, and to whom the management of the funds to be set apart for the payment of his debts is intrusted, are col. Hotham, col. Hulse, col. Lake, and Henry Lyte, esq.

Tattersal received orders to go to Newmarket, and take inventories of the horses which make up his royal highness's stud, together with his carriages, &c. and to bring the whole to the hammer with all convenient speed; which was accordingly done on the 24th and 25th instant, when the whole stud, consisting of brood mares, horses in training, yearling colts, yearling fillies, hunters and hacks, and coach-



coach horses, sold for the sum of seven thousand two hundred and twenty-five guineas. The grand rooms, the furniture, &c. of Carleton-house, are to be cased, and the whole locked up, except two or three small apartments for his highness's use when he may occasionally come to town.

The expence of his royal highness has been chiefly confined to his building and to his stud; the latter of which cost him 30,000*l.* per annum.

The household of the prince is now to be reduced from 25 to 5,000*l.* per annum; and it will amount to this sum in consequence of his highness having settled small pensions on a number of old domestics, who depended upon him for subsistence. His stables, instead of 30,000*l.* will not now cost him more than 2,000*l.* per annum. His table, which was always managed with great œconomy, and which, notwithstanding his superb entertainments, never cost more than between 9 and 10,000*l.* per annum, will be now confined within 2 or 3,000*l.*

The conduct of the royal father on the present occasion has been governed by the emergency of the times; that of the son proves the felicity of a ready submission to the dictates of his superior. The former, being convinced that his subjects were already sufficiently burthened by an unavoidable imposition of numerous taxes, was very naturally induced to advise his son to adopt the most eligible plans of œconomy relating to his expenditure. The latter, feeling the propriety of the admonition, has very readily acquiesced; and, in consequence, the various retrenchments in his household establishment have taken place.

## AUGUST.

*Huntingdon, Aug. 2.* At our assizes on Monday, Jarvis Matcham was capitally convicted for the wilful murder of Benjamin Jones, drummer in the 49th regiment, on the 19th day of August 1780. He was executed this day. [*See page 27.*]

2. This evening the following article appeared in a London Gazette Extraordinary.

“St. James's, August 2.

“This morning, as his Majesty was alighting from his carriage, at the gate of the palace, a woman who was waiting there, under pretence of presenting a petition, struck at his majesty with a knife, but providentially his majesty received no injury. The woman was immediately taken into custody, and upon examination, appears to be insane.”

The circumstances attending this alarming event are thus related: As the king was alighting from his post-chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's, the woman, who appeared very decently dressed, in the act of presenting a paper to his majesty, which he was receiving with great condescension, struck a concealed knife at his breast, which his majesty happily avoided by drawing back. As she was making a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and, at the same instant, one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king, with great temper and fortitude exclaimed, “I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her.”

The same day she underwent an examination before the privy council, when it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, daughter of George Nicholson of Stockon-upon-Tees; and that she had lived in several creditable services. Being



asked where she had lived since she left her last place? she answered frantically, "she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out."—Being asked what matter, she went on rambling, that the crown was her's—she wanted nothing but her right—that she had great property—that if she had not her right, England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations. Being further asked where she now lived, she answered rationally, "at Mr. Fisk's, stationer, the corner of Wigmore-street, Marybone." On being questioned, as to her right, she would answer none but a judge, her rights were a mystery. Being asked, if she had ever petitioned, she said she had, ten days ago. On looking back among the papers, such petition was found, full of princely nonsense about tyrants, usurpers, and pretenders to the throne, &c. &c.

Mr. Fisk being sent for and interrogated, said she had lodged with him about three years; that he had not observed any striking marks of insanity about her—she was certainly very odd at times—frequently talking to herself—that she lived by taking in plain work, &c. Others who knew her said, she was very industrious, and they never suspected her of insanity.

Dr. Monro being sent for, said, it was impossible to discover with certainty immediately whether she was insane or not. It was proposed to commit her for three or four days to Toth'fields Bridewell. This was objected to, because it was said, she was a state prisoner. At length it was agreed to commit her to the custody of a messenger.

Her lodgings being examined, there were found three letters about her pretended right to the crown, one to Lord Mansfield, one to lord

Loughborough, and one to gen. Bramham.

12. Between this and the 2d instant, Margaret Nicholson underwent some farther examination, the result of which appeared in the following article of this day.

"Whitehall, Aug. 8, 1786.

P R E S E N T,

The Lords of his majesty's most honourable council.

This day Margaret Nicholson, in custody for an attempt on his majesty's person, was brought before the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and after a full examination of Dr. John and Dr. Thomas Monro, and several other witnesses concerning the state of her mind, as well now as for some time past, and also after examining the said Margaret Nicholson in person, their Lordships were clearly and unanimously of opinion, that she was and is insane.

W. FAWKENER."

In consequence of this determination, the unhappy woman was conveyed, on the 9th instant, to a cell prepared for her in Bethlehem Hospital.

—Yesterday, the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council of the city, went in procession to St. James's, to present an address to his majesty, on his happy escape from assassination. (*See Public Papers.*) On this occasion, the honour of knighthood was conferred on Benjamin Hammet, esq. alderman.

*Whitehaven, Aug. 11.* A few minutes before two this morning the shock of an earthquake was very sensibly felt in this town and neighbourhood; its continuance from three to five seconds. The barometer at twenty-nine degrees, the weather close and sultry. Its direction supposed from south-east, accompanied



accompanied with a rumbling noise in the air. There was not sufficient light to make farther observations. The consternation it caused was inexpressible. A chimney was thrown down in Tangren-street, three people in different parts of the town were thrown off their feet, and one considerably hurt.

“ We have accounts of the shock being felt at the following places, viz. Workington, the quay a little damaged; Mary-port, Cocker-mouth, Redmain, Keswick, Lorton, very severe, but no damage. Egremont, some chimnies thrown down, and part of the ruins of the castle. Bootle, Broughton, Ravenglass, Ulverston, no damage. Kendal, Lancaster, Garstang, Preston, Hawkeshead, no damage. Penrith, Appleby, Brough, some old walls thrown down in the neighbourhood of these places. In the Isle of Mann, and at Dublin, no damage whatever. These are all the places we have received accounts from; but there is little doubt of its having been general, at least throughout these parts of the kingdom. The shock was also felt at New-castle and Dumfries, where two shocks were felt at the distance of three or four seconds. Birds were thrown from their sticks in the cages, and were heard to flutter, the tiles heard to rattle on some houses, but no material hurt. At Glasgow the fluttering of the birds in the cages was particularly remarked with a low rumbling noise first, afterwards louder noise—at Kirkudbright, the day before the concussion, the air was remarkably close, still, and sultry, and was here preceded by a rumbling noise. At Giltane it was so violent that a little more, the reporter says, (who himself felt the shock) would have brought down his house. At the

time of the shock it rained violently. Several rush-lights went out, and it was with difficulty they could burn for some time afterwards.

*Windsor, August 16.* His majesty, the queen, and their royal highnesses the princess royal, princess Augusta and princess Elizabeth, set out from earl Harcourt's seat at Nuneham Court, after divine service on Sunday morning last, and arrived at the Eastern gate of the public schools at Oxford soon after one o'clock. They were conducted through the Divinity School to the Sheldonian Theatre, where their majesties and the princesses being seated, the vice-chancellor presented an address from himself, and the Masters and Scholars of the University, which his majesty was pleased to receive very graciously, and to return a most gracious answer.

Their majesties from thence proceeded to visit the chapel at New College, the colleges of Wadham, Trinity, Lincoln, and Brazen Nose. They then went to the Council Chamber, where an address was presented from the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, and most graciously received by his majesty, who was at the same time pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Richard Tawney, esq. senior alderman of the city of Oxford. Their majesties, with the princesses, then visited Christ Church College, and returned to Nuneham the same evening, at about half an hour after six o'clock.

Their majesties and the princesses set out again from Nuneham between nine and ten o'clock on Monday morning and arrived at Blenheim between eleven and twelve, having been met, and attended thither by the inhabitants of Woodstock. Their majesties were received at Blenheim by the duke and



duchess of Marlborough with every mark of attention and respect. After having viewed the house, and as much of the park as the time would admit of, they returned to Nuneham about eight o'clock.

On Tuesday morning, at Nuneham, his majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Charles Nourse esq. of Oxford; and an address was there presented to the king from the gentlemen, clergy, and other inhabitants of the town of Witney, and its neighbourhood, which his majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

Their majesties and the princesses left Nuneham a little after one o'clock, and arrived at Windsor a little before six o'clock on Tuesday evening.

## S E P T E M B E R.

3. This evening his imperial and royal highness Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, governor of Milan, with her royal highness Beatrix, of Este, princess of Modena, his consort, arrived in town with their suite.

5. The Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, attended at the Old Bailey, accompanied by Mr. Rose and others, to note the forms of trial for capital offences in this country, and was very inquisitive as to the proceedings. He was dressed, after the English manner, in a plain drab coat and white waistcoat, is about 30 years of age, affable, and genteel.

*Oxford, Sept. 16.* On Tuesday evening arrived here the archduke and archduchess of Austria, under the titles of count and countess of Nellenbourg; prince Charles Albani, first cousin to the archduchess and his consort; prince Rezzonico, senator of Rome; count Soderini, the Venetian resident, prince

Lichtenstein; and count Rezvieski, the imperial ambassador. These illustrious visitors, with their suite, were next morning conducted to several of the public buildings and colleges; and on Wednesday went to Blenheim, the seat of the duke of Marlborough. On Thursday they made the tour of Stowe, the seat of the marquis of Buckingham; and yesterday morning set out for Nuneham, the seat of the earl of Harcourt. Returning about one o'clock, their royal highnesses visited the rest of the colleges, observatory, &c.

They were pleased to express the highest satisfaction on being shewn the various colleges and other edifices; and seemed highly to approve of the mode of academic education established in this university. Nor were they less delighted with the magnificent seats of the above nobility.

18. In compliment to the archduke of Austria, his majesty this day commenced the hunting sport on Windsor forest. He was accompanied by his highness during the chase.

Their highnesses, with their noble attendants, have paid attention to every thing worthy of note in the policy, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of this country. They have visited the several departments of state, the treasury, admiralty, navy, and victualling-offices, the custom-house, and post-office, the dock yards at Portsmouth, &c.

*Newcastle upon Tyne, Sept. 20.*

Lunardi's attempt to ascend yesterday from the Spital ground was productive of a very melancholy accident. The balloon was about one-third full, and a great many gentlemen were holding it by the netting, when Lunardi went to pour  
into



into the cistern the rest of the oil of vitriol destined for the purpose. This having caused a strong effervescence, generated inflammable air with such rapidity, that some of it escaped from two different parts of the lower end of the apparatus, and spread among the feet of several gentlemen who were holding the balloon, and who were so alarmed, that leaving it at liberty, they ran from the spot. The balloon now rose with great velocity, carrying up with it Mr. Ralph Heron, a gentleman of this town, about twenty-two years of age, son of Mr. Heron, under-sheriff of Northumberland.

This unhappy victim held a strong rope which was fastened to the crown of the balloon, twisted about his hand, and could not disengage himself when the other gentlemen fled; he was of course elevated about the height of St. Paul's cupola, when the balloon turned downward, the crown divided from it, and the unfortunate gentleman fell to the ground.

He did not expire immediately, having fallen upon very soft ground; he spoke for some time to his unhappy parents, and to the surgeons who came to assist him; but his internal vessels beings broken, he died about an hour and an half after the fall.

Lunardi made a precipitate retreat from the town to avoid the resentment of the populace.

21. His majesty, after taking the diversion of hunting in the morning in Windsor forest, went to the Observatory on the tower, to view by night-glasses the process of a grand experiment which was put to trial at Shooter's Hill and Nettlebed by two experienced engineers, for conveying signals in the night between army and army in case of

separation; in the neighbourhood of Shooter's Hill the light was reflected with so much splendour, that people might see to read at a great distance. It was conducted by means of the rotary motion of a wheel, which gave it the appearance of a twinkling star to a distant spectator. On the success of this experiment his majesty expressed great satisfaction.

23. The culture of that valuable root the potatoe has lately engaged the attention of some gentlemen of fortune eminently skilled in agriculture; among others John Billingsby, esq. of the Bath society, who, after two ploughings from an oat stubble, harrowing and dunging at the rate of 30 cart loads of dung per acre, obtained from six acres 550 sacks of the best potatoes (240lb. per sack), 100 ditto middling, and 50 ditto small; in all 700 sacks: or per acre 116 sacks; or bushels, at 60lb. per bushel, 350.

The planting was begun the latter end of April, and finished the 25th of May, in beds eight feet wide, and the alley 2 and a half feet; the sets were placed one foot distance on the fallow, then dung was spread on them, after which they were covered three or four inches with the earth from the alleys. Five sacks of seeds were planted to each acre.

The above gentleman last year obtained the Bath society's premium for the produce of seventy acres of potatoes, of which six acres, being a fair part of the above, yielded of best potatoes 600 sacks, 120 middling ditto, and 50 ditto of small; in all 770 sacks; or per acre 128 one-half sacks; or bushels, at 60lb. each 385.—Here seven sacks to the acre were planted.

*Carrick-on-Suir, Sept. 17.* This morning, fir Richard Musgrave, high



high sheriff of the county of Waterford, with a party of the army, conducted a convict of the late assizes, one of the persons called Rightboys, from Waterford to Carrick, to be whipped, in consequence of the judgment pronounced against him for his offences. Previously to his leaving Waterford, he had taken care to engage a drummer of the army, quartered in Waterford, to inflict the punishment; who, just at his setting out, when it was too late to provide a substitute, shrunk from his engagement, and left the high sheriff unassisted, to discharge the sentence of the law. Having reached Carrick, he made all possible search, and took every step to procure an executioner. He used the most encouraging arguments, and engaged the most perfect concealment and disguise of the person who should undertake it, and proposed a large reward; but all in vain. Being left thus deserted, with his own hand he executed the sentence of the law.

*Naples, August 11.* The Banking-house, or Mount of Piety, is entirely burnt down. The building caught fire on the evening of the 31st of July, and the flames rapidly made their way from the compting house to the warehouse, where the pledged cloth was kept, from thence to the timber-yard, and other parts of the building. All the account books, the pledges, the timber, and the papers belonging to the bank for about 70 years back were consumed. The ravages of this fire lasted three days. The damage to the Bank is said to amount to 1,200,000 crowns, besides the immense loss to those who had pledged their goods, on which there was never more lent than a quarter of their value. Several of the

persons employed in the Bank have been apprehended on a suspicion of having wilfully set fire to it in order to conceal their speculations. Thus this superb edifice, the work of the celebrated architect Fontana, which the populace of Naples always spared in their insurrections, has fallen a victim to rapacity and villainy.

*Vienna, August 31.* His imperial majesty having found it convenient to transfer the public offices, usually held at Presburg in Hungary, to Buda, the inhabitants of that city desired permission to erect his statue to perpetuate their gratitude. His majesty's answer, written with his own hand, was to the following effect:

“ When I shall have eradicated the prejudices which oppose themselves to the progress of reason, and they are replaced by a pure and well directed zeal for the interests of our country, and the certain knowledge of what may be most advantageous to it; when every individual of the state shall make his happiness consist in contributing, according to his abilities, to the well-being, safety, and increase of the monarchy:—when I shall see equity and good order reign in the Tribunals, knowledge increase by the perfection of learning; the instruction of the people more attentively regarded; the discipline of the clergy more regular, and harmony firmly established between the civil laws and the precepts of religion; when the true interests and duties of lords to their vassals, and of vassals to their lords, shall no longer be misunderstood:—when an augmented population, an improved agriculture, a patronized industry, and manufactures brought to the utmost perfection, finding a ready, safe, and a free circulation



culatation through all the provinces of this vast empire, shall produce a pure and fruitful stream of real wealth, which, I trust, will one day be realised;—then, perhaps, I shall deserve a statue; but such an honour is not due to me for having, by the transferral of public offices to Buda, afforded to the inhabitants of that city the means of selling their wines at a higher price, and of raising the rents of their houses.”

The emperor has forbidden the chanting of hymns in private houses, as introductory to innovations in religion, and a check to industry.

*Rome, Aug. 5.* On Wednesday, about four in the afternoon, as cardinal Turlone, high inquisitor of the holy office, was coming from the Vatican, he was set upon by an incensed multitude, who forced his eminence out of the carriage, and after cutting off his nose and ears, and mangling him in a most shocking manner, dragged the butchered carcase to Monte Tiburno, where they hung it on a gibbet 50 feet high, which they erected for that purpose. The reasons assigned for this popular execution are various; but that, which seems to have wrought most powerfully on the minds of the populace, was the cruelty of his disposition; for when by the rigour with which he had exercised the office of inquisitor, he had filled the gaols throughout the pope's dominions with industrious artificers and others, on slight pretences, and a motion was made in the Vatican for an act of grace, instead of giving that motion his suffrage, he sent an express order to the several gaolers to keep their prisoners double-ironed, lest an escape should be attempted.

25. The archduke and duchess of

Austria, with their suite, arrived in town from Bath. On the road, as they came through the Devizes, they met with a singular occurrence, which afforded them some entertainment. A custom has prevailed in that place, of which the following story is the foundation: A poor weaver passing through the place, without money and friends, being overtaken by hunger, and in the utmost necessity, applied for charity to a baker, who kindly gave him a penny loaf. The weaver made his way to Coventry, where, after many years industry, he amassed a fortune, and by his will, in remembrance of the seasonable charity of the Devizes, he bequeathed a sum in trust, for the purpose of distributing, on the anniversary day when he was so relieved, a halfpenny loaf to every person in the town, gentle and simple, and to every traveller that should pass through the town on that day a penny loaf. The will is faithfully administered; and the duke of Austria and his suite passing through the town on the day of the Coventry loaf, a loaf was presented to each of them, of which the duke and duchess were most cheerfully pleased to accept; and the custom struck the archduke so forcibly, that he instantly minuted it down as a curious anecdote.

29. Thomas Sainsbury, esq. alderman of Billingsgate Ward, was elected lord mayor of London for the year ensuing.

*Dublin. Sept. 25.* At the assizes at Billingsloe, on the 6th instant, John Foy was arraigned upon an indictment for procuring and exciting Andrew Craig and others, to murder Mr. M'Donald. (*See p. 9, 25.*) The prisoner pleaded an *autrefois acquit*; and, on the 9th, the counsel on both sides joined issue on that plea,



plea, fir Samuel Bradstreet and Baron Metge being the judges. The indictment being read, the prisoner's counsel delivered his plea into court, which stated that the prisoner, was, at the last assizes at Castlebar indicted for being present, aiding, and assisting, at the murder, and that he was acquitted upon that indictment; and it averred, that the offence of which he was indicted, and the offence of which he was formerly acquitted, were the same. The counsel for the crown maintained the contrary. The former indictment was for being present as a principal; this was for procuring Scots' Andrew, and others, to commit the murder; that, the offences being different, the plea was no bar. The counsel for the prisoner insisted that an acquittal as a principal was a bar to an indictment for any offence, relative thereto, committed before the fact. And of this opinion were the judges, who directed the jury to find for the prisoner, which they accordingly did; but admitted the counsel for the crown might bring a writ of error if they thought fit.

## OCTOBER.

9. By the gale on the 7th, a Danish ship was wrecked near Shoreham, which being discovered, six men in a boat put off to the assistance of the crew. These were no sooner taken on board, than all went to the bottom together. Two of them rose again, and reached the shore. Among those who perished was Mr. Ashman, ship-builder, who left seven children and a widow pregnant with the eighth. Mr. O'Brian, and some other gentlemen from Brighton, being at Shoreham, spectators of this melancholy catastrophe, on their return set a subscription on

foot in the rooms, and in a few minutes near 200 guineas were collected. His royal highness the prince of Wales set the example. A play was afterwards acted for the widows of the four Shoreham men, who left large families, in which three private gentlemen performed three different characters. The right hon. Mr. Hamilton wrote the prologue and acted in the play.

*Paris, Oct. 3.* They write from Besiers, that some workmen employed in digging a well at Antig-nac, a village three miles from thence, got to the depth of about six toises the third of last month, when, observing water to rise, they redoubled their activity, and were presently astonished by a most violent subterraneous explosion. Having recovered from their surprize, they again approached the pit, at the bottom of which they perceived one of their comrades, to whom they called, but received no answer. One of his brothers being apprehensive for his safety, descended in a bucket, in order to yield him assistance; but this man shewed no signs of life after he had reached the bottom. He was followed by a third, who experienced the same fate. A fourth had the courage to descend, his companions taking the precaution of fastening a rope to him; and following him with the eye, as he was gently lowered, they soon perceived his head to droop, and his whole frame to be violently agitated. Being immediately drawn up, he continued without motion for two hours.—Recourse was now had to experiments which ought to have been first adopted. They let down a cock in a bucket, and on being drawn up it was found on the point of expiring, with its feathers burnt. The same was done with a cat, which was almost dead when



when drawn up. By means of hooks and other implements the three persons were raised out of the pit, being quite lifeless, and all their skin appearing to be calcined. The letters farther say, that the subterraneous noise still continues, and that chemists are endeavouring to discover the cause of the explosion, and of the vaporous gas, which has proved so fatal in its effects. It is added, that vitrified matter has been taken from the pit, which, it is supposed, must have been in a state of fusion.

11. The rev. Henry Stow, of Ipswich, has established a school for ten poor boys of the age of seven years, who are to be clothed, taught to read, and learnt to spin, for the term of three years, during which time they are to attend their master to church every Sunday morning and afternoon. Their earnings, over and above finding them in cloaths, as an encouragement to industry, are to be given to them at the expiration of the above period, when they are to give place to another succession of boys of the same age.

18. We record the following act with great pleasure, in an age when general dissipation seems to have exhausted the means of generosity. The late duke of Norfolk had in his service a person of the name of T—s, who had attended him when only a private gentleman, and continued with him till his decease. When the will of the noble duke was opened, there appeared a bequest to his domestic of 100l. and 20l. per annum, for his life. He was shedding a tear to the memory of his master and benefactor, when he was alarmed by an assertion of the present duke, that there was certainly a mistake in the will; he trembled for his future subsistence;

but was relieved by the noble duke's declaring, that his father must have meant 20l. legacy for mourning, and 100l. a year. The error in the will has been thus humanely rectified, and apartments in Arundel-house have been added, where his continued attachment and service are rewarded by comfort in the evening of his days.

19. On the 18th of Sept. the lady Catherine Boccabadati, wife of the marquis senator Albergati Capacelli, aged 38 years, ended her life at Bologna in the most tragical manner. Having had a dispute at dinner, about an object of small importance, which she defended with some heat, and being contradicted by her husband, she left the room, taking with her a child of eight years old, with whom she went up stairs, and after tenderly embracing the child, she took out of a case a Venetian dagger, which she instantly ran into her body. The child immediately crying out, alarmed the family, and the marquis running up stairs, the enraged lady with redoubled fury, on seeing him, plunged the dagger through her heart; by which second thrust she instantly fell dead at his feet.

26. On Saturday the man who had undertaken, for the sum of 20l. to bring to the ground the weather cock upon the spire of the old Abbey Church of St. Alban's, succeeded in his hazardous attempt: he descended about four in the afternoon. This adventurer is a young man, by trade a basket-maker; and he made his scaffold from the ground to the top of the spire entirely with osier twigs, forming a serpentine passage, with a kind of landing-place, every six or eight steps. The novelty and ingenuity of the contrivance and dexterity of the



the author, afforded such general satisfaction, that a very liberal subscription has been made for his benefit.

*Berlin, Oct. 17.* Amongst the many changes made by our new king, one is in favour of the German language, which he has ordered to be used in all public business, instead of the French as heretofore; his majesty having declared to his ministers in council, "We are Germans, and so we will remain." This language is, therefore, now spoken at court, and all the king's letters are transcribed in it. All foreigners employed in the king's service are to retire on a pension, and to be replaced by natives, subjects of the king."

## NOVEMBER.

1. At the council held at the queen's palace yesterday se'ennight, a committee from the royal College of Physicians of London, consisting of the president, the two censors, and three of the fellows of the London college, Warwick-lane, were admitted, for the purpose of laying before his majesty in council a new revised and corrected edition of their *Pharmacopœia*, or Dispensary, for the use of the apothecaries and others practising the science of physic in Great Britain, which being received, they were favoured with the king's mandate, directing it for general use. The last edition of the College Dispensary was in the year 1746, in the 19th year of George II.

4. Came on before lord Mansfield and lord Loughborough, at Serjeant's-Inn, the second argument in error brought by commodore Johnstone against capt. Sutton, when Mr. Erskine was heard at full length for the defendant;

and Mr. Scott, the commodore's counsel, rising to answer, was told it was quite unnecessary, as nothing had been said which could induce their lordships to alter their opinion, that the judgment obtained by capt. Sutton in the court of exchequer should be reversed. — The case was simply this;—capt. Sutton obtained a verdict for 5000*l.* against commodore Johnstone. A new trial was granted by the court of exchequer: a second trial had—a second verdict for 6000*l.*—A motion was then made, grounded on several points of law, to arrest judgment. The court confirmed the verdict. The commodore brings a writ of error on the same points his motion in arrest of judgment was founded on. This writ of error, by act of parliament, is in the judgment of the lord chancellor; but his lordship referred the judgment to the two chief justices, who have reversed the judgment of the court of exchequer.

9. This day the lord mayor, accompanied by the aldermen and sheriffs in their carriages, and preceded by the city marshals, went to Westminster Hall; when his Lordship was sworn into his office at the bar of the exchequer court, and recorded warrants of attorney in the different courts for the due execution of his office.

In consequence of the request of the lord chamberlain, on the death of the princess Amelia, the lord mayor went up to the exchequer chamber to be sworn, with little more ceremony than that of a private gentleman.

10. About two in the afternoon, the countess of Strathmore was taken from the house of Mr. Forster in Oxford-street, under pretence of a warrant to take her before lord Mansfield. She was forcibly thrust into



into her own carriage, her coachman taken from the box, and a stranger put in his place, who drove off at a furious rate, and did not stop till he arrived at Barnet, where the carriage was met by a company of armed men, to the number of eight: in passing through one of the turnpikes, the lady was seen to struggle much, apparently gagged, and in great distress.—Application was immediately made to the court of King's Bench for an habeas corpus, to effect a rescue. (*See Vol. VI. page 13.*)

11. Came on in the court of King's Bench a trial at bar, in the remarkable cause between the natural daughter of the late Ch. Mellish, esq. and his niece. The cause had already been tried, (*See Vol. VI. page 49.*) when a verdict was obtained by the daughter, which was set aside by a subsequent one in the Common Pleas. The deceased made two wills, one in 1774, which gave place to one in 1780. There was also a codicil in 1781, and the contest was, to which of the wills it applied. The will in 1780 being established by weight of evidences, the codicil of course must refer to that, and so it was determined. Mr. Erskine, in order that his client might have a new trial, moved that Richard Roe should come into court, which of course produced a nonsuit.

*Salisbury, Nov. 13.* The remains of a Roman villa, covering near an acre of ground, were on Monday last discovered in Pitt mead, about two miles this side of Warminster. They found some very curious tessellated pavement, evidently the remains of baths, also pieces of urns, and domestic utensils, made of beautiful clay. Pitt mead is about two hundred yards distant from the turnpike road.

Verlucio, a principal Roman station, was in the neighbourhood.

15. Yesterday the recorder shewed cause, in the court of King's Bench, against a rule obtained by Mr. Tomlins, for a mandamus to be directed to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, to be admitted to the office of one of the auditors of the said city, he having a majority upon the poll. Mr. Tomlins, jun. in support of the rule stated, that the custom or usage which had been declared to the livery in common hall by the recorder, previous to the election of auditors on Midsummer day last, (that a liveryman, who had served the said office two years successively, was not eligible to be re-elected) was not an immemorial custom, but merely an usage entitling the party elected to an exemption from serving the office if he thought proper. Mr. Recorder asserted, that the distinction was as new as absurd, and that they ought to lay some authority before the court in support of it, which they neither had nor could do.

The affidavit in support of the rule which stated the whole of the proceedings of the common hall and court of aldermen, on Midsummer day last, was then read, and Mr. Douglas on behalf of Mr. Tomlins, prayed, that the writ of mandamus might issue; in opposition thereto, an affidavit, made by the solicitor, was read, which stated that he had traced this custom for near three hundred years back by searches in the corporation books, and that the invariable usage in the election of auditors had been as before stated by the recorder; that this usage or custom was strongly fortified by an act of common council, in the reign of one of the Edwards; and that it must  
now



now be considered as the *lex loci* of the corporation; in respect of these elections, an affidavit was made by the common-serjeant, and town-clerk, in confirmation of this usage within their respective memories.

The counsel for Mr. Tomlins pressed the court to grant the mandamus *ex debito justitiæ*, but the court declared the granting such writ was in their discretion, and that it must be governed by the particular facts and circumstances of the case; that upon the present occasion it was incumbent upon Mr. Tomlins to have made out a case, supported by affidavits to entitle him to such writ, which he had not done. The affidavits produced on behalf of the mayor and aldermen, stated the custom in the most satisfactory terms; they were, therefore, of opinion, there was no foundation for the present application, and directed the rule to be discharged. (*See page 27, 31.*)

*Edinburgh, Nov. 18.* A country lad, apprentice to a cabinet-maker of this place, lately applied to our mathematical professors to be admitted a student into the class for the higher geometry. On examination, he was too far advanced to receive benefit from any class taught here; and though he had never been at any school, he answered every question with a facility and elegance that astonished the professors; and what is more, he deduced demonstrations in a manner entirely his own, and in which no error could be discovered. The university has conferred upon him the degree of master of arts, and appointed him keeper of the college observatory.

20. Last Friday morning, about six o'clock, the battery at Bright-helmstone fell down, with a noise like the report of cannon. The

destruction of the battery was occasioned by the late high tide, which flowed with an impetuosity that not only washed away both ends, but also sapped the very foundation of it, inasmuch that its fall has ever since been expected

From the fall of the battery, the house belonging to it, and several other valuable ones adjacent, are thought to be in the utmost danger.

Sunday six of the guns belonging to Bright-helmstone battery, were washed from its ruins into the sea. The others have been since removed out of the reach of the waves.

21. At the bank 471,000*l.* 3 *per cent.* stock was transferred to Mr. Van Otten on account of the landgrave of Hesse, so much being due on Hessian soldiers lost in the American war, at 30*l.* a man.

22. Yesterday, Edward Aylette, the attorney, stood in the pillory in New Palace Yard, Westminster, for wilful and corrupt perjury. (*See page 31.*)

23. Just before the sitting of the court of King's Bench lady Strathmore was brought into Westminster-hall; and immediately on the arrival of the judges, Mr. Law, her counsel, moved, that she might be permitted to exhibit articles of the peace against Mr. Bowes and several others; which being granted, he then moved for an attachment against Mr. Bowes and several of his accomplices, which was likewise granted. Her ladyship had been conveyed to her seat at Durham, and when the officers went there to serve the writ of habeas corpus on Mr. Bowes, he evaded it, by privately conveying her ladyship, away; but she was soon rescued by the peasantry, who made Mr. Bowes a prisoner. Her ladyship, in her affidavit, stated a variety



variety of ill-usage, which she had experienced from Mr. Bowes, such as being beat, scourged, and menaced with death.

27. Mr. Bowes appeared in the court of King's Bench, when his counsel moved, that he should be discharged, on the ground that he had not been *legally* served with the habeas corpus; but the court rejected this motion, considering the service as good. A similar motion was likewise made, on the ground, that Mr. Bowes was actually hastening to town to make a return to the habeas corpus, but was prevented by the attack upon his person, and other unavoidable circumstances; but the court considering this assertion as contradicted by the affidavits of other persons, rejected this motion also; and Mr. Bowes was finally committed to the King's Bench prison till the judges determine what security he shall be obliged to find to keep the peace.

*Halifax, Nova Scotia, Oct. 10.* On Wednesday the 4th inst. arrived here the *Pegasus* frigate, commanded by Prince William Henry, who landed the next day, and was received by all ranks of people with the greatest proofs of loyalty and affection to his illustrious parents. (See p. 22.)

29. Letters from Quebec mention lord Dorchester's arrival there, on the 22d ult. in the *Thistle* frigate, to the great satisfaction of the garrison and inhabitants.

29. A brilliant and highly finished picture of the king of France, set in diamonds, was presented by Mr. Eden to his majesty at St. James's. He received it from the French king himself, in order to deliver it in person to the British sovereign, as a commemoration of the promised amity between both potentates, in consequence of the signing of the commercial treaty.

1786.

30. This day being the anniversary of the Royal Society, the following noblemen and gentlemen were chosen of the council for the year ensuing, viz.

Sir Joseph Banks, bart.	president.
Samuel Wegg, esq.	V. P. treasurer.
Joseph Planta, esq.	} secretaries
Charles Blagden, M.D.	
John lord Mülgrave,	V. P.
Sir William Musgrave, bart.	V. P.
Sir William Watson, knt.	V. P.
Rev. Andrew Kippis,	D. D.
Rev. Nevil Maskelyne,	D. D.
William Pitcairn,	M. D.

#### NEW COUNCIL.

Rt. hon. Charles Grey.  
 William Herschel, LL. D.  
 Charles Burney, Mus. D.  
 Welbore Ellis Agar, esq.  
 Rev. C. P. Layard, M. A.  
 Charles duke of Richmond.  
 Charles earl Stanhope.  
 John Topham, esq.  
 John Turton, M. D.  
 William Watson, M. D.

#### DECEMBER.

1. This day Mr. Bowes exhibited certain allegations in the court of arches in lady Strathmore's case, and prayed the court for leave to support the same by exhibits upon oath. (See page 46, 48.)

4. John Adams esq. the American plenipotentiary, presented the rev. Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, and the rev. Dr. Provost, of New York, to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be consecrated bishops for the United States. The rev. Dr. Griffith, of Virginia, is to be made a third, to complete the government of the episcopal church in those States. (See Vol. VI. page 1, 58.)

6. The duke of Athol has, in the most liberal manner, not only given a perpetual right of property in his estate situated on the river Tay, about six miles from Perth, to the Stanley cotton company,

(D)

but



but has also lotted out a large tract of land into a township, where people may build houses on the most moderate terms. This new company have erected a magnificent cotton mill, which furnishes employment to three or four hundred women and children; a foundation superior to a hundred workhouses.

The above company, last summer, built several streets of small, but comfortable houses, in the new town, for the accommodation of the people employed in the cotton mill.

The duke beholds the growing prosperity of these manufactories with pleasure, and constantly assists the endeavours of his young colony. A few weeks since, he and his duchess gave names to new streets in his town, such as King-street, Charlotte-street, Duchess-street, &c. The inhabitants were regaled with casks of beer, and are to elect magistrates, for the government of their police. A weekly market is to be established. Whoever pleases to settle there is to be made welcome. Instead of any exaction for this liberty, great encouragement is given to new and industrious settlers; and it is not doubted but in a short time this will become a considerable place for manufactures of different kinds.

9. The Belisarius, which, in consequence of a plan lately adopted by government, is to carry out the poor Blacks, to form a new settlement on the coast of Africa, dropped down to Gravesend on Friday last. The intended settlement is to be established on a much broader basis than was at first intended. It is not to consist solely of blacks, but of whites and blacks. A regular government, such as that of Senegal or Cape Coast, is to be formed, and lands to be allotted to the blacks who are sent out from Europe. They

are to be under the protection of a regular fort, such as we had at Goree, which is to be built without delay. The Belisarius carries out engineers for that purpose; and the blacks are to be paid for assisting to carry on the works. The place fixed upon for this fort is a spot near Cape St. Anne, on one of the banks of the Sierra-Leone, a river on the Coast of Guinea, which empties itself into the Atlantic Ocean, several leagues to the southward of the Gambia. At this fort will reside a governor, who is to be vested with powers civil and military, and to be assisted with a council, without whose concurrence he cannot act in cases of capital punishment.

*Leaves, Dec. 9.* Last Sunday, about two in the afternoon, the Nuestra Señora de Begona, capt. Antonio de Yebarra, from Bilboa to London, was driven on shore, about a mile to the westward of Newhaven pier, when she was dashed to pieces. The captain's mate and three others, saved themselves by swimming; but the captain and three of his hands who could not swim, were drowned in the presence of a great number of spectators, who could give them no assistance. The four that were saved, were furnished at Newhaven with clothes and every other necessary, by Mr. Brown, and others. In this town and neighbourhood, upwards of ten pounds were collected for them, through the interposition of Mr. Langridge and the postmaster here, which they received with every possible mark of gratitude. On Saturday they went on the outside of the coach for London, in order to get a passage home.

On Wednesday morning, the St. Austle, capt. Colmer, from East Loo, was driven on shore near the same



same place, and dashed to pieces. The captain and crew, four in number, quitted the wreck in time to save themselves; but Mr. and Mrs. Giles, a young couple, passengers, who could not be prevailed on to leave the vessel, perished. The captain says, so averse was Mr. Giles to leave the wreck, that after he (the captain) had got safe to land, he lashed himself to a rope, swam again to the wreck, and having boarded her, fastened a rope round Mrs. Giles, for the purpose of having her hauled on shore; but her husband immediately cast it off again, and exclaimed; "My dear Bella, don't leave me!" She staid! — This unfortunate lady was a distant relation of Lord Courtney's. The sailors were treated with the greatest humanity at Newhaven.

11. On Friday, a curious cause was tried, before Lord Loughborough, wherein a Jew butcher was plaintiff, in an action of damages sustained by his being prohibited from exercising the trade of a butcher, by an order of the rulers of the synagogue, on a charge by the defendant, of his selling meat to the Jews, *unstamped*, and *improperly killed*; that is, not killed agreeable to the Jewish laws: the plaintiff alledged, that he bought the meat of a carcase butcher in White-chapel, who generally killed for the Jews, whom he offered to bring as a witness: but the Jewish laws would not permit him to be examined before the rulers, on account of his being a *Christian*, on which account a charge having been made, and no proof of innocence adduced, he was adjudged guilty, and suffered accordingly. Serjeant Bolton, counsel for the plaintiff, insisted, that though the Jewish laws prevented the man from Christian evidence to prove his innocence,

yet as the plaintiff was a subject of this country, he was entitled to the protection of its laws:—Mr. Morgan, counsel for the defendant; and rulers of the synagogue, displayed a wonderful knowledge of the Jewish laws and customs, and insisted, that as the government of this country tolerated the Jews to regulate their own police; especially with regard to matters of religion, the plaintiff having been convicted by those laws, could not seek redress from that court. A blame was imputed to the defendant, for having informed against the plaintiff; but Mr. Morgan shewed, that by the Levitical law, expressed in the first and second verse of the fifth chapter of Leviticus, a person knowing of a sin being committed, and concealing his knowledge, was deemed guilty of the sin himself. Lord Loughborough confessed himself entirely of Mr. Morgan's opinion; and the plaintiff was nonsuited.

15. The committee of common council, appointed in July last to enquire into the causes of the high prices of provision, have published their report, in which they relate the several steps they have taken in this enquiry. They state, that they received from the city solicitor abstracts of all the acts relative to the practices of regrating, forestalling, &c. of those for the regulation of Smithfield and the other markets, and also of the several enclosing acts since the year 1775: that they have held a correspondence with the magistrates of several corporations, and consulted the most respectable butchers in Smithfield on the business. The resolutions of a meeting held by these last are also added; they state the practice of forestalling by the carcase butchers, as a principal



cause of the high prices of meat. The resolutions of the committee go in general to the same effect. They complain of the practice of forestalling at Mile-End, Islington, Kennington, &c. They propose, that to remedy this evil, a committee should be appointed by the corporation, for the purpose of controlling the markets: that only a licensed number of salesmen should be admitted, none of whom, to prevent collusion, should be butchers or graziers: that all cattle brought into Smithfield market should be duly entered, and a register preserved of the entries and sales; that the hours of sale should be from four in the morning until two in the afternoon, &c.

19. The Montega Bay paper, of October 28, mentions a dreadful hurricane at Jamaica, in the night of the 19th, which had done great mischief in many parts of the island. In Westmoreland, in particular, the appearance every where denoted the superior violence of this gust over all that had been experienced since 1780. The trees stripped of their leaves, exhibited an appearance as if fire had devoured their verdure; the shores were covered with duck, teal, and other aquatic birds, that had been driven with irresistible impetuosity against the trunks of the mangroves, and dashed to pieces.

22. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when 23 prisoners received sentence of death. — In this sessions, Michael Walker, Richard Payne, and John Cox, were tried; the first as principal, for the murder of Mr. Duncan Robinson, near Smart's buildings, Holborn, by cutting him down the face and shoulder, and stabbing him in different parts of his arm, of which he died in about three days: and the other two for being present,

aiding, and assisting in the said murder. One of the prisoners had picked the pocket of a Mr. Hunt, who was walking in company with the deceased: Mr. Hunt apprehended the thief, and a scuffle ensued, in which Mr. Hunt knocked down his antagonist twice, when Payne attacked him, and Mr. Robinson coming to his assistance, received the dreadful wound that occasioned his death. Mr. Baron Hotham, at the close of his charge to the jury, made some excellent observations on the law, tending to point out, that when several partners are in pursuit of an illegal action, and a murder ensues, all are equally involved in the guilt. — They were all found guilty, and executed on Monday the 18th, near the spot where the murder was committed.

During this sessions also Joseph Woolley, a soldier, was tried for robbing Charles Austin, of some wearing apparel. The prisoner had confessed the robbery before the justice, and said, that being tired of the military life and discipline, he had committed this robbery, in order to be sent to Botany Bay. When called upon for his defence, he refused to make any, or to call any witnesses to his character. The recorder then said, that as he preferred the ignominious punishment of transportation to that of honourably serving his king and country, the court would indulge him, but that he should not chuse the place; and therefore passed sentence on him to be transported for seven years to *Africa*.

*Paris, Dec. 5.* On the 2d and 24th of last month, an experiment was made at Compeigne, in the presence of the viscount Laval, and the principal persons of the town, of a machine invented by the abbé de



de Menth, which was universally applauded. The artist fixed his machine to a boat of 200 feet in length, which it was able to pull, though full laden, without the assistance of a single horse, against the stream of the river Ouse, with greater swiftness than could have been made with sixteen horses. But some labourers and other interested persons, in order to make the enterprise fail, threw sand and stones between the wheels, which being clogged, their motion was suspended for some minutes, so that the success of the attempt was doubtful; but as soon as the effect of this mischief was discovered, and the springs were disengaged, the machine showed itself capable of performing what was expected, and of crowning the indefatigable inventor with honour.

*Constantinople, Oct. 12.* The divan persists in the design of encouraging the arts and sciences. They have given orders for a translation of the Encyclopedia, into the Turkish language, which is to be set about immediately; and, in order to facilitate this undertaking, for the benefit of such Mussulmans as are lovers of the belles-lettres, all the plates in the Paris edition are to be copied. In consequence, all the plates that could be procured in France and Italy have been bought up. The mufti has opposed this resolution with all his might; but for all that, the project of civilizing the empire will proceed. [See Vol. VI. p. 23.]

31. General bill of all the christenings and burials, from Dec. 13, 1785, to Dec. 12, 1786.

#### Christened.

Males	9183
Females	8936
In all	18119

#### Buried.

Males	10253
Females	10201
In all	20454
Whereof have died,	
Under 2 years	6693
Between 2 and 5	2039
5 and 10	906
10 and 20	855
20 and 30	1612
30 and 40	1868
40 and 50	2007
50 and 60	1675
60 and 70	1305
70 and 80	982
80 and 90	437
90 and 100	68
100	1
101	3
102	1
106	2

#### BIRTHS in the Year 1786.

*Jan. 3.* The lady of William Heath, esq. of Stanstead hall, Essex, of a daughter.

8. Lady Georgiana Smyth, daughter of the duke of Grafton, a son and heir.

*Feb. 14.* The lady of Alexander lord Maedonald, a son.

Countess of Lincoln, a son.

6. Lady of sir Watkin Williams Wynne, bart. a son.

*March 21.* The countess of Salisbury, a daughter. [See p. 16.]

Lady Cadogan, a daughter.

8. Countess of Abingdon, a daughter.

9. Countess of Balcarras, two sons.

17. Countess of Westmoreland, a daughter.

22. Lady of sir H. Gough, bart. a son.

*April 25.* Countess of Aylesford, a son.



28. Lady of the right hon. Wm. Eden, a son, at Paris.

*May* 1. Countess Fitzwilliam, a son and heir.

7. Lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a daughter.

14. Lady of the hon. George Rodney, eldest son of lord Rodney, a daughter.

29. Duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.

Viscountess Hinton, a son.

14. Lady Margaret Beckford, a daughter.

*June* 15. Lady of sir John Lake, bart. a son.

17. The Infanta Donna Mariana Victoria, of Portugal, consort of the Infant Don Gabriel of Spain, a prince.

*July* 9. Her most Christian majesty, a princess, named Sophia.

12. The lady of col. George Augustus North, a son.

14. Lady Catharine Graham, wife of sir John Graham, bart. a daughter.

20. Lady of sir William Maxwell, bart. a daughter.

*August* 22. Lady of sir John Borlace Warren, bart. a daughter.

*Sept.* 5. Countess of Sutherland, lady of earl Gower, a son and heir.

Lady Clive, a son.

6. Marchioness of Graham, a son and heir. [See p. 57.]

16. Lady of lord St. Asaph, son of the earl of Asburnham, a son.

*Sept.* 20. Lady Harriet Elliot, wife of the hon. Edward James Elliot, a daughter. [See p. 57.]

*Oct.* Lady of viscount Maitland, son of the earl of Lauderdale, a son.

*Oct.* 28. Lady St. John, a daughter.

3. Lady of sir Carnaby Haggerstone, bart. a daughter.

*Nov.* 13. Lady of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a daughter.

Lady of lord Napier, a son.

17. Duchess of Grafton, a daughter.

8. Lady of Richard Pepper Arden, esq. attorney-general, a son.

10. Viscountess Hereford, a daughter.

11. Lady of lord Balgonie, son of the earl of Leven, a son.

21. Countess of Abergavenny, a son.

## MARRIAGES in 1786.

*Feb.* 4. Lieut. col. Paulus Irvin, to lady Elizabeth St. Laurence, daughter of the earl of Howth.

13. Henry Drummond, esq. to miss Dundas, daughter of the right hon. Henry Dundas, treasurer of the Navy.

21. Hon. Frederick Lumley, to miss Boddington.

23. John Pardoe, jun. esq. member of parliament for Plympton, to miss Oliver, daughter of Thomas Oliver, esq. of Laytonstone.

Hon. Mr. Petre, son of lord Petre, to miss Howard, niece of the earl of Surry.

*March* 8. Earl of Haddington, to miss Gascoigne.

14. Sir Bouchier Wray, bart. to miss Palk, daughter of sir Robert Palk.

21. At Brussels, lord John Russell, to the hon. Georgiana Elizabeth Byng, second daughter of lord Torrington, minister plenipotentiary at that court.

28. Richard Long, jun. esq. to miss Florentina Wray, sister to Bouchier Wray, bart.

*April*



*April 2.* Lady Horatia Waldegrave, second daughter of the dukes of Gloucester, to the hon. capt Conway, son of the earl of Hertford.

8 William Boscawen, esq. of Bushev, in Hertfordshire, second son of the late gen. Geo. Boscawen, and nephew to the late viscount Falmouth, to miss Charlotte Ibbetson, daughter of the late Dr. Ibbetson, archdeacon of St. Alban's.

12. At Streatham, lord John Russell, to the hon. miss Byng. They were married on the 21st of March, at Brussels, according to the Roman and Protestant forms.

*May 7.* Sir William Twysden, bart. to miss Fanny Wynch.

9. Walter Sneyd, esq. to the hon. miss Bagot, daughter of lord Bagot.

27. Princess Louisa Augusta of Denmark to the prince of Sleswic Holstein.

27. Sir William Molesworth, bart. to miss Ourry.

*May 6.* Lord Malden, son of the earl of Essex, to Mrs. Stephenson, of Harley-street.

17. Earl of Cork and Orrery, to miss Monckton, daughter of the late lord Galway.

27. Sir Godfrey Webster, bart. to miss Vassall.

*June 22.* Sir H. P. St. John, bart. to miss Mildmay, of Shanford.

29. Lord Fairford, to miss Sandys, niece to lord Sandys.

*July 1.* Right hon. John Fitzgibbon, attorney-general of Ireland, to miss Whalley, daughter of the late Chapel Walley, esq.

12. Drummond Smith, esq. to miss Cunliffe, daughter of the late sir Ellis Cunliffe, bart.

17. Edward Thurlow, esq. nephew of the lord Chancellor, to miss Thompson of Norwich.

The earl of Shaftesbury to miss Webb, daughter of sir John Webb, bart.

29. William Champian Crespigny, esq. to lady Sarah Windsor.

*August 14.* Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, bart. to lady Elizabeth Ramsey, daughter of the earl of Dalhousie.

29. Sir George Ramsey, bart. to the hon. miss Eleanor Fraser, daughter of the late George lord Saltoun.

*Sept. 12.* Robert Thornton, esq. member of parliament for Bridgewater, to miss Eyre, of Clapham.

*Oct. 5.* Sir Samuel Fludyer, bart. to miss Weston, niece to the duke of Montague.

E. Brisco, esq. to lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.

Sir George William Farmer, bart. to miss Sophia Kenrick, daughter of Richard Kenrick, esq. of Nantelyd, in Denbighshire.

6. The hon. capt. de Courcy, brother of lord Kinsale, to miss Blennerhasset, niece to major Poole.

9. Sir James Hall, bart. to lady Helen Douglas, daughter of the earl of Selkirk.

12. Robert Covile, esq. of Hemmingsstone Hall, in Suffolk, to miss Apgill, daughter of sir Charles Apgill, bart.

14. Hon. col. Henry Fox, brother to the right hon. Charles James Fox, to miss Clayton, sister to lady Howard de Walden.

29. Lady Anne Maria Arundel, youngest daughter of lord Arundel of Wardour, count of the sacred Roman empire, to the hon. Charles Clifford, brother to lord Clifford, of Chudleigh.

*Dec. 1.* Lord Henry Murray brother to the duke of Athol, to



miss Kent, daughter of Richard Kent, esq. of Liverpoole.

8. James Henry Leigh, esq. nephew to the duke of Chandos, to the hon. miss Twissleton, daughter of lord Say and Sele.

### DEATHS in 1786.

*Dec.* 17, 1785. In the south of France, the hon. Miss Louisa Vernon, only daughter of Lord Vernon.

*Jan.* 2. John Bartholomew Radclyffe, Earl of Newburgh.

3. Hon. Mrs. Montgomery, aunt to the present duke of Argyle.

4. Lady Fleetwood, mother of sir Thomas Fleetwood, bart.

Sir Edward Every, bart.

6. John Tempest, esq. major in the horse-guards.

12. Anne, Lady Brudenell, wife of James Lord Brudenell.

John Luther, esq. late member of parliament for Essex.

13. The hon. Mrs. Anne Hervey, relict of the hon. Thomas Hervey, second son of John, first earl of Bristol.

Thomas Barret Lennard lord Dacre.

16. Sir Hugh Owen, bart. lord lieut. and member of parliament for Pembrokehire.

19. The rev. John Duncombe, M. A. author of the *Feminead*, &c.

30. Henry Rawlinson, esq. late member of parliament for Liverpool.

*Feb.* 1. George Beauclerk, duke of St. Alban's.

6. The lady of admiral sir Francis Drake, bart.

8. The lady of sir Thomas Gascoigne, bart.

10. Lieut. gen. Theodore Day.

18. Hon. James John Colvill,

eldest son of lord Colvill of Culrofs.

*Mar.* 2. John Jebb, M. D. and F. R. S.

5. Lady Penelope Cholmondeley, relict of the late gen. Cholmondeley.

6. James Phipps, esq. member of parliament for Peterborough.

7. Philip, earl Stanhope.

9. Sir Christopher Whichcote, bart.

15. Jane, viscountess Arbuthnot.

17. Catherine, countess Ferrers.

19. Hon. Jane Walter, daughter, and at length heiress of George lord Abergavenny, and relict of Abel Walter, esq.

24. James, earl of Loudon.

27. Sackville, earl of Thanet.

*April* 3. Hon. and rev. Walter Shirley, brother to Robert, earl Ferrers.

7. George Ross, esq. member of parliament for Kirkwall.

10. The hon. admiral John Byron.

12. Lady Henrietta Vernon, relict of Henry Vernon, esq.

*May.* Hon. George Fitzwilliam, brother of the present earl.

2. George lord Brook, eldest son of the earl of Warwick.

5. Major gen. Augustine Prevost, col. of the 60th regiment.

25. Lady Margaret Compton, daughter of George, 4th earl of Northampton.

26. Edward, lord Leigh: the title is extinct.

Peter III. king of Portugal.

27. Mrs. Anne Berkeley, relict of the celebrated bishop of Cloyne.

*June* 6. Hugh, duke of Northumberland.

24. Adam Drummond, esq. member of parliament for Saffesbury.

Lady Ducie, relict of lord Ducie.

The earl of Northington: the title is extinct.



*July* 1. The hon. William Tuf-ton, brother to the earl of Thanet. He was drowned in the Thames.

At Edinburgh, Mrs. Sophia Baddeley, the once celebrated actresses.

4. Lady Elizabeth Villiers. She was daughter and sole heiress to John Villiers, viscount Purbeck, who succeeded to the titles of earl of Buckingham, viscount Villiers, baron of Whaddon, on the death of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham. His lordship died in 1723, leaving this daughter only, his heiress; by whose death the family of the Villiers, of the Buckingham line, is extinct.

10. The lady of George Edward Stanley, esq. sister to sir Michael le Fleming, bart.

14. Joseph Gullston, esq. late member of parliament for Poole, celebrated for his capital collection of prints, &c.

20. Sir George Nares, one of the judges of the common pleas. Thomas, lord Grantham.

26. John Buller, esq. a lord of the treasury, and member of parliament for East Looe.

29. Hon. Miss Isabella Hawke, daughter of Lord Hawke.

*Aug.* 13. Gilbert Stuart, L. L. D. author of the History of Scotland.

12. Mary, viscountess Kilmorey, third daughter of Washington, earl Ferrers.

17. Frederick III. king of Prussia.

29. Hon. Augustus William Fitzroy, third son of Lord Southampton.

31. Charles Howard, duke of Norfolk.

*Sept.* 4. Sir Thomas Aubrey, bart. father of John Aubrey, esq. member of parliament for Bucks.

Mrs. Byng, mother of George Byng, esq. of Wrotham Park.

5. Jonas Hanway, esq.

17. Jemima Elizabeth, marchioness of Graham, third daughter to the earl of Ashburnham.

Miss Cavendish, only daughter of lord George Henry Cavendish.

18. Hon. Charles Hamilton, uncle to the earl of Abercorn.

25. Lady Harriet Elliot, second daughter of the late earl of Chatham, and wife of the hon. Edward James Elliot.

*Oct.* 2. Admiral Augustus, viscount Keppel.

7. Miss Webb, daughter of sir John Webb, bart.

20. The hon. Charles Phipps, brother to lord Mulgrave, and member of parliament for Minehead.

Humphrey Sturt, late member of parliament for Dorsetshire.

31. The Princess Amelia Sophia Eleonora, second daughter of his late majesty king George II.

*Nov.* 2. Sir Edward Swinburne, bart.

6. Sir Horace Mann, knt. bart. 46 years minister at Florence.

7. Sir John Elliot, bart. physician to the prince of Wales.

Viscountess Grimston.

11. Major gen. James Bramham, chief engineer of Great Britain.

15. Sir Richard Temple, bart.

Gen. John Parflow, col. of the 30th regiment.

21. Sir Edward Wilmot, bart. physician to the king, in his 93d year.

23. Hannah Catharina Maria, dowager viscountess Falmouth

28. Anne, dowager lady Ruthven.

30. Sir Thomas Fowke, groom of the bedchamber to the duke of Cumberland.

*Dec.* 9. Henry Roper, 11th lord Teynham.

5. Alexander, earl of Home.

11. Thomas, earl of Clarendon.

20. Isa-



20. Isabella, duchess dowager of Manchester, wife of Edward, earl Beaulieu.

25. Charles, lord Gray.

28. Hon. capt. Murray, brother to the earl of Dunmore.

Lately, sir John Burgoyne, bart. in the East Indies.

### PROMOTIONS in 1786.

*January* 7. George Baldwyn, esq. to be consul general in Egypt.

24. Sir John Parnell, bart. to be a privy counsellor in Ireland.

*Feb.* 4. Benjamin Pingo, esq. to be York Herald of Arms.

John Sinclair, esq. of Ulster, to be a baronet.

13. John Crichton Turner, esq. sheriff of Cambridge, and Huntingdon, to be a knight.

24. William, lord Craven, to be lord lieut. of Berks.

28. Granville Leveson, earl Gower, to be marquis of the county of Stafford.

*March* 3. Douglas, duke of Hamilton, to be knight of the Thistle.

21. John Charles Crowle, esq. to be master of the revels in ordinary to his majesty.

25. John Elliot, esq. to be governor of Newfoundland.

Hon. Ariana Margaret Eger-ton, to be one of her majesty's bed-chamber women.

*April* 11. Sir Guy Carleton, Knight of the Bath, to be governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

11. Francis, marquis of Carmarthen, to be high steward of Kingston upon Hull.

13. Randal William, earl of Antrim, to be privy counsellor of Ireland.

18. Earl of Leven to be high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

*May* 13. Charles, lord Camden, to be earl Camden, and viscount Bayham.

Earl Beaulieu, to be capital and high Steward of New Windsor.

30. Prince Edward to be colonel in the army, by brevet.

*June* 3. Prince Edward, prince Ernest Augustus, prince Augustus Frederick, prince Adolphus Frederick, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Beaufort, the marquis of Buckingham, and earl Cornwallis, to be knights of the Garter.

Major-gen. the hon. Thomas Bruce, to be resident major gen. on the staff of Ireland.

10. The dignity of a baronet to the following gentlemen, viz.

James Macpherson of Calcutta, esq.

James Colquhoun, of Luss, esq.

Sir James Douglas, knight, admiral of the White.

Thomas Shirley, of Oat Hall, in Sussex, esq. governor of the Leeward Caribbee islands.

William Green, esq. chief engineer, at Gibraltar.

Joshua Rowley, esq. rear admiral of the Red.

Corbet Corbet (late Devenant) of Stoke-upon-Tern and Adderley in the county of Salop, esq.

Lyonel Wright Vane Fletcher, of Hutton in the Forest, in Cumberland; esq.

Richard Hoare, of Barn Elms in Surry, esq.

James Hunter Blair, lord Provost of Edinburgh.

William Charles Farrell Skeffington, esq. of Skeffington Hall, in Leicestershire.

17. Richard lord Milford, to be lord lieut. of Pembroke-shire.

*July* 1. Rev. John Ekins, D.D. to be dean of Sarum.

11. Joseph Brames, esq. to be consul at Genoa.



George Jennings, esq. to be consul at Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica.

15. The right hon. Charles Jenkinson, to be lord Hawkesbury.

*August 8.* John, duke of Athol, to be baron Murray of Stanley, in the county of Gloucester, and earl Strange.

James, earl of Abercorn, to be viscount Hamilton, of Leicestershire.

George Montagu, duke of Montrose, to be baron Montague, of Boughton, in Northamptonshire, remainder to his grandson lord Henry James Montague, second son of the duke of Buccleugh.

William, duke of Queensberry, to be baron Douglas of Amelbury, in Wiltshire.

George, earl of Tyrone, in Ireland, to be baron Tyrone, of Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire.

Richard, earl of Shannon, in Ireland, to be baron Carleton, of Yorkshire.

John Hufsey, lord Delaval, of Ireland, to be lord Delaval in Northumberland.

Sir Harbord Harbord, bart. to be lord Suffield, in Norfolk.

Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the bath, to be lord Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.

10. Thomas Fauquier, esq. to be gentleman usher daily waiter to her majesty.

11. Benjamin Hammet, esq. Alderman of London, knighted.

30. William Appleby, esq. of Durham, knighted.

*Sept. 2.* Hugh, duke of Northumberland, to be lord lieut. of that county.

5. Right hon. John Foster, speaker of the house of commons in Ireland, to be a privy counsellor in Great Britain.

Right hon. John Beresford, first commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, to be a privy counsellor in Great Britain.

Charles, lord Hawkesbury, to be chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

His majesty having thought fit to revoke his order in council, bearing date the 5th day of March, 1784, appointing a committee of privy council for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, and to declare the said committee dissolved, has been pleased to appoint a new committee of privy council for the business above mentioned, to consist of the following members, viz.

The lord archbishop of Canterbury.

The first lord commissioner of the treasury.

The first lord commissioner of the admiralty.

His majesty's principal secretaries of state.

The chancellor and under treasurer of the exchequer, and

The speaker of the house of commons.

And also of such of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council as shall hold any of the following offices, viz.

The chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

The paymaster or paymasters general of his majesty's forces.

The treasurer of his majesty's navy.

The master of his majesty's mint.

And his majesty was at the same pleased to order, That

The speaker of the house of commons of Ireland, and such persons as shall hold office, in his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and shall be members of his majesty's most honourable



nourable privy council in this kingdom, should be members of the said committee.

And also that lord Frederick Campbell,

Robert lord bishop of London,

Lord Grantley,

Sir Lloyd Kenyon, master of the rolls,

The right honourable Thomas Harley,

The honourable sir Joseph Yorke, K. B.

Sir John Goodricke, bart.

William Eden, esq.

James Grenville, esq. and

Thomas Orde, esq.

should be members of the said committee.

And that the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and in his absence, the right honourable William Wyndham Grenville, be president of the said committee.

6. Alderman Nathaniel Warren, alderman John Rose, and alderman William James, to be his majesty's commissioners of the police for the city of Dublin.

9. Laurence Cox, of Westminster, esq. knighted.

Isaac Pocock, esq. sheriff of Northamptonshire, knighted.

Earl of Clarendon and lord Carteret, to be post-masters general.

Phineas Bond, esq. to be consul in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and commissary for commercial affairs in the United States of America.

Thomas Pechell, esq. to be a gentleman usher, quarterly waiter on her majesty.

13. William Altham, of Thetford, esq. knighted.

Jonathan Phillips, esq. of St. Stephen's near Launceston, knighted.

16. The right hon. William Pitt, James marquis of Graham, the hon. Edward James Elliot, sir John Aubrey, bart. and Richard earl of Mornington, to be commissioners of the treasury.

Grey Elliot, esq. to be an additional clerk of the privy council, for the particular service of the committee of privy council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

23. Joseph Smith, esq. to be comptroller of the mint.

*Oct.* 4. William Fawkener, esq. to be envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to Portugal, for negotiating commercial arrangements, in conjunction with the hon. Robert Walpole.

6. James Sanderson, esq. alderman of London, knighted.

William Watson, of London, M. D. knighted.

17. John Palmer, esq. to be surveyor and comptroller general of the post-office.

28. Right hon. sir John Parnell, bart. chancellor of the exchequer, in Ireland, to be a privy counsellor in Great Britain.

*Nov.* 1. Dr. Robert Halifax, to be physician in ordinary to the prince of Wales.

Dr. Gilbert Blane, to be physician of the household to his royal highness.

Dr. David Pitcairne to be one of his physicians extraordinary.

15. John Wilson, esq. one of the justices of the common pleas, knighted.

21. Sir Alexander Monro, knight, and Richard Frewin, esq. to be commissioners of the customs.

29. Earl of Ailesbury to be knight of the Thistle.

*Dec.* 7. Mr. Richard Davis, to be topographer in ordinary to his majesty.

5. Charles



5. Charles Bonner, esq. to be resident surveyor, and deputy to the surveyor and comptroller general of the post office.

Sir Clifton Wintringham, bart. to be physician general to his majesty's forces.

16. Sir Richard Jebb, bart. to be physician in ordinary to his majesty.

20. Lieut. gen. William Fawcett, and Robert viscount Galway, to be knights of the Bath.

22. Richard Arkwright, esq. of Wirksworth, in Derbyshire, to the honour of knighthood.

Thomas Boothby Parkyns, esq. to be groom of the bed chamber to the duke of Cumberland.

23. Peter Francklyn, esq. to be collector of the port of Kingston in Jamaica.

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*SHERIFFS appointed for the Year 1786.*

Bedfordshire—Matthew Rugely, of Potton.

Berkshire—William Poyntz, of Midgham.

Bucks—Thomas Wilkinson, of Westhorpe.

Cambridge and Huntingdon—John Drage, of Soham.

Cheshire—Hon. Cornwall Legh, of High Legh.

Cornwall—Michael Nowell, of Falmouth.

Cumberland—William Wilson, of Brackenbar.

Derbyshire—Robert Dale, of Ashborne.

Devonshire—Alexander Hamilton, of Topsham.

Dorsetshire—Henry William Portman, of Bryantstone.

Essex.—John Jolliffe Tuffnall, of Great Waltham.

Gloucestershire—Charles Cox, of Bath.

Hants—Thomas Clarke Jervoise, of Belmont.

Herefordshire—Sir Edward Boughton, of Vowchurch, bart.

Hertfordshire—Jeremiah Mills, of Pishiobury.

Kent—Thomas Hallet Hodges, of Hemsted.

Leicestershire—William Herrick, of Beaumanoir.

Lincolnshire—Daniel Douglas, of Fokingham.

Monmouthshire—Robert Salusbury, of Lanwern.

Norfolk—Francis Long, of Spixworth.

Northamptonshire—Isaac Pocock, of Biggin.

Northumberland—James Allgood, of Nunwick.

Nottinghamshire—Anthony Hartshorne, of Hayton.

Oxfordshire—Joseph Grote, of Badgmore.

Rutlandshire—Thomas Baines, of Uppingham.

Shropshire—Sir Rober Leighton, of Loton, bart.

Somersetshire—James Stephen, of Camerton.

Staffordshire—Thomas Parker, of Park-hall.

Suffolk—James Sewell, of Stratton.

Surry—Theodore Henry Broadhead, of Carshalton.

Sussex—Francis Sergison, of Cuckfield.

Warwickshire—John Taylor, of Bordersley.

Wiltshire—Seymour Wroughton, of Eastcott.

Worcestershire—George Perrott, of Pershore.

Yorkshire—Richard Langley, of Wikeham Abbey.



## SOUTH WALES.

Brecon—Edward Watkin, of Llandilovane.  
Cardiganshire—Edward Pryse Lloyd, of Llanarth.  
Carmarthenshire—John Lewis, of Llwynyfortune.  
Glamorganshire—Thomas Draffe Tyrwhit, St. Donatt's Castle.  
Pembrokeshire—William Knox, of Slebetch.  
Radnorshire—Bridgwater Meredith, of Cliraw.

## NORTH WALES.

Anglesea—William Pritchard, of Fretscawen.  
Carnarvonshire—John Griffith, of Tryfan.  
Denbighshire—Philip Yorke, of Erthig.  
Flintshire—John Edwards, of Kellerton.  
Merionethshire—Griffith Price, of Briach y ceunant.  
Montgomeryshire—Richard Roche, of Tresnauney.



## P U B L I C P A P E R S.

*An Act for establishing Religious Freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia, in the Beginning of the Year 1786.*

**W**ELL aware, that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and manners, and are a departure from that plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being lord of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either—that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical (who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinion and modes of thinking as alone true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others), hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that, to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing a man to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness; and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards, which, proceeding from an

approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitted labours for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than on our opinions in physic or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments those who will externally conform to it; that though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptations, yet neither are those innocent who lay them in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain that profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of



of others, only as they shall agree with, or differ from his own.

That it is time enough, for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interpose when principles break out in overt acts against peace and good order: and finally, that truth is great, and will prevail if left to herself; is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error; and can have nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons (free argument and debate); error ceasing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

Be it therefore enacted, by the General Assembly, that no man shall be compelled to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be forced, restrained, molested or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief. But that all men be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion: and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are natural rights of mankind; and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such an act will be an infringement of natural rights.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday, Jan. 24, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
SINCE I last met you in parliament, the disputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable conclusion; and I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country

At home, my subjects experience the growing blessings of peace in the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increase of the public credit of the nation.

For the farther advancement of those important objects, I rely on the continuance of that zeal and industry, which you manifested in the last session of Parliament.

The resolutions which you laid before me, as the basis of an adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, have been by my directions communicated to the parliament of that kingdom; but no effectual step has hitherto been taken thereupon, which can enable you to make any farther progress in that salutary work.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the present year to be laid before you: it is my earnest wish to enforce œconomy in every department; and you will, I am persuaded, be equally ready to make such provision as may be necessary for the public service, and particularly for maintaining our naval strength on the most secure and respectable footing.—Above all, let me recommend to you the establish-  
ment



ment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. The flourishing state of the revenue will, I trust, enable you to effect this important measure with little addition to the public burdens.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The vigour and resources of the country, so fully manifested in its present situation, will encourage you in continuing to give your utmost attention to every object of national concern; particularly to the consideration of such measures as may be necessary in order to give farther security to the revenue, and to promote and extend as far as possible the trade and general industry of my subjects.

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*The Speech of the Right Honourable Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker of the House of Commons, on Friday, May 26, 1786, upon presenting to his Majesty the Bill for vesting certain Sums in Commissioners, at the end of every Quarter of a Year, to be by them applied to the Reduction of the National Debt, which then received the Royal Assent.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR faithful commons have passed a bill, intituled, "An act for vesting certain sums in commissioners, at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the reduction of the national debt;" by which they have manifested their attention to your majesty's recommendation, at the opening of this session, for establishing a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt.

By the unanimity which attended the last and most important stage of this bill, they have given the most decisive proof, that they have

1786.

but one heart and one voice, in the maintenance of the public credit, and prosperity of their country.

The public credit of the nation, which is the result of just and honourable dealing, is now guarded by an additional security—and the future prosperity of this country will effectually be provided for, when it is considered, that for the purpose of pleading the cause of the continuance of this measure most powerfully with posterity, your faithful commons have, to the justice and good policy of it, added the authority of their own example:

*Qui facit, ille jubet.*

They have not been discouraged by the burthens imposed during the last ten years from submitting in the present time, and in the hour of peace, to new, and the possibility of other burthens; their object being to attain a situation for their country more favourable to her defence and glory in the event of future emergencies.

A plan so honourable in its principle, and so conducive to the future happiness and safety of the kingdom, must be, in the highest degree, acceptable to the father of his people.

Under that confidence, in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, I render this bill to your majesty; to which, with all humility, your faithful commons desire your majesty's royal assent.

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*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday, July 11, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot close this session of parliament without expressing the particular satisfaction with which I have observed your diligent atten-

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tion to the public business, and the measures you have adopted for improving the resources of the country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the current year, and for the provision you have made for discharging the incumbrances on the revenue applicable to the uses of my civil government. The most salutary effects are to be expected from the plan adopted for the reduction of the national debt; an object which I consider as inseparably connected with the essential interests of the public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The assurances which I continue to receive from abroad promise the continuance of general tranquillity.

The happy effects of peace have already appeared in the extension of the national commerce; and no measures shall be wanting, on my part, which can tend to confirm these advantages, and to give additional encouragement to the manufactures and industry of my people.

*The Speech of his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday, January 19, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction, that in obedience to his majesty's commands, I meet you again in parliament. You will, I am persuaded, give your utmost attention to the various objects of public concern, which require your consideration. Your natural solicitude for the welfare of Ireland, and a full

sense of her real interests, will direct all your deliberations, and point out to you the line of conduct which may be most conducive to the public advantage; and to that lasting connection between the sister kingdoms, so essential to the prosperity of both.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the public accounts, and other necessary papers, to be laid before you. The principle which you so wisely established of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, will, I hope, appear already to have proved successful; and I entertain no doubt, that your wisdom will persevere in measures, which, in their operation, promise such beneficial effects. His majesty relies with confidence upon your grant of such supplies as are necessary for the public service, and for the honourable support of his government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

A systematic improvement of the police, and a vigorous execution of the laws, are essential not only to the due collection of the public revenue, but to the security of private property, and indeed to the protection of society. The frequent outrages which have been committed in some parts of the kingdom, will particularly call your attention to this important object.

It is unnecessary for me to recommend the protestant charter-schools to your protection, or to enumerate the happy effects which may be derived from your continued attention to the linen and other manufactures, to the agriculture, and to the fisheries of the kingdom, and to such measures as may animate the industry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.



It will ever be my ambition to promote the real interests of Ireland, and to contribute by all the means in my power towards establishing its future prosperity on the surest and most lasting foundation.

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*The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, to his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant, on Tuesday the 21st of March, upon the presenting the Money Bills at the Bar of the House of Lords.*

May it please your Grace,

THE expences of this kingdom had for a series of years, as well in time of peace as war, constantly exceeded its revenue, and debt increased on debt.

Where such a system is suffered to prevail, manufactures must at length give way, trade will decline, and agriculture cease to produce wealth or plenty. The Commons, therefore, in the last session, wisely determined to put a stop to so ruinous a system, and with a spirited attention to the true interest of their country, and the honourable support of his majesty's government, they voted new taxes to increase the revenue of the year, in the sum of 140,000l.

The effort was great, and the event has proved its wisdom. No further addition is now wanting—no loan or act of credit is necessary—a situation unknown to this kingdom for many sessions past, and marking with peculiar force the happy æra of your Grace's administration.

Animated by this success, and determined to persevere in the principle of preventing the accumulation of debt, his majesty's faithful

commons have, in this session, continued the same taxes, and granted all the supplies that were desired, to the full amount of every estimated expence; nor have they omitted at the same time to provide for the speedy reduction of the national debt by a considerable sinking fund, and to continue to, the agriculture, the fisheries, and the rising manufactures of the kingdom, the bounties necessary for their support.

Great as these taxes are, they are liberally and cheerfully given, in the most firm and full confidence, that from your Grace's experienced wisdom and affection for this kingdom, they will be found effectually to answer the end proposed, of supplying the whole of the public expence, and preventing any further accumulation of debt.

The Bills which I have the honour to present to your Grace, for the royal assent, are, &c. &c. &c.

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*The Speech of his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on Monday May 8, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have seen, with great satisfaction, the constant attention and uncommon dispatch with which you have gone through the public business. I am thereby enabled now to relieve you from further attendance in Parliament. The harmony of your deliberations has given no less efficacy than dignity to your proceedings; and I am confident that you will carry with you the same disposition for promoting the public welfare to your residence, in the country, where your presence will encourage the industry of the people, and where your example



and your influence will be happily exerted in establishing general good order and obedience to the laws. Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you in his majesty's name for the liberal supplies which you have given for the public service, and for the honourable support of his majesty's government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted. My reliance upon your decided support to the execution of the laws for the just collection of the public revenue, affords me the best founded hope, that the produce of the duties will not fall short of their estimated amount.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The determined spirit with which you have marked your abhorrence of all lawless disorder and tumult, hath, I doubt not, already made an useful impression; and the salutary laws enacted in this session, and particularly the introduction of a system of police, are honourable proofs of your wisdom, your moderation, and your prudence.

His majesty beholds, with the highest satisfaction, the zeal and loyalty of his people of Ireland; and I have his majesty's express commands to assure you of the most cordial returns of his royal favour and paternal affection.

I have the deepest sense of every obligation to confirm my attachment to this kingdom; and it will be the constant object of my administration, and the warmest impulse of my heart, to forward the success of her interests, and to promote the prosperity of the empire.

*United Provinces, to the Emperor of Germany, on being admitted to their Audience of leave, on Wednesday, February 15, 1786.*

Sire,

THE mission which we had the honour of performing at your imperial court, being now completely fulfilled by the so much wished-for restoration of peace and union between your imperial majesty and the republic, their high mightinesses have thought proper to recall us.

This blessed event has given new vigour to those sentiments of veneration which their high mightinesses entertain for your imperial majesty, and which we had it in command to express.

Those sentiments, from which they never varied, will now become indissoluble by the new ties which the republic is happy to have entered into with your imperial majesty; we think ourselves equally happy that it is in our power to present you the first homage of those sentiments, which are further confirmed in the letter we have the honour to deliver from their high mightinesses.

All that remains for us to do, is to offer to your majesty the humblest acknowledgments for the kind reception we have been honoured with, as also the assurances of those respectful wishes, and of that lively sensibility which must impress every one who has the happiness of approaching your majesty.

May the glorious reign of your imperial majesty, destined to complete the felicity of your subjects, daily administer to fame, the best means to extend, and perpetuate your great and awful name! May the æra of Joseph II, like that of Titus, Trajanus, and M. Aurelius, your predecessors in the Roman empire,

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*The Speech of the Ambassador Extraordinary from their High Mightinesses, the States General of the*



pire, be for ever recorded as that of humanity, peace, and the happiness of mankind.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

You may assure their high mightinesses that I am equally pleased the disputes that had arisen are finally settled, as this cannot but redound to the mutual advantage of both nations; the more so, that all obstacles being levelled, the old friendship which always subsisted between them cannot again be interrupted. As to you, gentlemen, I am glad to have been acquainted with you, and such a mission must have been very pleasing to you, since it has been the ground-work, as well as the means of effecting the restoration, of tranquillity.

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*The Petition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, concerning the Punishment of Felons, presented to his Majesty, on Wednesday, March 22, 1786.*

*To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,*

The humble Petition of the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London,

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners, the Magistrates for the city of London, have had an opportunity of observing, with the most heart-felt concern, the rapid and alarming increase of crimes and depredations in this city and its neighbourhood, especially within the last three years.

The fact of such increase is too publicly known, and too severely felt by your majesty's subjects, to be doubted; and if any direct proof of it were wanting, it will most evidently appear from the

number of days employed in the trial of felons at the Old Bailey, which, upon an average of the last three years, have been upwards of Fifty-five in the year; whereas the highest average of any Three years prior to the year 1776, was less than Forty-six, and the general average of twenty years prior to that period, less than Thirty-four days in the year.

That the increase of the crime of burglary is become most alarming to your majesty's subjects, which increase your petitioners are inclined to ascribe to the great number of experienced and well practised thieves now in the kingdom, who commit this atrocious crime with such art, that scarce any precautions are sufficient to guard against it. And the same experience that enables these offenders to perpetrate this offence with ease, has probably convinced them that it is attended with less personal danger and hazard of detection than most other offences.

That in the years from January 1766 to December 1775, both inclusive, (which time immediately preceded the stop that was put to transportation) above Three thousand one hundred persons were transported from London and Middlesex alone; and having reason to believe that all the rest of the kingdom have furnished an equal number, the whole amount of the transports in these ten years has been above Six thousand. That the number of prisoners tried and convicted of felony in the ten succeeding years, from the beginning of 1776 to 1786, having greatly increased, there is every reason to believe, that, if the executive justice had remained the same, the transports in those years would have much exceeded the number of the ten



preceding; but the regular course of transportation having been interrupted during that period, and few opportunities found by government of sending convicts abroad, and those only in small numbers, your petitioners humbly submit to your majesty, that it necessarily follows, that after making an allowance for the small number sent abroad, and for the convicts who may have died during that period, there must now remain within the kingdom, either at large, or in the different prisons, at least Four thousand persons, who, in the judgment of the law, were proper to have been sent out of it.

That your petitioners humbly conceive that this dreadful accumulation is alone sufficient to account for all the evils that are so heavily felt and so justly complained of, both as to the over-crowded state of the gaols and the increase of crimes and of offenders.

To what extent the mischiefs that are so severely felt already, and the fatal consequences so justly apprehended, may be carried by a longer continuance of so rapid and alarming an accumulation of convicts within the kingdom, no human wisdom can foresee.

When facts so important as these, and which so materially affect the peace and security of your majesty's subjects in general, and especially of this great city, have come within the knowledge of your petitioners, they would ill discharge their duty to your majesty, or the public, if they neglected most humbly to lay them at the foot of the throne, earnestly beseeching your majesty to direct such measures to be taken, as to your royal wisdom shall seem best, for providing a speedy and due execution of the law, both as to capital punishment and transpor-

tation, without which all other regulations must prove nugatory and abortive, and the mischiefs complained of must daily and rapidly increase.

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*Resolutions respecting a County Police, by the General Quarter Sessions of the West Riding in Yorkshire, held at Pontefract, on the 24th of April, 1786, before the Earl of Effingham, Chairman, and thirteen other Justices of the Peace.*

WHEREAS idle, disorderly, and dangerous persons, of all descriptions, are constantly wandering about, and the commission of crimes and offences hath increased to an alarming degree;

It is Resolved,

1st. That it be earnestly recommended to the principal inhabitants of all places, to agree in uniting together, under certain rules and regulations, for the better purpose of detecting felons, cheats, vagrants, night-walkers, night-poachers, and pawn-brokers, who are often guilty of male-practices, and particularly in receiving stolen goods, knowing them to be such—sellers by false weights and measures, persons adulterating or improperly mixing meal, flour, &c. and, in short, all those who are in any way guilty of a breach of the law.

2d. That some regulations ought to be made in the appointment of proper constables, and that they be required to exert themselves in bringing to justice offenders as aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. And that they be also required to be particularly vigilant in the time of horse-races, fairs, feasts, markets, or other public meetings; evil-disposed persons of different kinds being



being known to resort thither, for the more convenient purpose of carrying on their unlawful designs.

3d. That it would be of great public benefit, if all justices of the peace would please to hold a special sessions in their several districts, once a fortnight (as it is already done in several parts of this Riding) or even oftener (at least for some time) if they find occasion for so doing.

4th. That privy searches should be made in every district, as near the same hour as may be, a day or two previous to such sessions, where offenders (vagrants chiefly so) may be brought to speedy justice; by being immediately corrected, or otherwise dealt with according to law.

5th. That were this mode of proceeding to be carried into full effect, offenders would find it difficult to escape from justice, the public peace would be greatly restored, the office of a magistrate would become less irksome, large sums of money would be saved which are now lavished away in apprehending, keeping in prison, conveying vagrants, and others; parishes would be eased of the trouble and expence in relieving persons who travel with passes, and whose whole lives are often spent in perpetual vagrancy; and a final stop might, in a great degree, be put to those numerous beggars who actually extort money by imposing, under various pretences, upon the ignorance or credulity of others.

6th. That the great number of public houses, and especially those which are kept by improper persons, or in improper situations, are productive of various mischiefs, and therefore, until such time as a re-

duction of them can be effected, (which is much to be desired) it is a matter of great moment that the occupiers of such houses offending against the law, should have their licences withheld, their recognizances estreated, or be otherwise punished, according to the nature of the offence.

7th. To prevent the increase of these houses, the clergy, parish-officers, and others, are requested not to grant any certificates, to enable persons to obtain licences, unless they have full satisfaction of the truth to which they subscribe, and that such house is really wanted for the public convenience: and further, that such certificates should be communicated to the justices of the division four weeks previous to their holding their Brewster sessions.

8th. That houses of evil fame, common brothels, houses for harbouring of vagrants, and such like, are in many places become a notorious grievance; and that it is the interest, as well as the duty of every man, to exert himself in suppressing them.

9th. That as many persons are discouraged from apprehending and prosecuting offenders, by an idea of the great expence thereof, it is proper to declare, that all judges and justices of the peace are empowered by law to grant an adequate allowance to prosecutors and witnesses; justices of the peace also, out of sessions, are ready to make every liberal gratification to those who pursue, apprehend, or convey offenders to prisons: and in many places there are subscriptions or monies collected by way of assessment, for the above purposes.

10th. That in those places where Sunday-schools have been opened, their good effects are plainly perceived



ceived in the orderly and decent comportment of the youth who are instructed therein: it is therefore most earnestly to be wished, that those virtuous citizens who have begun this good work, would continue their best endeavours to forward it with that zeal and perseverance which its great importance requires. And if these institutions should become established throughout the kingdom, there is good reason to hope, that they will produce an happy change in the general morals of the people, and thereby render the execution of criminal justice less frequently necessary.

It is Ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to the rev. Henry Zouch for his communication of the above propositions; and he is requested to publish the observations on which they were founded.

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*The Petition of the Inhabitants of the County of Middlesex, and the Cities of London and Westminster, presented to the House of Lords, in June, 1786, against a Bill for regulating Lotteries, which had passed the House of Commons, but which, in the Sequel, was rejected by the Lords.*

*To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

THE humble petition sheweth, that your lordships petitioners are greatly alarmed at the increase of statutes which abolish the inquests by grand jury, and trial by peers, and which invest justices of the peace with the powers of these great protectors of the liberties and properties of Englishmen.

“That your lordship’s petitioners

have read with astonishment a bill, brought into the house of commons by William Mainwaring, esq. entitled, “A bill for amending and more effectually carrying into execution an act, made in the 22d year of the reign of his present majesty, entitled, “An act for licensing lottery-office keepers, and regulating the sale of lottery tickets.”

That the said bill, if carried into a law, will operate as a severe grievance upon every description of his majesty’s subjects.

That said bill invests justices of the peace with greater powers, than were ever invested in any of his majesty’s courts of record, or exercised or assumed by the court of star chamber.

That said bill invests justices to grant general warrants against persons named or described, to search their persons, their houses, or any other place, whether by day or night, an oath being made before them, that such persons are suspected to have in their houses, or any other place, or concealed about their persons, any lottery register or books, whether such persons be male or female.

That said bill takes away every protection of habitation, and leaves your petitioners, their wives, and daughters, liable to the most indecent violation of person, and their property to the mercy of every abandoned wretch who disregards the crime of perjury.

That said bill takes away the writ of certiorari; and though it gives the subjects a right to appeal, to the quarter sessions, yet renders that appeal nugatory, as it impowers the justice to destroy all writings produced in evidence before him, and of course deprives the party



party charged of the only means of defence which can acquit him upon his appeal.

That said bill obliges persons accused to answer to interrogatories by bill, and criminate themselves.

The said bill empowers justices to grant warrants to apprehend persons who neglect attending as witnesses, though such persons may never have received any summons, and may at the time such summons is left at their house or lodging, be absent in a distant part of the country.

For these reasons, and because your lordship's petitioners understand that said bill passed through the honourable the house of commons in great hurry, and at times when very few members were present, your lordship's petitioners humbly hope your lordships will take this petition into consideration, and not pass this bill into a law.

And your lordship's petitioners shall ever pray.

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*The Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of London, presented to his Majesty on Friday, August 11, 1786, on the Occasion of his happy Escape from Assassination.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, humbly approach the throne with our most sincere congratulations on the providential deliverance manifested in the failure of that outrageous attempt which so lately endangered your majesty's royal person.

Impelled at once by duty and inclination, your majesty's faithful citizens of London are happy in tendering an unfeigned assurance of their affection and zeal for your majesty's person and government.

Deeply sensible of the value and importance of your majesty's life to the prosperity of your kingdoms, and of the unspeakable affliction which your people would have sustained by its mournful termination, the late horrid occurrence (which threatened that national calamity) could not fail to excite in their minds a proportionate alarm; but more particularly painful and severe were their sensations, on reflecting that your majesty's gracious attention to the petitions of your subjects had proved the lamentable cause of exposing your sacred person to danger.

Permit us, royal sir, to add our most fervent prayers, that your reign may continue long and prosperous over free, happy, and united subjects; and that your descendants may transmit the blessings the nation now enjoys to the latest posterity.

Signed, by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX.

ANSWER.

I receive, with the greatest pleasure, the very affectionate expressions of your duty and attachment to me, and thank you for your congratulations upon the providential deliverance from the attack which has been lately made upon my person: those professions cannot but be acceptable to me from my loyal city of London, to whom I am always disposed to shew every mark of attention and regard.

*The*



*The Address of the Bishop of London,  
Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's,  
and Clergy of the Cities of London  
and Westminster.*

To the KING's most Excellent  
Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the bishop of London, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and the clergy of the cities of London and Westminster, impressed with a deep sense of the many and invaluable blessings which we enjoy under your majesty's mild and auspicious government, the great advantage which religion has ever received from your countenance and protection, and the constant support which morality has derived from your example, cannot but feel ourselves particularly interested in the safety of your majesty's life; and we beg leave to present to your majesty our most sincere congratulations on its late providential preservation.

We have returned our thanks to God for this instance of his goodness to your majesty; and we shall not fail continually to pray to God, that that life which he has thus signally protected, may long be continued to your majesty in uninterrupted health and prosperity.

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*The Address of the Bishop and Clergy  
of the Diocese of Chester.*

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the bishop, the dean and chapter, and the clergy of the diocese of Chester, beg permission to offer to your majesty our sincerest congratulations on the late providential deliverance of your royal person from the hand of an assassin.

It would be unbecoming in any order of men, it would be peculiarly offensive in ours, to approach your Majesty on this occasion with the language of adulation; but they who are in the smallest degree acquainted with the uniformly moral and religious tenor of your majesty's private life, and who reflect as they ought, on the many invaluable blessings this nation experiences under your majesty's mild and paternal government, will not, we are confident, charge us with transgressing the strictest bounds of truth, when we say, that the loss of such an example, and such a sovereign, would have been one of the severest calamities with which heaven could have afflicted this land: whatever difference of sentiments there may be on other points, on this we believe there is but one opinion.

It affords us some consolation to know that the sole contriver of this frantic design was nothing more than a wretched maniac; a circumstance, however, from which we may draw this awful lesson, that not only the felicity, but the very existence of the greatest potentates, and the most flourishing empires, may be endangered by the feeblest agents, and that in God alone is their security and refuge.

The recent proof he has been pleased to give us of this great truth demands the warmest and devoutest expressions of our thankfulness. And alarmed as all our fears have just been, by feeling ourselves on the very brink of destruction, we implore with redoubled ardour the almighty Ruler of the universe, that he would still continue the same watchful care over your majesty's person, which he has already manifested in so signal an instance; and that he would grant your majesty and your royal family, a long enjoyment



enjoyment of that peace, prosperity, and general satisfaction, which his blessing on your majesty's councils has visibly diffused through every part of your dominions.

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*The Address of the Bishop and Clergy  
of the Diocese of Landaff.*

*To the KING's most Excellent  
Majesty.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, the bishop, the archdeacon and chapter, and the clergy of the diocese of Landaff, your majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, humbly intreat your majesty graciously to accept our faithful congratulations on the protection which the good providence of God has lately vouchsafed to your majesty from the attack of an insane assassin.

The mildness of your majesty's government, united with the exemplary probity and condescension of your private life, can have left your majesty no deliberate enemies, no apprehension of danger from the malice of any of your subjects. In the late calamitous event your majesty will feel a comfort, which is fully felt by all your people, from knowing that the hand of violence was not aimed against your majesty's life by the spirit of public faction or private discontent.

The worst of kings, in every age and country, have been encouraged by the adulatory addresses of flagitious men to persevere in the modes of government destructive to the freedom and felicity of mankind; sincerity and truth have been in this way, so often sacrificed on the altar of private interest, as almost to render suspicious the professions of honest men on the fairest occasions; yet, on this occasion, we fear not the being accused of flat-

tery or insincerity, when we avow, in the face of the world, that we believe there is not a single person in your majesty's dominions who will not join with us in thanking God for this instance of his goodness towards you, and in praying that he will long continue to us the happiness, and the liberty, civil and religious, which we enjoy under your majesty's government.

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*The Address of the Bishop and Clergy  
of the Diocese of St. Asaph.*

*To the KING's most Excellent  
Majesty.*

WE, the bishop, dean and chapter, and clergy of the diocese of St. Asaph, ask leave, with unfeigned and loyal humility, to congratulate your majesty on your late deliverance from the knife of the assassin. When such dangers are sometimes permitted to threaten the greatest of the sons of men, we are authorized by scripture to regard them as the awful admonitions of Providence to consider the importance of their duty, and the uncertainty of the time allotted to fulfil it. May your majesty's mind be always duly impressed with a religious sense of those virtues and public services which the highest of all human stations requires at your hands. May you always possess those powers of mind, and that enlarged and active benevolence, which are requisite to preside with wisdom over a people that was once virtuous, and that is still generous, brave, and enlightened. In offering up these prayers we depart not from our character as blameless ministers of the gospel, and we wish to enrich your majesty with greater blessings than is in the power of flattery to invent; we wish you the glory,



glory, the virtue, and the heavenly prerogative of making a great people happy under a mild, uncorrupt, and able government; and we include in our wishes the lasting security and splendor of your royal house; that warm attachment and fidelity in your subjects which only the sense of their own happiness can inspire. And may that happiness every day increase, by a general imitation of those amiable domestic virtues of which your majesty and your royal consort have given the world so fair an example.

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*The Address of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in and about the Cities of London and Westminster.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the protestant dissenting ministers in and about the cities of London and Westminster, beg leave to approach your royal person with our warmest congratulations on the late signal interposition of divine providence in favour of your majesty's invaluable life: an event which has afforded joy to all your majesty's faithful subjects, and to none more than the protestant dissenters, who look up with affectionate reverence to the distinguished virtues of their sovereign, and who feel themselves happy in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, which have received so memorable a confirmation and enlargement since your majesty's accession to the throne of these kingdoms.

To that Great Being, whose arm so graciously shielded your majesty's person in the moment of danger, we have offered our most grateful acknowledgments; fervently praying, that the like sense of

the divine interference which your majesty devoutly feels, might be deeply impressed on the hearts of all your subjects.

Permit us, Sir, to add, that our joy on this occasion is greatly heightened, by reflecting that the horrid stroke your majesty so happily escaped was guided not by the hand of premeditated malice, but of compassionate insanity: the repose which this consideration justly creates in your majesty's breast and that of your royal consort, cannot fail of affording the highest satisfaction to your people, whose happiness is intimately connected with that of their sovereign.

With great pleasure we embrace this opportunity of assuring your majesty of our affectionate and inviolable attachment to your person and government; nor will we cease Sir, to offer our most ardent prayer to Almighty God, that your life may be protracted, under the smiles of Providence, to the most distant period; and that the crown your majesty received from your illustrious ancestors, may descend, adorned with all their and your princely virtues, to your latest posterity.

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*The Address of the Catholics of Ireland.*

May it please your majesty,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the catholics of Ireland, humbly beg leave to approach the throne with our most sincere congratulations on your majesty's happy and providential escape from the late horrid attack on your sacred person.

It gives us the most poignant and heartfelt pain, that an attempt so base and degenerate could be made against the life of the most tender father



father of his people; and we are consoled only in believing that it proceeded from insanity of mind rather than depravity of heart.

Truly grateful for the essential benefits we have received during your majesty's auspicious reign, we must feel ourselves particularly interested in every circumstance that regards the welfare of the best of sovereigns; and permit us to assure your majesty of our utmost abhorrence and detestation of every attempt to disturb your private peace, or the public tranquillity of your dominions.

We supplicate the Supreme Being to grant to your majesty a long and happy reign; and to continue the crown of these realms to your illustrious house unto its latest posterity.

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*The Address of the Superiors of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Province of Munster.*

May it please your majesty,

WE, your majesty's most faithful subjects, the superiors of the Roman Catholic Clergy in the province of Munster, having offered up our fervent thanks to the Almighty God for your majesty's happy escape from the horrid attempt made on your majesty's most sacred person, presume, in all humility, to present, at the foot of your royal throne, in the name of the Roman Catholic Clergy of this province, our most dutiful and loyal congratulations on such a signal interposition of divine providence.

Whilst in this expression of our duty to your majesty, we join in the universal exultation of all ranks of our fellow-subjects for the preservation of a well-beloved sovereign, we, your majesty's Roman Catho-

lic subjects, feel an additional joy from the grateful remembrance we constantly have, that whatever happy change has been made in our situation in this kingdom is chiefly owing to your majesty's paternal attention to us.

Our joy, may it please your majesty, would have been as complete on the present occasion as any human event could make it, but for the allay it receives in the affliction brought upon us by the tumultuous meetings of some of the lowest class in this province. Yet, at the same time that we bemoan the unwarrantable excesses of a misguided rabble, it is no small comfort to us to think, that we have not been wanting in what depended on us to prevent and to remedy these evils. Our constant endeavours to promote religion, peace, and good order have not been altogether fruitless; whatever be the guilt of the deluded people who now disturb the public tranquillity, we have the heartfelt satisfaction of being convinced that not a shadow of disaffection to your majesty's person or government is imputable to them.

We hope that the prudent measures, the firm yet merciful exertions adopted by those entrusted here with your majesty's authority, will be efficient to put a stop to the licentious misdeeds of an unruly multitude, and to provide effectually against a repetition of them.

We, on our parts, shall continue to employ our most zealous efforts to impress those under our influence with a sense of conscientious subordination to the laws, and to exhort them ever to follow that peaceful, industrious, upright line of conduct, which alone can become them, and which the religion they profess, as well as their gratitude, dictate to be due to the justice



nice and mildness of your majesty's government.

May the Almighty God, by whom kings reign, long preserve your majesty, amidst the enjoyment of every desirable blessing, to be an example, from your royal virtues, to the rulers of the earth, and to be, from the unrivalled success of your government, the comfort and the happiness of your people.

We are, may it please your majesty, with the most inviolable attachment and submissive gratitude, your majesty's most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient subjects, the Superiors of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the province of Munster.

*The Address of the President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians in London.*

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, the president and fellows of the Royal College of Physicians in London, beg leave to approach your majesty, with all humility, to express our duty and unfeigned joy for your majesty's happy deliverance from the danger of a most desperate attempt on your sacred person; an attempt, which only insanity of mind could have suggested, and which only the divine interposition could have frustrated.

Glory, Sir, results from danger. It is in situations of surprize and alarm, that the genuine and noble qualities of exalted minds are eminently displayed and distinguished. The collected firmness and composure with which your majesty met the horrid attack, and the tenderness and compassion exerted in the same critical moment for the wretch-

ed assailant, are recent proofs of that magnanimity and benevolence, which have ever characterised your majesty, and endeared you to the hearts of a brave and generous people.

Whilst all ranks and orders of men are zealously professing these sentiments, it may not misbecome us, Sir, to bear testimony to your more private and personal excellencies. Courts and palaces have rarely been the scenes of abstemiousness and temperance. That your majesty, amidst all the incitements to gratification and indulgence, should steadily persevere in an unexampled forbearance, is at once an upbraiding remonstrance against the unhappily prevailing luxury, and the strongest security for the preservation of your health, for the long continuance of your inestimable life, and consequently of the national happiness.

May the merciful hand of Providence be ever extended over you, for protecting your sacred person from outrage and violence! We rely with perfect confidence on your majesty's habitual and determined virtue, as the surest human means of averting from you the ordinary calamities which are incident to our nature.

*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, signed at London, the 14th of July, 1786.*

THE kings of England and of Spain, animated with the same desire of consolidating, by every means in their power, the friendship so happily subsisting between them and their kingdoms, and wishing, with one accord, to prevent even the shadow of misunderstanding which might be occasioned by doubts,



doubts, misconceptions, or other causes of disputes between the subjects on the frontiers of the two monarchies, especially in distant countries, as are those in America, have thought proper to settle, with all possible good faith, by a new convention, the points which might one day or other be productive of such inconveniencies, as the experience of former times has very often shewn. To this end, the king of Great Britain has named the most noble and most excellent lord Francis, baron Osborne of Kiveton, Marquis of Carmarthen, his Britannic majesty's privy counsellor, and principal secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, &c. &c. &c. and the catholic king has likewise authorized Don Bernardo del Campo, knight of the noble order of Charles the Third, secretary of the same order, secretary of the supreme council of state, and his minister plenipotentiary to the king of Great Britain; who having communicated to each other their respective full powers, prepared in due form, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. His Britannic majesty's subjects, and the other colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England, shall evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, as well as the continent in general, and the islands adjacent, without exception, situated beyond the line herein after described, as what ought to be the frontier of the extent of territory granted by his Catholic majesty to the English, for the uses specified in the third article of the present convention, and in addition to the country already granted to them in virtue of the stipulations agreed upon by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1783.

Art. II. The Catholic king, to prove, on his side, to the king of Great Britain, the sincerity of his sentiments of friendship towards his said majesty, and the British nation, will grant to the English more extensive limits than those specified in the last treaty of peace: and the said limits of the lands added by the present convention shall for the future be understood in the manner following.

The English line, beginning from the sea, shall take the centre of the river Sibun or Jabon, and continue up to the source of the said river; from thence it shall cross in a strait line the intermediate land, till it intersects the river Wallis; and by the centre of the same river, the said line shall descend to the point where it will meet the line already settled and marked out by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1783: which limits, following the continuation of the said line, shall be observed as formerly stipulated by the definitive treaty.

Art. III. Although no other advantages have hitherto been in question, except that of cutting wood for dying, yet his catholic majesty, as a greater proof of his disposition to oblige the king of Great Britain, will grant to the English the liberty of cutting all other wood, without even excepting mahogany, as well as gathering all the fruits, or produce of the earth, purely natural and uncultivated, which may, besides being carried away in their natural state, become an object of utility or of commerce, whether for food or for manufactures: but it is expressly agreed, that this stipulation is never to be used as a pretext for establishing in that country any plantation of sugar, coffee, cacao, or other



other like articles, or any fabric or manufacture, by means of mills or other machines whatsoever (this restriction however does not regard the use of saw mills for cutting or otherwise preparing the wood), since all the lands in question being indisputably acknowledged to belong of right to the crown of Spain; no settlements of that kind, or the population which would follow, could be allowed.

The English shall be permitted to transport and convey all such wood, and other produce of the place, in its natural and uncultivated state, down the rivers to the sea, but without ever going beyond the limits which are prescribed to them by the stipulations above granted, and without thereby taking an opportunity of ascending the said rivers beyond their bounds, into the countries belonging to Spain.

Art. IV. The English shall be permitted to occupy the small island known by the names of Cafina, St. George's Key, or Cayo Cafina, in consideration of the circumstance of that part of the coasts opposite to the said island being looked upon as subject to dangerous disorders; but this permission is only to be made use of for purposes of real utility: and as great abuses, no less contrary to the intentions of the British government than the essential interests of Spain, might arise from this permission, it is here stipulated, as an indispensable condition, that no fortification, or work of defence whatever, shall at any time be erected there, nor any body of troops posted, nor any piece of artillery kept there; and in order to verify with good faith the accomplishment of this condition *sine qua non* (which might be infringed by individuals, without

the knowledge of the British government) a Spanish officer or commissary, accompanied by an English commissary or officer, duly authorized, shall be admitted, twice a year, to examine into the real situation of things.

Art. V. The English nation shall enjoy the liberty of refitting their merchant ships in the southern-triangle included between the Point of Cayo Cafina, and the cluster of small islands which are situated opposite that part of the coast occupied by the cutters, at the distance of eight leagues from the river Wallis, seven from Cayo Cafina, and three from the river Sibun, a place which has always been found well adapted to that purpose. For which end, the edifices and storehouses absolutely necessary for that service shall be allowed to be built; but in this concession is also included the express condition of not erecting fortifications there at any time, or stationing troops, or constructing any military works; and in like manner it shall not be permitted to station any ships of war there, or to construct an arsenal, or other building, the object of which might be the formation of a naval establishment.

Art. VI. It is also stipulated, that the English may freely and peaceably catch fish on the coast of the country assigned to them by the last treaty of peace, as also of that which is added to them by the present convention; but without going beyond their boundaries, and confining themselves within the distance specified in the preceding article.

Art. VII. All the restrictions specified in the last treaty of 1783, for the entire preservation of the right of the Spanish sovereignty over



over the country, in which is granted to the English only the privilege of making use of the wood of the different kinds, the fruits and other produce, in their natural state, are here confirmed; and the same restrictions shall also be observed with respect to the new grant. In consequence, the inhabitants of those countries shall employ themselves simply in the cutting and transporting of the said wood, and in the gathering and transporting of the fruits, without meditating any more extensive settlements, or the formation of any system of government, either military or civil, further than such regulations as their Britannic and catholic majesties may hereafter judge proper to establish, for maintaining peace and good order amongst their respective subjects.

Art. VIII. As it is generally allowed that the woods and forests are preserved, and even multiply, by regular and methodical cuttings, the English shall observe this maxim, as far as possible; but if, notwithstanding all their precautions, it should happen in course of time that they were in want of dying-wood, or mahogany, with which the Spanish possessions might be provided, the Spanish government shall make no difficulty to furnish a supply to the English, at a fair and reasonable price.

Art. IX. Every possible precaution shall be observed to prevent smuggling; and the English shall take care to conform to the regulations which the Spanish government shall think proper to establish amongst their own subjects, in all communications which they may have with the latter; on condition nevertheless that the English shall be left in the peaceable en-

joyment of the several advantages inserted in their favour in the last treaty, or stipulated by the present convention.

Art. X. The Spanish governors shall be ordered to give to the said English dispersed, all possible facilities for their removal to the settlements agreed upon by the present convention, according to the stipulations of the 6th article of the definitive treaty of 1783, with respect to the country allotted for their use by the said article.

Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majesties, in order to remove every kind of doubt with regard to the true construction of the present convention, think it necessary to declare that the conditions of the said convention ought to be observed according to their sincere intention to ensure and improve the harmony and good understanding, which so happily subsist at present between their said majesties.

In this view, his Britannic majesty engages to give the most positive orders for the evacuation of the countries above mentioned, by all his subjects of whatever denomination; but if, contrary to such declaration, there should still remain any persons so daring as to presume, by retiring into the interior country, to endeavour to obstruct the entire evacuation already agreed upon, his Britannic majesty, so far from affording them the least succour, or even protection, will disavow them in the most solemn manner, as he will equally do those who may hereafter attempt to settle upon the territory belonging to the Spanish dominion.

Art. XII. The evacuation agreed upon shall be completely effected within the space of six months,

(F)

after



after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, or sooner, if it can be done.

Art. XIII. It is agreed that the new grants described in the preceding articles, in favour of the English nation, are to take place as soon as the aforesaid evacuation shall be entirely accomplished.

Art. XIV. His Catholic majesty, prompted solely by motives of humanity, promises to the king of England, that he will not exercise any act of severity against the Mosquitos, inhabiting in part the countries which are to be evacuated, by virtue of the present convention, on account of the connections which may have subsisted between the said Indians and the English: and his Britannic majesty, on his part, will strictly prohibit all his subjects from furnishing arms, or warlike stores, to the Indians in general; situated upon the frontiers of the Spanish possessions.

Art. XV. The two courts shall mutually transmit to each other duplicates of the orders, which they are to dispatch to their respective governors and commanders in America, for the accomplishment of the present convention; and a frigate, or proper ship of war, shall be appointed, on each side, to observe in conjunction that all things are performed in the best order possible, and with that cordiality and good faith of which the two sovereigns have been pleased to set the example.

Art. XVI. The present convention shall be ratified by their Britannic and Catholic majesties, and the ratifications exchanged, within the space of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, We, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of their Britannic and Ca-

tholic majesties, in virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

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*Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, signed at Versailles, the 26th of September, 1786.*

HIS Britannic majesty, and his Most Christian majesty, being equally animated with the desire not only of consolidating the good harmony which actually subsists between them, but also of extending the happy effects thereof to their respective subjects, have thought that the most efficacious means for attaining those objects, conformably to the 18th article of the treaty of peace, signed the 6th of September, 1783, would be to adopt a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages, on both sides, to the national productions and industry, and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue, than to that lawful commerce which is alone intitled to protection; for this end, their said majesties have named for their commissioners and plenipotentiaries, to wit, the king of Great Britain, William Eden, esq. privy counsellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the British parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian majesty; and the Most Christian king, the Sieur Joseph Mathias Gerrard de Rayneval, knight,



knight, counsellor of state, knight of the royal order of Charles III. who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles :

Art. I. It is agreed and concluded between the most serene and most potent king of Great-Britain, and the most serene and most potent, the most Christian king, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories, subject to their majesties in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods, in those places, upon the conditions; and in such manner and form as is settled and adjusted, in the following articles :

Art. II. For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of their said majesties, and to the end that this good correspondence may be preserved from all interruption and disturbance, it is concluded and agreed; that if, at any time, there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their majesties, which God forbid! (which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers) the subjects of each of the two parties residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be

allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove, with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals, or to the state. At the same time it is to be understood that this favour is not to be extended to those who shall act contrary to the established laws.

Art. III. It is likewise agreed and concluded, that the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions of their majesties, shall exercise no acts of hostility or violence against each other, either by sea, or by land, or in rivers, streams, ports or havens, under any colour or pretence whatsoever; so that the subjects of either party shall receive no patent, commission, or instruction for arming and acting at sea as privateers, nor letters of reprisal, as they are called, from any princes or states, enemies to the other party; nor by virtue, or under colour of such patents, commissions, or reprisals, shall they disturb, infest, or any way prejudice or damage the aforesaid subjects and inhabitants of the king of Great Britain, or of the most Christian king; neither shall they arm ships in such manner as is above said, or go out to sea therewith. To which end, as often as it is required by either party, strict and express prohibitions shall be renewed and published in all the territories, countries, and dominions of each party wheresoever, that no one shall in any wise use such commissions or letters of reprisal, under the severest punishment that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those to whom they have done any damage; neither shall any letters of reprisal be hereafter granted by either of the said high contracting parties,



to the prejudice or detriment of the subjects of the other, except only in such case wherein justice is denied or delayed; which denial or delay of justice shall not be regarded as verified, unless the petitions of the person, who desires the said letters of reprisal, be communicated to the minister residing there on the part of the prince against whose subjects they are not to be granted, that within the space of four months, or sooner, if it be possible, he may manifest the contrary, or procure the satisfaction which may be justly due.

Art. IV. The subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns shall have liberty, freely and securely, without licence or passport, general or special, by land or by sea or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, islands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports, or territories whatsoever, of either sovereign, situated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to pass through the same, and therein to buy and purchase, as they please, all things necessary for their subsistence and use, and they shall mutually be treated with all kindness and favour. Provided, however, that in all these matters, they behave and conduct themselves conformably to the laws and statutes, and live with each other in a friendly and peaceable manner, and promote reciprocal concord by maintaining a mutual and good understanding.

Art. V. The subjects of each of their said majesties may have leave and licence to come with their ships, as also with the merchandizes and goods on board the same, the trade and importation whereof are not

prohibited by the laws of either kingdom, and to enter into the countries, dominions, cities, ports, places, and rivers of either party, situated in Europe, to resort thereto, and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time; also to hire houses, or to lodge with other persons, and to buy all lawful kinds of merchandizes, where they think fit, either from the first maker or the seller, or in any other manner, whether in the public market for the sale of merchandizes, or in fairs, or wherever such merchandizes are manufactured or sold. They may likewise deposit and keep in their magazines and warehouses the merchandizes brought from other parts, and afterwards expose the same to sale, without being in any wise obliged, unless willingly and of their own accord, to bring the said merchandizes to the marts and fairs. Neither are they to be burthened with any impositions or duties on account of the said freedom of trade, or for any other cause whatsoever, except those which are to be paid for their ships and merchandizes, conformably to the regulations of the present treaty, or those to which the subjects of the two contracting parties shall themselves be liable. And they shall have free leave to remove themselves, as also their wives, children, and servants, together with their merchandizes, property, goods, or effects, whether bought or imported, wherever they shall think fit, out of either kingdom, by land and by sea, on the rivers and fresh waters, after discharging the usual duties; any law, privilege, grant, immunities or customs, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In matters of religion, the subjects of the two crowns shall enjoy perfect liberty. They shall not  
be



be compelled to attend divine service, whether in the churches or elsewhere; but, on the contrary, they shall be permitted, without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their religion privately in their own houses, and in their own way. Liberty shall not be refused to bury the subjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpose; nor shall the funerals or sepulchres of the deceased be in any wise disturbed. The laws and statutes of each kingdom shall remain in full force and vigour, and shall be duly put in execution, whether they relate to commerce and navigation, or to any other right, those cases only excepted, concerning which it is otherwise determined in the articles of this present treaty.

Art. VI. The two high contracting parties have thought proper to settle the duties on certain goods and merchandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein shall be established between the two nations. In consequence of which they have agreed upon the following tariff, viz.

1st, The wines of France, imported directly from France into Great Britain, shall, in no case, pay any higher duties than those which the wines of Portugal now pay.

The wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, shall pay no higher duties than those which they now pay.

2d. The vinegars of France, instead of sixty-seven pounds, five shillings, and three pence, and twelve twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton, which they now pay, shall not for the future pay in Great Britain, any higher duties than thirty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, and ten

pence, and sixteen twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton.

3d. The brandies of France, instead of nine shillings and six pence, and twelve twentieths of a penny sterling, shall, for the future, pay, in Great Britain, only seven shillings sterling per gallon, making four quarts, English measure.

4th, Oil of olives, coming directly from France, shall, for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the same from the most favoured nations.

5th, Beer shall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem.

6th. The duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware and turnery, and also all works, both heavy, and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, shall be classed; and the highest duty shall not exceed ten per cent. ad valorem.

7th. All sorts of cottons manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, and also woollens, whether knit or wove, including hosiery, shall pay, in both countries, an import-duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; all manufactures of cotton or wool, mixed with silk excepted, which shall remain prohibited on both sides.

8th. Cambricks and lawns shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five shillings, or six livres Tournois, per demi piece of seven yards and three quarters, English measure; and linens, made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, shall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay.

And linen made of flax or hemp, manufactured in Ireland or France, shall reciprocally pay no higher duties



ties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

9th. Sadlery shall reciprocally pay an import-duty of fifteen per cent. ad valorem.

10th. Gauzes of all sorts shall reciprocally pay ten per cent. ad valorem.

11th. Millinery made up of muslin, lawn, cambric, or gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the present tariff, shall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem: and if any articles shall be used therein, which are not specified in the tariff, they shall pay no higher duties than those paid for the same articles by the most favoured nations.

12th. Porcelain, earthen-ware, and pottery, shall pay reciprocally twelve per cent. ad valorem.

13th. Plate-glass and glass ware in general shall be admitted, on each side, paying a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem.

His Britannic majesty reserves the right of countervailing, by additional duties on the undermentioned merchandizes, the internal duties actually imposed upon the manufactures, or the import-duties which are charged on the raw materials; namely, on all linens or cottons, stained or printed, on beer, glass ware, plate glass, and iron.

And his most Christian majesty also reserves the right of doing the same, with regard to the following merchandizes; namely, cottons, iron, and beer.

And for the better securing the due collection of the duties payable ad valorem, which are specified in the above tariff, the said contracting parties will concert with each other as well the form of the declarations to be made, as also the proper means of preventing fraud with

respect to the real value of the said goods and merchandizes.

But if it shall hereafter appear, that any mistakes have inadvertently been made in the above tariff, contrary to the principles on which it is founded, the two sovereigns will concert with good faith upon the means of rectifying them.

Art. VII. The duties above specified are not to be altered but by mutual consent; and the merchandizes not above specified shall pay, in the dominions of the two sovereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the said dominions by the most favoured European nations, at the time the present treaty bears date; and the ships belonging to the subjects of the said dominions shall also respectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to those of the most favoured European nations.

And it being the intention of the two high contracting parties, that their respective subjects should be in the dominions of each other upon a footing as advantageous as those of other European nations, they agree, that in case they shall hereafter grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nations, they will reciprocally allow their said subjects to participate therein; without prejudice, however, to the advantages which they reserve, viz. France in favour of Spain, in consequence of the 24th article of the Family Compact, signed the 10th of May, 1761, and England according to what she has practised in conformity to, and in consequence of the convention of 1703, between England and Portugal.

And to the end that every person may know, with certainty, the state of the aforesaid imposts, customs, import and export duties,

whatever



whatever they may be, it is agreed, that tariffs, indicating the imposts, customs, and established duties, shall be affixed in public places, as well in Rouën and the other trading cities of France, as in London and the other trading cities under the dominion of the king of Great Britain, that recourse may be had to them whenever any difference shall arise concerning such imposts, customs, and duties, which shall not be levied otherwise than in conformity to what is clearly expressed in the said tariffs, and according to their natural construction. And if any officer, or other person in his name, shall, under any pretence, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, demand or take of a merchant, or of any other person, any sum of money, or any thing else, on account of duties, impost, search, or compensation, although it be under the name of a free gift, or under any other pretence, more or otherwise than what is above prescribed; in such case, the said officer, or his deputy, if he be accused and convicted of the same before a competent judge, in the place where the crime was committed, shall give full satisfaction to the injured party, and shall likewise suffer the penalty prescribed by the laws.

Art. VIII. No merchandize exported from the countries respectively under the dominion of their majesties, shall hereafter be subject to be inspected or confiscated, under any pretence of fraud or defect in making or working them, or of any other imperfection whatsoever; but absolute freedom shall be allowed to the buyer and seller to bargain and fix the price for the same, as they shall see good; any law, statute, edict, proclamation, privilege, grant, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Art. IX. Whereas several kinds of merchandizes, which are usually contained in casks, chests, or other cases, and for which the duties are paid by weight, will be exported from and imported into France by British subjects; it is agreed, that in such case, the aforesaid duties shall be demanded only according to the real weight of the merchandizes; and the weight of the casks, chests, and other cases whatever, shall be deducted, in the same manner as has been, and is now practised in England.

Art. X. It is further agreed, that if any mistake or error shall be committed by any master of a ship, his interpreter or factor, or by any other employed by him, in making the entry or declaration of her cargo, neither the ship nor the cargo shall be subject for such defect, to confiscation; but it shall be lawful for proprietors to take back again such goods as were omitted in the entry or declaration of the master of the ship, paying only the accustomed duties according to the placart, provided always that there be no manifest appearance of fraud. Neither shall the merchants or the masters of ships, or the merchandize, be subject to any penalty, by reason of such omission, in case the goods omitted in the declaration shall not have been landed before the declaration has been made.

Art. XI. In case either of the two high contracting parties shall think proper to establish prohibitions, or to augment the import duties upon any goods or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other, which are not specified in the tariff, such prohibitions or augmentations shall be general, and shall comprehend the like goods and merchandizes of the other most favoured European nations, as well as those of



either state; and in case either of the two contracting parties shall revoke the prohibitions, or diminish the duties, in favour of any other European nation, upon any goods or merchandize of its growth or manufacture, whether on importation or exportation, such revocations or diminutions shall be extended to the subjects of the other party, on condition that the latter shall grant to the subjects of the former the importation and exportation of the like goods and merchandizes under the same duties; the cases reserved in the VIIth article of the present treaty always excepted.

Art. XII. And inasmuch as a certain usage, not authorized by any law, has formerly obtained in divers parts of Great Britain and France, by which French subjects have paid in England a kind of capitation tax, called in the language of that country, head-money; and English subjects a like duty in France, called *Argent du Chef*; it is agreed that the said impost shall not be demanded for the future, on either side, neither under the ancient name, nor under any other name whatsoever.

Art. XIII. If either of the high contracting parties has granted, or shall grant, any bounties for encouraging the exportation of any articles, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his dominions, the other party shall be allowed to add to the duties already imposed, by virtue of the present treaty, on the said goods and merchandizes, imported into his dominions, such an import duty as shall be equivalent to the said bounty. But this stipulation is not to extend to the cases of restitutions of duties and imposts, (called drawbacks,) which are allowed upon exportation.

Art. XIV. The advantages granted

by the present treaty, to the subjects of his Britannic majesty shall take effect, as far as relates to the kingdom of Great Britain, as soon as laws shall be passed there, for securing to the subjects of his most Christian majesty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by the present treaty.

And the advantages granted by all these articles, except the tariff, shall take effect, with regard to the kingdom of Ireland, as soon as laws shall be passed there, for securing to the subjects of his most Christian majesty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by this treaty; and, in like manner, the advantages granted by the tariff shall take effect, in what relates to the said kingdom, as soon as laws shall be passed there for giving effect to the said tariff.

Art. XV. It is agreed, that ships belonging to his Britannic majesty's subjects, arriving in the dominions of his most Christian majesty, from the ports of Great Britain or Ireland, or from any other foreign port, shall not pay freight duty, or any other like duty. In the same manner, French ships shall be exempted, in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, from the duty of five shillings, and from every other similar duty or charge.

XVI. It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers, not being subjects of either crown, who have commissions from any other prince or state, in enmity with either nation, to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said two kingdoms, to sell what they have taken, or in any other manner whatever to exchange the same; neither shall they be allowed even to purchase victuals, except such as shall be necessary for their



their going to the nearest port of that prince from whom they have obtained commission.

Art. XVII. When any dispute shall arise between any commander of a ship and his seamen, in the ports of either kingdom, concerning wages due to the said seamen, or other civil causes whatever, the magistrate of the place shall require no more from the person accused, than that he give to the accuser a declaration in writing, witnessed by the magistrate, whereby he shall be bound to answer that matter before a competent judge in his own country; which being done, it shall not be lawful for the seamen to desert their ship, or to hinder the commander from prosecuting his voyage. It shall moreover be lawful for the merchants in the places of their abode, or elsewhere, to keep books of their accounts and affairs, as they shall see fit, and to have an intercourse of letters, in such language or idiom as they shall chuse, without any molestation or search whatsoever. But if it should happen to be necessary for them to produce their books of accounts for deciding any dispute or controversy, in such case they shall be obliged to bring into court the entire books or writings, but so as the judge may not have liberty to take cognizance of any other articles in the said books than such as shall relate to the affair in question, or such as shall be necessary to give credit to the said books; neither shall it be lawful, under any pretence, to take the said books or writings forcibly out of the hands of the owners, or to retain them, the case of bankruptcy only excepted. Nor shall the subjects of the king of Great Britain be obliged to write their accounts, letters, or other instruments relating to trade,

on stamped paper, except their day-book, which, that it may be produced as evidence in any law-suit, ought, according to the laws which all persons trading in France are to observe, to be indorsed and attested gratis by the judge, under his own hand.

Art. XVIII. It is further agreed and concluded, that all merchants, commanders of ships, and others, the subjects of the king of Great Britain, in all the dominions of his most Christian majesty in Europe, shall have full liberty to manage their own affairs themselves, or to commit them to the management of whomsoever they please; nor shall they be obliged to employ any interpreter or broker, nor to pay them any salary, unless they shall chuse to employ them. Moreover, masters of ships shall not be obliged, in loading or unloading their ships, to make use of those persons who may be appointed by public authority for that purpose, either at Bourdeaux or elsewhere; but it shall be entirely free for them to load or unload their ships by themselves, or to make use of such person or persons in loading or unloading the same, as they shall think fit, without the payment of any reward to any other whomsoever; neither shall they be forced to unload into other ships, or to receive into their own, any merchandize whatever, or to wait for their lading any longer than they please. And all the subjects of the most Christian king shall reciprocally have and enjoy the same privileges and liberties, in all the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Europe.

Art. XIX. The ships of either party being laden, sailing along the coasts of the other, and being forced by storm into the havens or ports, or making land there in any other manner



manner whatever, shall not be obliged to unlade their goods, or any part thereof, or to pay any duty, unless they, of their own accord, unlade their goods there, and sell some part thereof. But it shall be lawful, permission having been first obtained from those who have the direction of maritime affairs, to unlade and sell a small part of their cargo, merely for the end of purchasing necessities, either for victualling or refitting the ship; and in that case, the whole lading shall not be subject to pay the duties, but that small part only which shall have been taken out and sold.

Art. XX. It shall be lawful for all the subjects of the king of Great Britain, and of the most Christian king, to sail with their ships, with perfect security and liberty, no distinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden thereon, from any port whatever, to the countries which are now, or shall be hereafter at war with the king of Great Britain, or the most Christian king. It shall likewise be lawful for the aforesaid subjects to sail and traffic with their ships and merchandizes, with the same liberty and security, from the countries, ports, and places of those who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, and to pass directly not only from the places of the enemy aforementioned to neutral places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy, to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same, or of several princes. And as it has been stipulated concerning ships and goods, that every thing shall be deemed free, which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of the respective kingdoms,

although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their majesties, contraband goods being always excepted, on the stopping of which, such proceedings shall be had as are conformable to the spirit of the following articles; it is likewise agreed, that the same liberty be extended to persons who are on board a free ship, to the end that, although they be enemies to both, or to either party, they may not be taken out of such free ships, unless they are soldiers, actually in the service of the enemies, and on their voyage for the purpose of being employed in a military capacity, in their fleets or armies.

Art. XXI. This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting those only which are specified in the following article, and which are described under the name of contraband.

Art. XXII. Under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, faucusses, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket-rests, bandoleers, gun-powder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, helmets, cutlasses, halberds, javelins, holsters, belts, horses and harness, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike implements fit for the use of troops.

Art. XXIII. These merchandizes which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods, that is to say, all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat and barley,



ley, and any other kind of corn and pulse, tobacco, and all kinds of spices, salted and smoaked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar and rosin, anchors, and any parts of anchors, ship-masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any instrument, or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose. All which things shall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewise all others which are not comprehended and particularly described in the preceding article; so that they may be freely carried by the subjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only such places as are besieged, blocked up, or invested.

Art. XXIV. To the end that all manner of dissensions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on both sides, it is agreed, that in case either of their majesties should be engaged in a war, the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the other shall be furnished with sea-letters or passports, expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of abode of the master or commander of the said ship, that it may appear thereby, that the ship really and truly belongs to the subjects of one of the princes; which passports shall be made out and granted, according to the form annexed to the

present treaty: they shall likewise be renewed every year, if the ship happens to return home within the space of a year. It is also agreed, that such ships when laden are to be provided not only with passports as above mentioned, but also with certificates containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound, so that it may be known whether she carries any of the prohibited or contraband goods specified in the XXIIId article of this treaty; which certificates shall be prepared by the officers of the place from whence the ship set sail, in the accustomed form. And if any one shall think fit to express in the said certificates the person to whom the goods belong, he may freely do so.

Art. XXV. The ships belonging to the subjects and inhabitants of the respective kingdoms, coming to any of the coasts of either of them, but without being willing to enter into port, or being entered, yet not willing to land their cargoes, or break bulk, shall not be obliged to give an account of their lading, unless they are suspected, upon sure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods, called contraband, to the enemies of either of the two high contracting parties.

Art. XXVI. In case the ships belonging to the said subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of their most serene majesties, either on the coast, or on the high seas, shall meet with any men of war belonging to their most serene majesties, or with privateers, the said men of war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniencies, are to remain out of cannon-shot, and to send their boats to the merchant-ship which may be met with, and shall enter her to the number of  
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two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall shew his passport, containing the proof of the property of the ship, made out according to the form annexed to this present treaty; and the ship which shall have exhibited the same, shall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it shall be wholly unlawful any way to molest or search her, or to chase or compel her to alter her course.

Art. XXVII. The merchant ships belonging to the subjects of either of the two high contracting parties, which intend to go to a port at enmity with the other sovereign, concerning whose voyage and the sort of goods on board there may be just cause of suspicion, shall be obliged to exhibit, as well on the high seas as in the ports and havens, not only her passports, but also her certificates, expressing that the goods are not of the kind which are contraband, as specified in the XXIId article of this treaty.

Art. XXVIII. If, on exhibiting the above mentioned certificates, containing a list of the cargo, the other party should discover any goods of that kind which are declared contraband, or prohibited, by the XXIId article of this treaty, and which are designed for a port subject to his enemies, it shall be unlawful to break up or open the hatches, chests, casks, bales, or other vessels found on board such ship or to remove even the smallest parcel of the goods, whether the said ship belongs to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, or of the most Christian king, unless the lading be brought on shore, in the presence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the said goods: nor

shall it be lawful to sell, exchange, or alienate the same in any manner, unless after due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods, and the judges of the admiralty respectively, shall, by sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same; saving always as well the ship itself, as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free: neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize: and if, when only part of the cargo shall consist of contraband goods, the master of the ship shall agree, consent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case, the captor having received those goods, as lawful prize, shall forthwith release the ship, and not hinder her, by any means, from prosecuting her voyage to the place of her destination.

Art. XXIX. On the contrary it is agreed, that whatever shall be found to be laden by the subjects and inhabitants of either party, on any ship belonging to the enemies of the other, although it be not contraband goods, shall be confiscated in the same manner as if it belonged to the enemy himself; except those goods and merchandizes which were put on board such ship before the declaration of war, or the general order for reprisals, or even after such declaration, if it were done within the times following; that is to say, if they were put on board such ship in any port or place within the space of two months after such declaration, or order for reprisals between Archangel, St. Petersburg, and the Scilly islands, and between the said islands and the



the city of Gibraltar ; of ten weeks in the Mediterranean sea ; and of eight months in any other country or place in the world ; so that the goods of the subjects of either prince, whether they be contraband, or otherwise, which, as aforesaid, were put on board any ship belonging to an enemy before the war, or after the declaration of the same, within the time and limits above-mentioned, shall no ways be liable to confiscation, but shall well and truly be restored, without delay, to the proprietors demanding the same ; provided nevertheless that, if the said merchandizes be contraband, it shall not be any ways lawful to carry them afterwards to the ports belonging to the enemy.

Art. XXX. And that more abundant care may be taken for the security of the respective subjects of their most serene majesties, to prevent their suffering any injury by the men of war or privateers of either party, all the commanders of the ships of the king of Great Britain, and of the most Christian king, and all their subjects, shall be forbid doing any damage to those of the other party, or committing any outrage against them ; and if they act to the contrary they shall be punished, and shall moreover be bound, in their persons and estates, to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of what nature soever.

Art. XXXI. For this cause, all commanders of privateers, before they receive their patents or special commissions, shall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, sufficient security by good bail, who are responsible men, and have no interest in the said ship, each of whom shall be bound in the whole for the sum of

thirty-six thousand livres Tournois, or fifteen hundred pounds sterling ; or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, for the sum of seventy-two thousand livres Tournois, or three thousand pounds sterling, that they will make entire satisfaction for all damages and injuries whatsoever, which they, or their officers, or others in their service, may commit during their cruize, contrary to the tenor of this present treaty, or the edicts made in consequence thereof by their most serene majesties, under penalty likewise of having their patents and special commissions revoked and annulled.

Art. XXXII. Their said majesties being willing mutually to treat in their dominions the subjects of each other as favourably as if they were their own subjects, will give such orders as shall be necessary and effectual, that the judgments and decrees concerning prizes in the courts of admiralty be given conformably to the rules of justice and equity, and to the stipulations of this treaty, by judges who are above all suspicion, and who have no manner of interest in the cause in dispute.

Art. XXXIII. And when the quality of the ship, goods, and master, shall sufficiently appear, from such passports and certificates, it shall not be lawful for the commanders of men of war to exact any further proof under any pretext whatsoever. But if any merchant ship shall not be provided with such passports or certificates, then it may be examined by a proper judge, but in such manner as, if it shall be found, from other proofs and documents, that it truly belongs to the subjects of one of the sovereigns, and does not contain any contra-



band goods, designed to be carried to the enemy of the other, it shall not be liable to confiscation, but shall be released, together with its cargo, in order to proceed on its voyage.

If the master of the ship named in the passports should happen to die, or be removed by any other cause, and another put in his place, the ships and goods laden thereon shall nevertheless be equally secure, and the passports shall remain in full force.

Art. XXXIV. It is further provided and agreed, that the ships of either of the two nations, retaken by the privateers of the other, shall be restored to the former owner, if they have not been in the power of the enemy for the space of four and twenty hours, subject to the payment, by the said owner, of one third of the value of the ship retaken, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel; which third part shall be amicably adjusted by the parties concerned: but if not, and in case they should disagree, they shall make application to the officers of the admiralty of the place where the privateer which retook the captured vessel shall have carried her.

If the ship retaken has been in the power of the enemy above four and twenty hours, she shall wholly belong to the privateer which retook her.

In case of a ship being retaken by any man of war belonging to his Britannic majesty, or to his most Christian majesty, it shall be restored to the former owner, on payment of the thirtieth part of the value of such ship, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, if it was retaken within the four and twenty hours, and the tenth part if it was retaken after the four and twenty

hours; which sums shall be distributed, as a reward, amongst the crews of the ships which shall have retaken such prize. The valuation of the thirtieth and tenth parts above mentioned shall be settled conformably to the regulations in the beginning of this article.

Art. XXXV. Whensoever the ambassadors of either of their said majesties, or other their ministers having a public character, and residing at the court of the other prince, shall complain of the injustice of the sentences which have been given, their majesties shall respectively cause the same to be revised and re-examined in their councils, unless their councils should already have decided thereupon, that it may appear, with certainty, whether the directions and provisions prescribed in this treaty have been followed and observed. Their majesties shall likewise take care that this matter be effectually provided for, and that justice be done to every complainant within the space of three months. However, before or after judgment given, and pending the revision thereof, it shall not be lawful to sell the goods in dispute, or to unlade them, unless with the consent of the persons concerned, for preventing any kind of loss; and laws shall be enacted on both sides for the execution of the present article.

Art. XXXVI. If any differences shall arise respecting the legality of prizes, so that a judicial decision should become necessary, the judge shall direct the effects to be unladed, an inventory and appraisement to be made thereof, and security to be required respectively from the captor for paying the costs, in case the ship should not be declared lawful prize; and from the claimant for paying the value



of the prize, in case it should be declared lawful; which securities being given by both parties, the prize shall be delivered up to the claimant. But if the claimant should refuse to give sufficient security, the judge shall direct the prize to be delivered to the captor, after having received from him good and sufficient security for paying the full value of the said prize, in case it should be adjudged illegal. Nor shall the execution of the sentence of the judge be suspended by reason of any appeal, when the party against whom such appeal shall be brought, whether claimant or captor, shall have given sufficient security for restoring the ship or effects, or the value of such ship or effects, to the appellant, in case judgment should be given in his favour.

Art. XXXVII. In case any ships of war or merchantmen, forced by storms or other accidents, be driven on rocks or shelves, on the coasts of either of the high contracting parties, and should there be dashed to pieces and shipwrecked; all such parts of the said ships, or of the furniture or apparel thereof, as also of the goods and merchandizes as shall be saved, or the produce thereof, shall be faithfully restored, upon the same being claimed by the proprietors, or their factors, duly authorized, paying only the expences incurred in the preservation thereof, according to the rate of salvage settled on both sides; saving at the same time the rights and customs of each nation, the abolition or modification of which shall however be treated upon, in the cases where they shall be contrary to the stipulations of the present article; and their majesties will mutually interpose their authority, that such of their subjects,

as shall be so inhuman as to take advantage of any such misfortune, may be severely punished.

Art. XXXVIII. It shall be free for the subjects of each party to employ such advocates, attornies, notaries, solicitors and factors as they shall think fit; to which end the said advocates and others above mentioned, shall be appointed by the ordinary judges, if it be needful, and the judges be thereunto required.

Art. XXXIX. And for the greater security and liberty of commerce and navigation, it is further agreed, that both the king of Great Britain, and the most Christian king, shall not only refuse to receive any pirates or sea-rovers whatsoever into any of their havens, ports, cities, or towns, or permit any of their subjects, citizens, or inhabitants, on either part, to receive or protect them in their ports, to harbour them in their houses, or to assist them in any manner whatsoever; but further they shall cause all such pirates and sea-rovers, and all persons who shall receive, conceal, or assist them, to be brought to condign punishment, for a terror and example to others. And all their ships, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or their factors duly authorized or deputed by them in writing, proper evidence being first given in the court of admiralty, for proving the property, even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And generally all ships and merchandizes, of what nature soever, which may be



be taken on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either kingdom, and delivered into the custody of the officers of that port, that they may be restored entire to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall have been made concerning the property thereof.

Art. XL. It shall be lawful, as well for the ships of war of their majesties, as for privateers belonging to their subjects, to carry whithersoever they please, the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor shall the said prizes, when they arrive at and enter the ports of their said majesties, be detained or seized; neither shall the searchers, or other officers of those places, visit or take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail at any time, to depart, and to carry their prizes to the place mentioned in the commissions or patents, which the commanders of such ships of war shall be obliged to shew: on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made prize upon the subjects of either of their majesties; but if forced by fires of weather, or the dangers of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire from thence as soon as possible, as far as it is not repugnant to former treaties made in this respect with other sovereigns or states.

Art. XLI. Neither of their said majesties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects of the other to be taken within cannon shot of the coast, or in the ports or rivers of their dominions, by ships of war, or others having

commission from any prince, republic, or city, whatsoever: but in case it should so happen, both parties shall employ their united force to obtain reparation of the damage thereby occasioned.

Art. XLII. But if it shall appear that the captor made use of any kind of torture upon the master of the ship, the crew, or others who shall be on board any ship belonging to the subjects of the other party, in such case, not only the ship itself, together with the persons, merchandizes, and goods whatsoever, shall be forthwith released, without any delay, and set entirely free, but also such as shall be convicted of so enormous a crime, together with their accomplices, shall suffer the most severe punishment suitable to their offences: this the king of Great Britain and the most Christian king mutually engage shall be observed, without any respect of persons whatsoever.

Art. XLIII. Their majesties shall respectively be at liberty, for the advantage of their subjects trading to the kingdoms and dominions of either of them, to appoint therein national consuls, who shall enjoy the right, immunity, and liberty belonging to them, by reason of their duties and their functions; and places shall hereafter be agreed upon where the said consuls shall be established, as well as the nature and extent of their functions. The convention relative to this point shall be concluded immediately after the signature of the present treaty, of which it shall be deemed to constitute a part.

Art. XLIV. It is also agreed, that in whatever relates to the lading and unlading of ships, the safety of merchandize, goods, and effects, the succession to personal estates, as well as the protection of individuals, and their personal liberty, as  
also



also the administration of justice, the subjects of the two high contracting parties shall enjoy in their respective dominions, the same privileges, liberties, and rights, as the most favoured nation.

Art. XLV. If hereafter it shall happen, through inadvertency or otherwise, that any infractions or contraventions of the present treaty should be committed on either side, the friendship and good understanding shall not immediately thereupon be interrupted; but this treaty shall subsist in all its force, and proper remedies shall be procured for removing the inconveniencies, as likewise for the reparation of the contraventions: and if the subjects of either kingdom shall be found guilty thereof, they only shall be punished and severely chastised.

Art. XLVI. His Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty have reserved the right of revising and re-examining the several stipulations of this treaty, after the term of twelve years, to be computed from the day of passing laws for its execution in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to propose and make such alterations as the times and circumstances may have rendered proper or necessary for the commercial interests of their respective subjects: and this revision is to be completed in the space of twelve months; after which term the present treaty shall be of no effect, but in that event, the good harmony and friendly correspondence between the two nations shall not suffer the least diminution.

Art. XLVII. The present treaty shall be ratified and confirmed by his Britannic majesty and by his most Christian majesty, in two months, or sooner, if it can be done, after the exchange of signatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witness whereof, we the un-  
1786.

der-signed commissaries and plenipotentiaries of the king of Great Britain and the most Christian king, have signed the present treaty with our hands, and have set thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786.

WM. EDEN. (L. S.)

GERARD DE RAYNEVAL. (L. S.)

*FORM of the PASSPORTS and SEA-LETTERS which are to be granted by the respective Admiralties of the Dominions of the two High Contracting Parties to the Ships and Vessels sailing from thence, pursuant to the 24th article of the present treaty.*

N. N. To all who shall see these presents, greeting. Be it known that we have granted licence and permission to N. of the city (or place) of N. master or commander of the ship N. belonging to N. of the port of N. burthen

tons, or thereabouts, now lying in the port or haven of N. to sail to N. laden with N. the ship having been examined before her departure, in the usual manner, by the officers of the place appointed for that purpose. And the said N. or such other person as shall happen to succeed him, shall produce this licence in every port or haven which he may enter with his ship, to the officers of the place, and shall give a true account to them of what shall have passed or happened during his voyage; and he shall carry the colours, arms, and ensigns of N. during his voyage.

In witness whereof, we have signed these presents, and set the seal of our arms thereto, and caused the same to be counter-signed by N. at

day of  
in the year, &c. &c.

(G)



*Treaty of Alliance and Commerce between his Majesty Frederick III. King of Prussia, and the United States of America, as ratified by Congress, May 7, 1786.*

HIS majesty the king of Prussia and the United States of America, desiring to fix, in a permanent and equitable manner, the rules to be observed in the intercourse and commerce they desire to establish between their respective countries, have judged, that the said end cannot be better obtained than by taking the most perfect equality and reciprocity for the basis of their agreement.

With this view, his majesty the king of Prussia has nominated and constituted, as his plenipotentiary, the baron Frederic William de Thulemeyer, envoy extraordinary with their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; and the United States have, on their part, given full powers to John Adams, esq. now minister plenipotentiary of the United States with his Britannic majesty; Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, respective plenipotentiaries, have concluded articles, of which the following is an abstract, so far as concerns the States of America

The subjects of his majesty the king of Prussia may frequent all the coasts and countries of the United States of America, and reside and trade there in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay within the said United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nations are or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation does or shall enjoy; sub-

mitting themselves to the laws and usages there established.

“ In like manner, the citizens of the United States of America may frequent all the coasts and countries of his majesty the king of Prussia, and reside and trade there in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay in the dominions of his said majesty no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nation is or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation does or shall enjoy; submitting themselves as aforesaid.

Each party shall have a right to carry their own produce, manufactures, and merchandize, in their own or any other vessels, to any parts of the dominions of the other, where it shall be lawful for all the subjects or citizens of that other freely to purchase them; and thence to take the produce, manufactures, and merchandize of the other, which all the said citizens or subjects shall in like manner be free to sell, paying in both cases such duties, charges, and fees only, as are or shall be paid by the most favoured nation.

Each party shall endeavour to protect and defend all vessels, and other effects, belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea or land; and shall use all their efforts to recover, and cause to be restored to their right owners, their vessels and effects which shall be taken from them within the extent of their said jurisdiction.

If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with other powers, the free intercourse and



and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neuter, with the belligerent powers, shall not be interrupted. On the contrary, in that case, as in full peace, the vessels of the neutral party may navigate freely to and from the ports, and on the coasts of the belligerent parties, free vessels making free goods, inasmuch, that all things shall be adjudged free which shall be on board any vessel belonging to the neutral party, although such things belong to an enemy of the other; and the same freedom shall be extended to persons who shall be on board a free vessel, although they should be enemies to the other party, unless they be soldiers in actual service of such enemy.

In the same case of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other power—to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings which usually arise respecting the merchandize heretofore called contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind—no such articles carried in the vessels, or by the subjects or citizens of one of the parties to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation, and a loss of property to individuals. But in the case supposed—of a vessel stopped for the articles heretofore deemed contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not in that case be carried into any port, nor further detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

If the contracting parties shall be engaged in war against a com-

mon enemy, the following points shall be observed between them.

1st, If a vessel of one of the parties, retaken by a privateer of the other, shall not have been in possession of the enemy more than twenty-four hours, she shall be restored to the first owner for one third of the value of the vessel and cargo; but if she shall have been more than twenty-four hours in possession of the enemy, she shall belong wholly to the re-captor.

2d, If in the same case the recapture were by a public vessel of war of the one party, restitution shall be made to the owner of one thirtieth part of the vessel and cargo, if she shall not have been in the possession of the enemy more than twenty-four hours; and one tenth of the said value where she shall have been longer; which sums shall be distributed in gratuities to the re-captors.

3d, The restitution in the cases aforesaid shall be after due proof of property, and surety given for the part to which the re-captors are entitled.

4th, The vessels of war, public and private, of the two parties, shall be reciprocally admitted with their prizes into the respective ports of each; but the said prizes shall not be discharged nor sold there, until their legality shall have been decided according to the laws and regulations of the state to which the captors belong, but by the judicators of the place into which the prize shall have been conducted.

5th, It shall be free to each party to make such regulations as they shall judge necessary for the conduct of their respective vessels of war, public or private, relative to the vessels which they shall take and carry into the ports of the two parties.

Where the parties shall have a



common enemy, or shall both be neutral, the vessels of war of each shall upon all occasions take under their protection the vessels of the other going the same course, and shall defend such vessels as long as they hold the same course, against all force and violence, in the same manner as they ought to protect and defend vessels belonging to the party of which they are.

If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hinderance.

This treaty shall be in force during the term of ten years from the exchange of ratifications :

(Signed)

F. G. DE THULEMEYER, a la Haye,  
le 10 Septembre 1785.

THO. JEFFERSON, Paris, July 28,  
1785.

B. FRANKLIN, Passy, July 9,  
1785.

JOHN ADAMS, London, August 5,  
1785.

Now know ye, that we the said United States in congress assembled, having considered and approved, do hereby ratify and confirm the said treaty. Witness the hon. Nathaniel Gotham, our chairman, in the absence of his excellency John Hancock, our president, the 7th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1786, and of our independence and sovereignty the tenth.

*Memorial presented by Sir James Harris, K. B. to the States General of the United Provinces, on the 5th of July, 1786.*

High and Mighty Lords,

ALL the steps which his Britannic

Majesty has taken respecting your High Mightinesses since the happy epoch of the peace, have had no other object than to give the most undoubted proofs of the sincere friendship which he entertained towards you.

He has suffered no occasion to escape that could renew the harmony which, for the space of a century, contributed so much to the prosperity of each ; and it has been his particular study to efface all traces of the unhappy dissensions which, for a little time, interrupted that good understanding.

His majesty has carefully refrained from doing any thing that could in the smallest degree influence the interior deliberation of the States ; and although not insensible of the troubles which have agitated the country, the king has thought it right to confine himself to expressing his wishes for its prosperity, and for the re-establishment of concord.

But since two respectable powers, friends and neighbours of the republic, have declared to your High Mightinesses their sentiments on the actual state of affairs, the king, my master, would look upon himself as wanting in those with which he has been always animated, if he delayed to express the sincere wishes he feels for the internal and external tranquillity of the Republic, as well as for the maintenance of its constitution.

The king thinks it his duty at the same time to declare, that nothing can be more opposite to his sentiments than to give an example so dangerous to the tranquillity and independence of the United Provinces as the interference of any foreign power in the internal affairs of the Republic, the management and direction of which his majesty wishes to preserve uncontrolled



trolled in the hands of those to whom it has been committed by the constitution, and found by those principles established by the unanimous consent of the nation.

His majesty will never have any other object than to observe the most impartial conduct, such as may be naturally expected from a good neighbour and friend, to whom the interests of the protestant religion, of the commerce and local situation of the two countries, as well as the ties of kindred with the prince to whom your High Mightinesses have entrusted the important charge of the State, so essentially engage to prevent any injury being offered to the independence of the Republic."

(Signed)

Sir JAMES HARRIS.

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*The Prince of Orange's Letter to the States of the Province of Holland, sent Sept. 3, 1786, on the Subject of their late Resolution with regard to the Command of the Garrison of the Hague.*

Noble and potent lords, our very good friends.

WE have received the resolution of your noble and great mightinesses, in which you repeat and confirm a resolution taken on the 4th and 5th of March, 1672, with regard to the command of the garrison of the Hague, and cannot conceal our surprise that your noble and great mightinesses should have thought proper, on a majority of no more than a single voice, to come to a resolution notoriously injurious to our person, as well as to the high dignities hereditarily settled upon our family by your noble and great mightinesses, by confirming a resolution taken at a time when there not only was no stad-

holder, governor, or captain general of this province, but which was entered into for the express purpose of preventing any person from arrogating to himself, under another title, what was established to belong to the office of stadtholder, governor, and captain-general of the said province.

We have not the least design, noble and potent lords, to question the superiority of your noble and great mightinesses over the military, as well of the whole province as the garrison of the Hague. We acknowledge as frankly as any person, the power of the sovereign to execute personally, if need be, those high offices, of which it had entrusted the exercise in its name to other colleges or persons.

By the memorial which we had the honour to address to your noble and great mightinesses, on the 4th of last December in maintenance of our right, we declared in the most precise terms, and again declare this day, that we never could suppose ourselves invested with a power equal, much less superior to that of the states over the military, and that we might act according to our own pleasure and independently of the sovereign, or make regulations contrary to its orders and approbation, which might any ways tend to thwart its supremacy, or prove an obstacle to its resolutions.

It appears then by this sincere acknowledgment of the sovereignty of your noble and great mightinesses, that should the case exist that an hereditary stadtholder, hereditary governor, or captain-general, so far forget himself, as to turn the authority vested in him by your noble and great mightinesses to the hurt of the true interests of the country, and therefore to thwart



the intention of the sovereign, we lay it down for a certain maxim, that your noble and great mightinesses have the right and power to take order in the matter for your own authority and safety in an effectual manner; which right is not limited to giving orders to the military in the place of residence of your noble and great mightinesses, but extends over all the military in your territory. Yet we entertain so respectful an idea of the justice of the sovereign as to be confident this would never take place, except there were plausible proofs of the delegated authority having been abused.

None such have at any time been produced against us, and in truth never will be, as we have always made it a duty and a pleasure to fulfil the views of your noble and great mightinesses in our offices in your province with all the zeal in our power; and if your noble and great mightinesses had had any discontent or mistrust on that head, we have a right to hope that you would not have failed to inform us of it.

But this never having been done, and your noble and great mightinesses having, notwithstanding, thought proper to deprive us by your resolution of a right which has always belonged to the offices we exercise in your name, we cannot be contented with the said resolution, saving all the respect we pay to the orders of your noble and great mightinesses, nor silently acquiesce in it, as that would be tantamount to an open declaration, that we set no value on your confidence, or our own honour, and are, therefore, incapable of exercising the other no less important departments of the high offices which have devolved upon us, in

such a manner, as that the whole nation could rest with the necessary certainty, affection, and confidence on our care.

Let not your noble and great mightinesses therefore be displeased that we continue to consider such a resolution (which reflects so great dishonour on the fidelity of the house from which we are descended, and in whose steps we have always endeavoured to tread) as null and void, saving the respect due to all those resolutions of your noble and great mightinesses by which neither our honour nor rights are attacked.

In the mean time these circumstances furnish us with a fresh occasion, to our greater regret, of pouring into the bosom of your noble and great mightinesses, and laying before the nation in general, the part which is not prejudiced, our complaints with regard to the injurious suspicions which have for some time been conceived, and are every day excited more violently. We have already at various times repeated these complaints, and particularly in our missive of April 26, 1784, directed to your noble and great mightinesses, and the other confederates. We there declared, in the most unreserved manner, that we desired nothing so ardently as to employ the legal power which was entrusted and confided to us in the maintenance of the liberty, the peace, and increase of the prosperity and welfare of the country; that we were very far from wishing to extend that power beyond its legal bounds; and that we desired nothing more than to remain in undisturbed possession of the prerogatives and pre-eminences attached to our dignities, of which a stadtholder cannot be deprived but when the general welfare is at stake. And this we did with a sincere expectation,



tion, as we mentioned in the missive above alluded to, of receiving such an answer to our proposal as would furnish us with an opportunity of giving convincing proofs of our desire to do every thing on our part for the solid re-establishment of internal tranquillity, harmony between the members of the regency, and confidence between the regents and the citizens.

It grieves us, noble and potent lords, to be obliged to say that we have been disappointed in our hopes, no answer having been returned by you to that missive, and thus have we been deprived of an opportunity of shewing by deeds in several particular cases what we had endeavoured to express by sincere declarations.

Our sentiments are still inviolably the same, and therefore we here repeat these expressions, and shall expect from the justice and true patriotism of your noble and great mightinesses, that you will at last lend an ear to them, that a path may be opened for putting an end to the unhappy divisions and combustions, in consequence of which our country is sinking into total perdition. Wherefore, &c.

(Signed).

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

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*The Prince of Orange's Letter to the States of the Province of Holland, sent September 26, 1786, in answer to their Notification of his Suspension from the Office of Captain-general.*

Noble, great, and mighty lords, and particularly good friends!

IT is with the utmost concern we have seen by the letter and resolution of your noble and great mightinesses, dated the 22d instant, that you are pleased to persist provisionally, and without prejudice to the

further deliberations of your noble and great mightinesses, in the various orders issued out concerning the troops of that state, by which they have been relieved, till further orders, from that part of the oath which bound them to our obedience as captain-general of Holland and West Friesland, but which orders your noble and great mightinesses did not think proper to impart to us in our aforesaid quality, whilst you suspend provisionally the effect of your resolution of the 8th of March, 1766, which invested us as captain-general of your province by especial delegation, with power to dispose of all military employments, from the ensign to the colonel inclusively, serving in the militia or troops within your jurisdiction.

We cannot but be sensibly hurt at the aforesaid resolution, since its effect is to deprive us of a right which has been allowed and secured to us by the unanimous vote of all the members of the state, by appointing us captain-general hereditary of Holland and West Friesland. We might here claim the immediate effect of such a resolution, which as it had been entered into nem. con. cannot, supposing it to be revocable, be cancelled, or even suspended, without the like unanimity. But what goes still nearer to our heart, and on which we cannot remain silent, is the motives you are pleased to adduce in support of your last resolution, namely, that it has been taken with a view to obviate our influence as captain-general over the said troops, and the manner of directing them, which is incompatible with the safety of your province, and the measures adopted to secure it.

We might, without failing in what we owe to your noble and



great mightinesses, and in as earnest a manner as befits a matter of such high importance, that concerns our honour and good name, request you would be pleased to communicate to us the reasons of the mistrust your noble and great mightinesses entertain of our influence and direction of the provincial troops, and then you would find that we have it sufficiently in our power to convince your noble and great mightinesses, how groundless are both your apprehensions and the malicious hints thrown out by certain persons, ill-disposed towards the country and ourselves. But we are perfectly easy and secured that nothing can be alleged with truth against us, by which we should have deserved to forfeit the confidence of your noble and great mightinesses. And we can vouch before God, yourselves, all the citizens of the Netherlands, nay, and before all the world, that in this regard our conscience is perfectly irreproachable. Under pleasure of your noble and great mightinesses, we cannot but declare, since our honour, dearer to us than life, stands impeached, that we cannot remain under such a blame and stigma, resulting from the tokens of distrust given us by your noble and great mightinesses, and especially by your recent resolution, and it is a duty we owe to the race from whence we spring, to the royal house to which we have the honour to be allied, to their high mightinesses, to the respective provinces to whose service we are bound by the employments we hold by hereditary right, and to ourselves, in fine, to clear ourselves from such an aspersion; that, conscious of our innocence, from any failure of our plighted faith to your noble and great mightinesses, as

well as to the provinces of Holland and West Friesland, by the oath taken by us as stadtholder, governor, captain-general, and hereditary admiral of your province, when we undertook to act in those capacities; we are justified in supposing that nothing positive hath been laid to our charge, and that all the steps taken against us are merely the result of some members of your assembly having too readily lent an ear to the reports of persons unworthy of their confidence, and whose sole aim is to abridge our lawful prerogatives, and those of our house, granted by your noble and great mightinesses, and enjoyed by the stadtholders and captain-generals our predecessors, or even to bring about a total alteration in the lawful and established constitution of those countries, entirely abolish the stadtholdership, or so contrive it, that the above dignity should become completely useless to our dear country, and its good citizens. Mean while we reserve to ourselves the choice of such further measures for our justification as to us may seem best.

Here we might conclude, did we not think it necessary to protest once more, that we never have done, or even attempted any thing that we justly might look upon as derogatory to the real concerns of the United Provinces in general, or in particular to the states of Holland and West Friesland, and that we desire nothing better than to be put to the test of giving effectual proofs of the true love we bear to the country, having nothing more at heart than the prosperity of the United Provinces, and especially that of the province under the jurisdiction of your noble and great mightinesses, wherein we were born and brought up, and that our first

and



warmest wish is, to become in the hands of the Almighty, a fit instrument to contribute to the welfare of the country.

Wherefore, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

*The King of Prussia's Letter to the States General of the United Provinces, delivered on the 18th of September, 1786, by the Count de Goertz, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary.*

WE, Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, marquis of Brandenburg, &c. &c. to their High Mightinesses the States of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, with offers of friendship; and every good thing in our power.

High and mighty lords, particular good friends and neighbours.

As it has pleased providence to call to himself our much honoured and loved uncle Frederic the Third, late king of Prussia, by which we succeed to the government of the estates which he left, we have thought proper to send to your high mightinesses, in quality of envoy extraordinary, our minister of state and grand-master of the wardrobe, the comte de Goertz, to give your high mightinesses a proof of our esteem, and that he may by word of mouth communicate to you how desirous we are to continue in that friendship and harmony with the republic of the Seven United Provinces, which has been transmitted down to us by our ancestors for centuries; and also to demonstrate the warm part we take in the unhappy dissensions which have so long divided some of the provinces, and particularly those which have arisen between some of

them and the stadtholder, prince of Orange and Nassau, and the very extraordinary oppressions which that prince is innocently obliged to suffer. We will not detain your high mightinesses with any ample detail on that subject, as his highness the prince stadtholder has, in several different letters to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, explained in a very ample and convincing manner the hardness of taking from him his prerogatives; but we would rather refer to the letter sent by our predecessor on the 18th of September, 1785, (*See Vol. VI. page 197.*) as well to your high mightinesses as to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, the contents of which well-intentioned letter we seriously confirm and renew, repeating the amicable request contained in it, that the affairs of the prince stadtholder may be directed by such reciprocally agreeable means, that they may be re-established as soon as possible upon their former footing, conformable to the constitution, and the convention. By the present we request your high mightinesses earnestly and amicably to employ your powerful intercession, in the most serious manner, with the states of Holland and West-Friesland, and wherever else your high mightinesses may think proper, to put his serene highness the prince stadtholder in a situation (by means which are not difficult to be found out) to return with honour and propriety to the Hague, to take upon him his high employments; and that a durable termination be put to all the other differences, in a manner compatible with equity, and the honour and true interests of all parties, towards which we are willing to contribute, with other friends and neighbours of the republic,



public, by our councils and mediation, in a manner both equitable and impartial. We have given instructions to the comte de Goertz to lay all this before your high mightinesses, and, if circumstances require it, before the states of each particular province, in a most explicit manner, to assure on our part all that is necessary, and, if it be thought proper, to enter into negotiations on the subject.

We desire your high mightinesses in consequence to place entire confidence in the comte de Goertz in this weighty affair, and to negotiate and finish with him whatever may be thought agreeable to both parties, according to circumstances. We hope and trust that no suspicions can arise in the minds of your high mightinesses, or those of the states of any of the provinces, on account of our interesting ourselves so seriously for the prince stadtholder. On the one hand, we are such near relations, that the lot of that prince, his consort, our beloved and worthy sister (of whose sentiments entirely devoted to the republic, your high mightinesses can have no doubt,) and their children and posterity, cannot be indifferent to us. On the other hand, because we know in the most certain manner, and can insure, that the stadtholder and all his family are most affectionately attached to the republic of the United Provinces, and that certainly they will never do any thing against the interest and system of the states, but, on the contrary, will always endeavour to preserve them, and contribute to their well-being; to which we must add, that being the nearest neighbour of the United Provinces, and in consequence of the ties which have never been broken between

the two parties, we have great interest that the government of the republic, conformable to the ancient constitution, should not be changed in any essential point, but always preserved untouched; and that the intestine divisions and differences, which certainly were caused merely by mistrust, may be settled as soon as possible, by an equitable, just, and sincere reconciliation, and by a durable good understanding between all the parties concerned.

We recommend this important affair, together with all that we have mentioned, to your high mightinesses in the most sincere and amicable manner; and as we hope not to fail herein, we reciprocally assure your high mightinesses, that we have, and always shall bear, a neighbourly friendship and affection towards the republic in general, and each province in particular.

Of your high mightinesses the  
good friend and neighbour,  
(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.  
(Counterigned) FINKENSTEIN  
V. HERTSBERG.

*Berlin, Sept. 2, 1786.*

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*Amount of the whole Civil and Military Establishment of the East India Company, presented to Parliament, in February, 1786.*

Bengal civil establishment	is 927,945
———— military ditto	1,078,510
Madras civil establishment	104,140
———— military	623,605
Bombay civil	45,719
———— military	226,495
Bencoolen civil & military	25,478

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*East-India House, L. 3,031,892*  
*Feb. 7, 1786. JOHN ANNIS,*  
*Auditor of India Accounts.*



<i>An Account of the Annual Sums charged upon and payable out of the Aggregate Fund, exclusive of the Sums paid out of that Fund for Annuitants, and the Charges of Management, laid before the House of Commons. March 3, 1786.</i>		Philip Deare, esq.	
For the support of his Majesty's household, payable at the Exchequer, by Acts 1 and 17 Geo. III.	886,000 0 0	by ditto.	300 0 0
To his Royal Highness, William Henry Duke of Gloucester, by Act 7 Geo. III.	8,000 0 0	John Wigglesworth, esq. by ditto.	300 0 0
Ditto, by Act 24 Geo. III.	9,000 0 0	John Lloyd, esq. by ditto	300 0 0
His Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, by Act 7 Geo. III.	8,000 0 0	Charles Harris, gent. by ditto.	200 0 0
The Representatives of Arthur Onslow, esq. by Act 2 Geo. III.	3,000 0 0	Sir William Mufgrave, bart. John Thomas, esq. and John Martin Leake, esq. commissioners for auditing the public accounts of this kingdom, by ditto.	3,000 0 0
The Earl of Chatham, by Act 18 Geo. III.	4,000 0 0	Sir John Dick, bart. and William Molleson, esq. auditors of the army accounts, ditto.	1,000 0 0
George Lord Rodney, by Act 23 Geo. III.	2,000 0 0	For the clerks, stationary, and other charges incurred in the office of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts of this kingdom, by ditto.	6,000 0 0
Sir George Augustus Elliot, by ditto.	1,500 0 0	To the sheriffs of England and Wales, for defraying the charges of taking forth their letters patent, passing their accounts, and obtaining their quietus,	4,000 0 0
The right hon. Lewis lord Sondes, by Act 25 Geo. III.	7,000 0 0		<hr/>
The right hon. lord Viscount Mountstuart, by ditto	7,000 0 0		950,600 0 0
		Exchequer, JOHN HUGHSON.	
		March 3, 1786.	



# Abstract of the several Articles of Public Receipt and Expenditure from the Report of the Select Committee.

From Mich. 1784 to Mich. 1785. From 5th Jan. 1785 to 5th Jan. 1786.

## R E C E I P T.

1. Total net Payments into the Exchequer, from Mich. 1784 to Mich. 1785 £. 12,321,520

Deduct therefrom

The respited Duties paid by the East India Company £. 401,118  
 Excess beyond the future Amount of the Window Duties 46,189

447,307

2. Total net Payments into the Exchequer, from 5th Jan. 1785 to 5th Jan. 1786 12,499,916

Deduct therefrom

The respited Duties paid by the East India Company £. 401,118  
 Excess beyond the future Amount of the Window Duties 56,101

457,219

3. Further Produce of the Window Duty imposed by the 24th George III. £. 12,042,697

4. Further Produce of the Duty on Two Wheel and Four Wheel Carriages 380,056

5. To complete the former Duty on Male Servants 59,281

6. Further Produce of the Duties on Horses, Waggon, and Carts 26,803

7. Further Produce of Taxes imposed in 1784 56,829

8. Further Produce of Taxes imposed in 1785, including the Improvement of the Medicine Duty 103,000

9. Paid at the Excise and Alienation Office, in Part of Civil List 265,000

10. Produce of the Land and Malt 14,000

11. Interest and Charges of the Public Debts 2,600,000

12. Exchequer Bills £. 9,275,769

13. Civil List 258,000

14. Charges on Aggregate Fund 900,000

15. Navy 64,600

16. Army 1,800,000

17. Ordnance 1,600,000

18. Militia 348,000

19. Miscellaneous Services 91,000

20. Appropriated Duties 74,274

66,538

£. 14,478,181

Annual Surplus 901,001

£. 14,478,181

919,290



*The Tenth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom. See Public Papers, Vol. VI. p. (214).*

THE examination into the manner of passing the accounts of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, in the office of the auditor of the imprest, led us, necessarily, to enquire into the mode in use of paying the army, and of keeping the army-accounts in the pay-office. Several observations occurred to us in the progress of that inquiry, and many regulations, which, in our judgment, appeared fit and expedient to be established: some of them we have inserted in our last report, and submitted to the wisdom of the legislature: there are other subjects connected with both these offices, as well as other matter of observation and regulation, that demand our attention.

The paymaster-general issues money to two persons who are public annual accountants—the paymaster of the widows pensions, and the agent for the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital.—To the former in his official capacity of paymaster-general of the forces, to the latter as treasurer of the hospital: he issues likewise to regimental agents, and to various persons employed in the army expenditures, sums for which they became accountable: all these furnished matter of inquiry.

We applied ourselves first to the office of the paymaster of the widows pensions, and required from the auditors of the imprest, the last declared account of the receiver and paymaster of his majesty's royal bounty, to the widows of officers who were killed or died in the service, with the materials from which that account was made out. We

obtained, likewise, from the secretary at war a copy of his majesty's orders and instructions to be observed in the payment of that bounty.

The return to us from the auditor's office, in consequence of this requisition, was the account of the honourable Henry Edward Fox, receiver and paymaster of the pensions to widows, for two years, ending the 24th of December 1779, and passed the 29th of April 1782, with a book of account, and an establishment for each year, and with the certificates, affidavits, and receipts of the persons receiving.

The book of account consists of all the receipts and payments of the year: the establishment contains the names of, and the sums payable to the objects of this bounty, with the king's warrant prefixed, directing the payment.

The examination of John Powell, esq. late deputy paymaster of these pensions; of John Lloyd, esq. late deputy auditor of the imprest, who passed this account; and of Mr. John Davies, and Mr. Keen Stables, the clerks employed in the payments, supplied us with knowledge of the manner in which the business of this office is conducted, and the accounts are passed.

The office of receiver and paymaster of the widows pensions, is held by letters patent for life, to be executed by himself or deputy. Upon inspection of those by which the office is now holden, we find it is granted to Henry Edward Fox for his life; and from and after the death, surrender, forfeiture, or other determination of that estate, to John Powell, esq. his executors, administrators, and assigns during the life of Charles James Fox. This office is executed entirely by the deputy and clerks; the principal never interfering in any part of the



the business. The whole office is merely ministerial; paying certain sums to certain persons, upon production of proper formal affidavits and certificates: it consists of four persons, the paymaster, the deputy, and two clerks; it is executed at the war office by the two clerks; one a clerk in the war office, appointed by the secretary at war; the other a clerk in the pay office, appointed by the deputy paymaster of the pensions.

The fund appropriated for this service, is compounded of sums taken from the pay of the several regiments and corps upon the establishment, and of the marines. The deputy paymaster of the pensions applies for money out of this fund from time to time, to the paymaster-general of the forces, and to the paymaster of the marines: he supplies, occasionally, the clerk he employs to make the payments, with such portions of it as he thinks may be wanted. The payments are made every four months; and the pay clerk attends for an entire week at the beginning of a payment, and on every Wednesday afterwards, and pays the widows pursuant to the establishment. To intitle herself to receive, each widow must, if she receives in person, produce an affidavit of her widowhood, and that she has not any other pension or allowance from government; if she receives by attorney, he must produce the like affidavit, and a certificate of her being alive and a widow.

Hence it appears that the manner of passing this account, by the auditor of the imprest, is very simple. The change in the official account consists of the balance remaining on the last account, and the sums received from the paymaster-general of the forces, and

from the paymaster of the marines, during the period of the account: these sums are verified by the certificate of the proper officer in each office. The discharge contains the payments; for the allowance of which, the establishment, the affidavit, the certificate, and the acquittance of each person, or her assignee or attorney, are the vouchers. After the account is examined, and the balance agreed, the official book of account is signed, and the truth of the account attested upon oath by the deputy paymaster of the pensions, before the deputy auditor of the imprest. All the sums being received, and the payments made by the deputy, the deputy, and not the principal, is the person who passes and swears to the account. That account, which is drawn up by the auditor, is neither signed nor sworn to by the accountant; nor is it declared, or passed through any of the exchequer offices; one part of it is delivered to the accountant; and is declared, by his majesty's instructions, to be, without any other formality, his final discharge and quietus; the duplicate remains in the auditor's office.

The number of widows upon the establishment of the year 1778, was 594, and upon that of the year 1779, 611. The charge for these two years, including the balance of 15,849l. os. 1d. remaining on the last account, amounted to 53,924l. 2s. 3d. the discharge to 28,967l. os. 2d. including the sum of 1,727l. os. 1d. allowed for the expences attending the execution of the office, and passing the accounts; which left in the hands of the accountant a balance of 24,957l. 3s. 1d.

The account before us is of the years 1778 and 1779; but the sums the accountant charges himself with,

are



are therein stated to have been received from the paymaster-general of the forces, not in the same years, but in the years 1773 and 1774. The reason is this—a regular account is kept in the pay-office, of the issues under this head of service; the entry of each issue specifies out of what year's produce it is made; and during the time of the same paymaster-general, the produce of one year is generally exhausted upon the account before any part of the produce of the succeeding year is issued.

In time of war this fund produces annually more than is sufficient for the service: in this last the produce has so far exceeded the expenditure, that the payments of the year 1779 were made out of the allowance to widows for the year 1774.

As the sums arising from this allowance, though not specifically applied for by the paymaster-general of the forces, are yet received by him from the exchequer, under some head of regimental service, either before or at the time the clearings of the regiments are issued to him, we enquired after the produce of the intermediate years and find, that in the year 1780, the savings which had arisen from this fund for the five preceding years, amounting to 113,998l. 7s. 4d. had been applied by parliament in aid of the extraordinaries incurred, but not provided for in the year 1779; and, consequently, this sum had been until that time, accumulating in the hands of the paymaster-general, and formed a part of his balance in that year.

As the sums for this service are issued on account, and there does not appear any check, either upon the application of the deputy paymaster, or upon the issue of the paymaster-general, we obtained from the war-office, an account of the

gross produce of the allowance to widows every year for ten years, ending the 25th of December, 1781; and from the deputy paymaster of the widows pensions, an account of his receipts and payments for this service every year for ten years, ending the 25th of December last, with the balance remaining at the end of each year, and the balance remaining in his hands at the time he quitted the office: from hence it appears, that the gross produce of this fund, arising from the pay of the land forces and marines together, for the ten years contained in the account, was 240,079l. 4s. 8d. the receipts by the deputy paymaster of the widows pensions, during the ten years of his account, amounted to 149,530l. 11s. 8d. and his payments (exclusive of the sum of 20,769l. 12s. 6d. herein after mentioned not paid to widows) to 137,748l. 19s. 6d. and it is observable, that the balance in the hands of the deputy paymaster increased gradually from 34,817l. 1s. 5d. in the year 1771, to 65,091l. 2s. 2d. in the year 1779; and that from the smallness of his receipts in the two succeeding years, and the magnitude of his apparent payments in the year 1781, it fell, in that year, to 17,875l. 14s. 11d. As it was obvious such a decrease in the balance could not arise from a sudden increase in the pensions to widows, we inquired into the cause; and found that out of the sum of 34,063l. 11s. inserted in the column of payments, for the year 1781, 20,769l. 12s. 6d. was paid back by the deputy paymaster of the widows pensions to the paymaster-general of the forces; which sum constituted a part of the savings applied by parliament the preceding year in aid of the army extraordinaries.

The more this subject of balance



is fitted the greater appears the necessity for the regulations of substituting annually specific funds upon estimate for these services, in the place of the compound funds in use, and of placing this, as well as all the other cash for the army services, in the custody of the Bank, and of examining, once a year at least, into every expenditure. The present mode of conducting this service, has been the means of swelling the balance in the hands of the paymaster-general of the forces, and of creating another balance in the hands of the officer intrusted with the execution. The average balance in the hands of Mr. Powell (for to no other person do the issues of this service appear to have been made) for these last ten years has been 46,848l. 8s. 11d. and when he quitted the office in March last, the sum in his possession was 21,350l. 2s. of which he paid over to Mr. Moore, who was appointed to officiate as deputy paymaster in his room, upon the 21st of March last, by the direction of the secretary at war, 21,000l. As this sum far exceeds the expenditure of any of the former years, we inquired into the probable demands upon it; and learned from Mr. Moore, that the part of it remaining in his hands on the 1st of May, was 19,971l. 16s. 11d. that the next four months payment in the beginning of June will require between 4 and 5000l. and that the arrears are probably inconsiderable.

A return from the war office shews that the number of widows upon the establishment for the present year is 669, and the sum to be paid them, 15,984l. and that by installments every four months. We are therefore of opinion, that the deputy paymaster in office has in his

hands a larger sum than the service requires; that he should retain as much as is sufficient for the next four months payment, and to satisfy such arrears as may be unpaid, and that the residue ought, without delay, to be paid by him into the Bank, and placed to the account of the paymaster-general of the forces, and to be applied to the services of the army; and that so long as this service shall be carried on in its present mode, the paymaster-general of the forces shall, some short time before every payment, upon the requisition of the deputy paymaster of the pensions, stating the sum then in his hands, and the sum wanted for the succeeding payment, issue to him, by his draft upon the Bank, the sum necessary to complete such payment.

The emoluments accruing to the officers in the office of the paymaster of the widows pensions, are these: the auditor of the imprest is directed, by his majesty's orders and instructions relative to this office, to allow the paymaster 12d. for every 20s. received and paid by him, for his expence, care, and trouble in the service; not to be deducted out of the pensions, but to be allowed him in his discharge out of the money he receives for the service: this sum in the account before us is 1,362l. 0s. 1d. that is, 681l. for each of these years.

The deputy paymaster is allowed by the king's warrant 100l. a year, for his extraordinary trouble and care in paying the widows pensions, and in stating and settling the accounts; and he receives, by custom, from the auditor of the imprest, one third of the sum inserted and allowed in the discharge for the fees and disbursements for  
stating,



stating, examining, and passing the accounts : this sum, in the account before us, is 165*l.* of which, one third is 55*l.* that is 27*l.* 10*s.* a year, which makes the profit to the deputy, 127*l.* 10*s.* a year. These emoluments to the paymaster and his deputy, amounting to 808*l.* 10*s.* a year, are a charge upon the public.

The two clerks are paid in a different manner. The war-office clerk has a salary of 92*l.* a year from the secretary at war, besides which, he receives a moiety of two kinds of customary payments from the widows ; each pays two guineas when she first receives her pension ; and at the rate of 6*s.* a year, that is, 2*s.* for each four months payment afterwards. These two fees are equally divided between the two clerks, and the moiety of them, together with the odd pence, forms the whole of the profit accruing to the pay-office clerk from this employment.

The office of paymaster of the widows pensions appears to us, from this description, to be an unnecessary office. The public derives from it no utility whatever ; it is a perfect sinecure ; and the office of the deputy is not much more : he only serves as a channel, and that not wanted, to convey the money for this service from the paymasters of the forces and marines to the pay clerk, whose attendance is three entire weeks, and one day in every other week in the year.

The payment of this bounty is an army service ; it is made out of money voted for army services, and by a clerk in the pay-office. If the measure of voting upon estimate a distinct fund for this service should be adopted, the whole must be issued from the exchequer to the bank, and placed to the account

of the paymaster-general of the forces. What then forbids that the whole of this business should be transacted at the pay-office by a single clerk, to be appointed to that particular branch ? These pensions may all be paid, as many of them are now, and as the other army payments are required by act of parliament to be made, by drafts upon the bank ; and the accounts of the payments for this service may be incorporated and passed with the other accounts of the paymaster-general of the forces.

The proper payment for this clerk is a salary only. The acceptance of any fee, gratuity, or other reward, ought to be strictly prohibited. It is not for the honour of government, that his majesty's bounty should be curtailed by gratuities and fees of office : no part is to be intercepted ; it should pass to the object as liberally and as entire as it flows from the royal beneficence.

Since then these pensions may be paid without the intervention of so many officers, and at a much less expence to the public, that principle of public oeconomy, pointed out to us as the rule to direct our judgment, a principle this nation feels most sensibly the necessity of attending to, leads us to be of opinion, that the office of paymaster of the widows pensions is a useless and unnecessary expence to the public, and ought, therefore, no longer to be suffered to subsist ; and that all the business of this office should be transferred to the pay-office of the army.

The other officer, who accounts annually for the money issued to him by the paymaster-general of the forces, is the agent for the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital.—William Brummell, esq. who holds



this office, and Charles Harris, esq. who acts for the deputy-treasurer of the hospital, gave us an account in what manner this business is transacted.

The office of agent for the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, was created by the act of the 28th of George II. chap. 1. for the purpose of receiving the money for this service from the treasurer of the hospital (that is, from the paymaster-general of the forces), and of paying or remitting it to the out-pensioners. The fund is a sum voted annually by parliament upon estimate.

Twice in the year a requisition is sent by the secretary and register of the hospital to the treasurer, stating the number of out-pensioners, and the sums to be advanced them for the succeeding half year. After the treasurer has received money from the exchequer, a warrant issues from the board of commissioners for the government of the hospital, signed by three or more of them, to the treasurer, requiring him to issue to the agent for the out-pensioners, such sums as shall be due to them for the six months ensuing. In consequence of this warrant, the treasurer issues to his deputy such a sum as he thinks proper. A list of the out-pensioners is made out every half year by the secretary and register, and transmitted to the agent: he copies it, and applies to the deputy-treasurer, who issues to him upon account such a sum as, in his judgment, will be sufficient to satisfy the payment of that list, retaining out of it 12d. in the pound, according to the directions of the act of parliament.

There are three sorts of out-pensioners; the common men, who are paid 5d. a day; the nine-penny

men, who have 9d. and the letter men who have 1s. but from all these payments the 12d. in the pound is deducted: they are all paid half yearly, six months in advance, and are dispersed over Great Britain and Ireland, and a few of them live in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; consequently it becomes necessary for this officer to employ deputies and agents, in various parts, to assist him in transacting this business. His last settled account, transmitted to us by the auditor of the impress, was declared before the chancellor of the exchequer upon the 28th of June 1781; it is for one year, ending the 24th of December 1775; and comprehends the payment of about 15,900 pensioners. The total charge upon him in that year, is 112,440l. 6s. 3d. his total discharge is 105,495l. 6s. 2d. The accounts of the three succeeding years are in the office of the auditor; and two years more will be ready to be delivered in about three months. The difficulty of procuring and adjusting the vouchers, retards the accounts from being made up in the office to a later period.

This officer is paid by a salary of 1000l. a year; which, by the payment of taxes, deputies, clerks, contingent expences and fees, is reduced to 380l. a year.

As the fund for this service is a specific sum voted every year by parliament, which passes from the exchequer through the hands of the treasurer to his deputy, and from him to the agent who distributes it, we traced its progress through these several channels.

We extracted from the Votes of the House of Commons the grants for the out-pensioners, from the year 1775 to the year 1782 inclusive; we procured from the pay-office



office of the army, an account of the gross sums received by the paymaster-general of the forces, for this service, from the exchequer: we learned from the deputy-treasurer what portions of those sums had been issued to him by his principal, and what portions he had issued to the agent during the same period; and from the agent we received an account of his gross receipts and payments every year, from 1775 to 1780: and that the state of these sums, as they passed to the different officers, may appear at one view, we have brought them together into one account; which shews what portion of each sum stopped in each stage of its progress; and what proportion the total of the balances, unapplied in the possession of these officers at the end of each year, bore to the sum voted.

The surplus in the hands of the deputy-treasurer arises, in part, from the savings out of the poundage: this, like the rest of the sums granted for army services, is made liable to a deduction of 12d. in the pound, to be applied in the manner which his majesty shall, by warrant under his royal sign manual, direct. This deduction is not blended with the army poundage: a distinct account is kept of it; and it has been applied to the annual payments of 1000l. salary to the agent, and of two allowances, 600l. to the deputy-treasurer, and 300l. to the secretary; together, 1900l. a year. No other payments appear to have been made out of it; and therefore this fund has far exceeded the charges upon it.

So much of the savings as accrued to the 24th of December 1773, was paid back to the paymaster-general of the forces: so much of them as accrued from that

time to the 24th of December 1780, amounting to 22,645l. 2s. 7d. was, in October last, pursuant to his majesty's warrant, paid into the exchequer, to be applied towards the supply of the year 1782. The balance of this deduction, remaining in the hands of the deputy-treasurer upon the 24th of December last, was 3021l. 15s. 2d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ : but as the money, applicable to the general service of the hospital, is not paid by government at the time it becomes due, the deputy-treasurer having received nothing for that service to a later period than the 24th of June last, has been obliged to apply part of this balance in defraying the current expences of the hospital.

The same reasons upon which the abolition of the army poundage is grounded, weigh equally against keeping up this deduction: it is of no utility; it serves only to generate a balance in the hands of an officer, for no other purpose than that of paying it back again when required by proper authority. Neither the salaries, nor any other service, to which this poundage is now applicable, require the existence of any such fund: they may all be defrayed out of the gross sum voted for the service. The sum estimated for the payment of the out-pensioners, may, as it is wanted, be issued to the agent by the draft of the treasurer upon the bank; and the agent will continue to pay them the same sums they receive at this day.

The issues to the agent seem to have been more abundant than was necessary. The average balance in his hands, for the four first years in his account, was 4999l. 14s. in the year 1780 it was reduced to 1657l. 9s. 2d. As this may be presumed to have been a sum suffi-



cient for the demands of the service, it is probable the issue of the former years exceeded what the service required; and it is expedient that future issues should be calculated with greater exactness.

The regimental agents are a class of men who receive money from the paymaster-general of the forces, for which they are accountable, not before the auditor of the imprest, but to the secretary at war. This money is placed by every agent to an account kept for each regiment and corps to which he is agent, called in the cavalry the stock-purse; and in the infantry, the non-effective fund. It consists of the non-effective subsistence of each regiment and corps issued to him by the paymaster-general, either under the head of subsistence, or in the clearings: a part of it is called the vacant subsistence, which is described in his majesty's warrant for regulating the non-effective fund, annexed to our last report to arise "where a vacancy happens between the days whereon each captain usually receives the subsistence of his company." The purposes to which this fund is to be applied are directed by that warrant.

That the public might be informed of the present state of this fund, we required from every agent an account of the balances of the stock-purse of the cavalry, and of the non-effective fund of the infantry, belonging to each regiment, troop, and company, including the guards, invalids, militia, and fencibles, of which they are or have been agents, remaining in their hands, custody, or power, at the time when the accounts were severally made up. We have inserted in the appendix the returns made to this requisition; in which

we have distinguished the agents who have money in their hands, from those who have none; and where an agent to different regiments has balances in his hands upon the non-effective accounts of some, and has disbursed more than he has received upon the non-effective accounts of others; we have inserted in a second column the balance due to him on the latter account, and in a third column the difference of the two balances, as shewing the real sum of public money remaining in his hands upon the balance of his non-effective accounts taken together: but some of them informed us, that they had advanced other considerable sums in the payment of contingent bills, and of extraordinaries, on account of many of the regiments and corps; which payments they could not include in these returns, because they are not such charges as are allowed by the king's warrant to be brought against the non-effective funds: yet until these sums are repaid to them by government, they are a diminution of the total of the public money actually in their hands at the times their returns are dated.

The total sum of non-effective money, in the hands of all the regimental agents taken collectively, and for which they are accountable, appears by the schedule of their returns, to be 123,416*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; an important sum, of which the public has a right to expect from the office entrusted with the power a speedy examination and adjustment.

Should the regulations, suggested in our last report, of abolishing the warrant men, and issuing the subsistence according to muster, be adopted, the only supply for the non-effective fund will be the vacant



cant subsistence, and the non-effective subsistence that may be casually issued, when a vacancy happens between the return of the muster and the issue of the subsistence; but this will not be sufficient to carry on the recruiting service, which requires a sum in advance, ready for immediate application. To supply this deficiency, we have suggested the creation of a specific fund, to be voted annually, and a distinct account to be kept of the issues.

An examination every year into the state of this recruiting fund in the hands of each agent, will be the means of keeping it within its proper bounds; and a punctual payment by government, of services as soon as they are incurred, will take away every pretence for having in his hands more money than is necessary for the service.

The public accountants are numerous; and as the public is deeply interested in preventing the accumulation of balances in their hands, it would be a useful and necessary regulation, that in all cases where money is issued from time to time upon account to carry on a service that has continuance, the officers intrusted with the direction of the issue should be enjoined, as a duty upon every issue, to examine into the state of the money remaining in the hands of the accountant, and the demands it is subject to, and to regulate the sum to be issued accordingly: by these means the service will be supplied with no more than it wants, and that tendency which every balance has to increase, will be checked.

The remaining class are the army sub-accountants, or those persons who receive money on account from the paymaster-general of the forces for extraordinary services of the army. At the end of every

year's account of a paymaster-general is added a list of the insupers of the year; and to his final account is annexed a list of the insupers during the whole time of his being in office. All the persons thus set insuper remain accountable to the public for the sums set opposite their names, until they are cleared by the auditor of the imprest; and, in order to their being cleared and obtaining their quietus, they must pass their accounts in his office, except in one particular instance, that is, where the service has been performed abroad, and the account has been allowed by the director-general of control, and signed by a commissary-general, and the balance paid by the deputy-paymaster-general, pursuant to a warrant of the commander in chief. Upon the production of this warrant by the paymaster-general, with the stated account annexed, so allowed and signed as his voucher for the payment of that balance, the auditor will clear the insuper, though the account has not been passed by himself; but in every other case passing the account in the office of the auditor is essential to obtaining the quietus.

The further we proceed in our investigation of the army accounts, the greater we found the increase of this insuper account. We thought it a part of our duty to examine into its present state as far as we were able.

Upon inspecting the schedules annexed to the writ of *diuturnitas ad computandum*, transmitted to us by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, we observed, among others, two lists of army insupers; the one upon the final account of the late Earl of Chatham, ending the 24th of December 1755, and declared the 7th of January 1769; the other upon the final account of the late



Earl of Darlington and others, ending the 24th of June 1757, and declared the 13th of July 1770. We transmitted to the auditors of the imprest copies of these lists, requiring from them the names of those persons therein mentioned, whose accounts have been cleared since the passing of those final accounts.

From the returns to this requisition it appears, that the total sum issued by Lord Chatham upon account, and remaining unaccounted for at the time of the declaration of his final account, was 1,91,689l. 6s. 8d. that since that time insupers have been cleared to the amount of 148,054l. 4s. 5d. which leaves, of his issues, 943,635l. 2s. 3d. unaccounted for at this day.

The list upon the final account of the Earl of Darlington and others, amounted to 286,094l. 18s. 2d. of which 23,1. 6s. 8d. only has been accounted for; so that the sum remaining insuper upon that account, is 285,861l. 11s. 6d.

We proceeded to the accounts of the subsequent paymasters-general, in the order in which they succeeded to that office. We required from the auditors of the imprest, lists of the persons remaining insuper upon the final accounts of Henry Lord Holland, Mr Charles Townshend, Lord North and Mr Cooke, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend, and upon the two accounts of Mr. Rigby, ending the 24th of December 1769, being the only accounts at that time delivered by him into the office of the auditor. We required from the pay-office of the army, lists of all persons to whom money had been issued on account by the paymasters-general of the forces, pursuant either to the king's warrants or the warrants of commanders in chief abroad, since the 24th

of December 1769, with the sums issued to each. These lists, transmitted to us from the pay-office, we likewise sent to the auditors of the imprest, for them to examine and certify what persons there inserted had passed their accounts, and for what sums.

The lists produced to us in consequence of these requisitions, are all inserted in the appendix, and furnish us with the following facts:

The payments upon account made by Henry Lord Holland, between the 25th of June 1757 and the 24th of June 1765, and now remaining to be accounted for upon his final account not yet declared, amount to 12,246,956l. 12s. 10d.; and this list does not include the insupers upon the unsettled account of Robert Paris Taylor, esq. his late deputy in Germany.

Upon the final account of Mr. Charles Townshend, ending the 24th of June 1766, and declared the 29th of June 1782, remain insupers to the amount of 202,098l. 19s. 10d.

Upon the final account of lord North and Mr. Cooke, ending the 24th of December 1767, and declared the 7th of September 1782, 189,734l. 7s. 6d.

Upon the final account of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend, ending the 24th of June 1768, and declared the 19th of April 1782, 34,750l. 0s. 5d.; and upon the two accounts of Mr. Rigby, ending the 24th of December 1769, 165,967l. 9s. 3d.; and upon the list of payments issued by him and the succeeding paymasters-general of the forces from the 24th of December 1769 to the 6th of May last, pursuant to his majesty's warrants, 17,444,903l. 7s. 5d. and pursuant to the warrants of commanders in chief abroad, 7,420,013l. 5s.

He



He has likewise issued to several persons, since the 24th of December 1769, the sum of 5,218,625l. 11s.; which sum has been accounted for, and is, therefore, not included in the above lists.

Among these persons still subject to account, are several to whom various sums have been issued at different times: we have selected a few of the most considerable; and collecting together all the sums issued to each in all these lists, we have stated the total for which each person stands at this day accountable to the public.

The result from these lists is, that under the head of issues for the extraordinary services of the army between the year 1746 and the 6th of May last, 664 persons remain at this day accountable to the public, for the sum of 38,933,920l. 16s.; and of them six persons only for the sum of 4,214,487l.: and according to the present course of the exchequer, every one of them must pass his accounts of the whole sum he has received before the auditors of the impress, or he cannot have his quietus.

It is equally expedient for the public and for the persons concerned, that the state of this insuper account should be made known. Whoever of these accountants are, upon the balance of their accounts, indebted to the public, should pay such debts; if the public are indebted to them, they should be paid; if their accounts are even, they ought to be quieted; if, through ignorance or delusion, they think themselves secure, they ought to be warned that prerogative process hangs over their persons and estates; and the longer they delay passing their accounts, the greater difficulty they will find in avoiding it.

That persons, entrusted to such

an extent, should continue so long without being called to account, and, being so deeply interested, should not long ago anxiously have pressed to have their accounts adjusted, was a difficulty that seemed not easily reconcileable with public attention or common prudence: the examination of one of these accountants might throw some light upon the subject.

In the final account of lord North and Mr. Cooke, Anthony Bacon, esq. is set insuper 2798l. 9s. 4d. for victualling the forces in the Isle of Man; and for incidental charges in the years 1765, 1766, and 1767: in Mr. Rigby's accounts, ending the 24th of December 1769, he is likewise set insuper with Lewis Chauvet, esq. 11,745l. 7s. 3d. for negroes employed in the ceded islands. We procured two of the warrants for the payment of parts of these sums; the first, dated the 10th of February 1767, for the payment of 1104l. 6s. 10d. "upon account to satisfy and discharge the like sum due to him;" to this warrant were annexed an account stating the articles he had supplied to the forces in the Isle of Man, as the ground of his claim, and a report of the controller of the army accounts: the second, dated the 20th of December 1768, for the payment of 1083l. 1cs. 4d. "without deduction and without account," in full for the balance of his account of negroes employed in the new ceded islands: to this warrant is annexed a stated account, containing all his receipts and payments for this service, and the balance struck.

We examined Mr. Bacon relative to the circumstance of these payments. The first was a claim by him upon the treasury, for having, pursuant to an agreement, supplied



for a certain time, certain articles to the troops in the Isle of Man: the treasury referred this claim to the controllers of the army accounts; and upon their report, granted him the warrant for the payment of the sum that appeared to be due to him: the other was a stated account, consisting of various specific sums paid to him from time to time, by warrants, either upon the exchequer or the paymaster-general of the forces, for services performed pursuant to a contract with the treasury, for supplying negroes for the use of the ceded islands. These sums were not imprests, but directed to be made without account. Upon production of proper certificates of the execution, this account was settled by the treasury; the balance struck, and paid to him by that warrant.

As the first of these payments was made to him in consequence of the report of the controller of the army accounts; and the second, as the balance of a stated settled account, Mr. Bacon considered them as accounts completely adjusted: he did not conceive himself any longer responsible, or subject to render any other account for the sums he had received in consequence of these two engagements.

It is more than probable that many of the persons in these lists are in the like situation. Satisfied that their accounts with the public are finally settled, they rest perfectly secure from being ever called to account again; and yet, the names of all the persons in the lists of Lord Chatham and Lord Darlington, have, twice a year, for several years, been issued with the writ of *disfringas ad computandum* to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex; and, had that process been executed, issues must have been returned

upon them all for neglecting to bring in their accounts.

Mr. Bacon's two accounts having been settled, one by the controller of the army accounts, the other by the treasury; we examined Sir John Dick, bart. one of the controllers of the army accounts, and John Martin Leake, esq. one of the clerks of the treasury, relative to the examinations given to accounts of this description in their offices.

All the issues for the army extraordinaries ought regularly to be examined by the controller of the accounts of the army; but in some cases, as where the agreement is to furnish articles upon commission, or where the vouchers of an account stating the performance of a contract are competent and require no reference, they have been examined by a clerk of the treasury, and payments have been directed to be made in consequence of that examination, without any other reference, and without account.

Every contract with the treasury is entered in the controller's office. Where it is an agreement only by a minute made at the treasury board, either a copy of that minute is brought to the controller's office to be entered, or the controller has recourse to the original minute when necessary. Every account or claim grounded upon the contract or agreement, is generally referred, with the vouchers and other necessary instruments, by the lords of the treasury, to the controller for his examination and opinion: he compares the articles in the account with the terms of the contract or treasury minute, and with their correspondent vouchers; he examines the computations and castings, and requires the certificate of the proper officer, of the faithful execution of the contract in every part;



part; he corrects the errors in the account; he states his doubts, and reports his opinion to the lords of the treasury, who form their judgment upon his report, and direct payments accordingly.

Issues directed by the treasury upon these contracts, may be either previous to the execution of any part of the contract, or in consequence of either a part or the whole having been performed: the first is without the intervention of the controller or the treasury clerk, and must be upon account: the other two are in consequence of the reference to one of them, and may be directed to be made, either upon, or without account; but they are usually upon account. Hence we may collect the situation in which the sub-accountants under our consideration may at present stand. To some of them the sums they are charged with, may have been issued on account, and no examination whatever had of the expenditure. To others, sums may have been issued, either upon, or without account, in consequence of the reports of the controller of the army accounts, or of the examinations of the clerks of the treasury; and the auditors of the imprest have seen reason, according to the rules of their office, to set them all insuper, though some of the warrants may have been silent, or have even directed the issues to be made without account. There can be no doubt that those persons whose accounts have never been examined, are bound to pass them: but those to whom payments have been made in consequence of accounts examined and approved by officers duly authorized, stand upon a different ground. If such an examination be liable to no suspicion of carelessness, partiality, or collu-

sion; if it has such credit as to warrant the actual payment of the demand, any farther check seems to be unnecessary. The auditor follows exactly the steps of the controller; he re-computes, re-casts, and re-examines the same or similar vouchers. It is true, he may correct the errors of the controller, as the latter has corrected his errors; for the statements of the auditor have been referred to and corrected by the controller; but if the possibility of error were a ground for re-examination, checks would be endless. If two persons competent in accounts do their duty; if each examines, and they both agree, the probability is they are both right, for it is highly improbable they should both err exactly alike; and, therefore, if an office for the examination of accounts be faithfully executed, there is no necessity for the interposition of any other office by way of check.

The passing these accounts in the office of the auditor is not only useless, but attended with very considerable expence, and the public pays it. The fees paid for passing an account of extraordinaries in the office of the auditor, are in proportion to the length and period of the account, and the trouble it gives to the office. Where the account comprehends a number of years, the auditor is paid from ten pounds to twenty-five pounds for each year of the account. All the fees for passing a short account through all the exchequer offices, amount to about 40*l.* and a long one to 120*l.* Estimating the expence of passing the accounts of 664 insupers (the number in these lists) in the auditor's office, one with another at a medium of 80*l.* each, it will amount to 53,120*l.* a sum to be paid for business unnecessary,



necessary, and which ought, especially in the present state of its finances, to be saved to the public.

It will not be difficult to distinguish which of these accounts have been examined, and which not. The controller keeps entries of all his reports in his office. The treasury can certainly with ease find out what accounts have been settled by their clerks; and by the publication of these lists of insupers, they who are alive, and the representatives of those who are dead, will see the sums for which they stand accountable to the public; it nearly concerns them all to examine into the state of their accounts, and to be ready to produce them when called upon by proper authority.

We are of opinion, that all these lists of sub-accountants should forthwith undergo a scrutiny in the treasury, and in the office of the controller of the accounts of the army; that such of the persons therein named, or the representatives of those who are dead, whose accounts have been either imperfectly or not at all examined, should be compelled to produce their accounts in the office of the controller of the accounts of the army, in order for their examination; and that those persons whose accounts shall appear to have been sufficiently examined, either by the controller or the clerks of the treasury, should be relieved from the necessity of passing their accounts in the office of the auditors of the imprest, and should, by special warrants to be granted for that purpose, have their insupers cleared in the final accounts of the paymasters-general of the forces, from whom they received the sums with which they stand charged, and be enabled to obtain their quietus.

The next subject to which we di-

rected our attention, was the state of the accounts of the paymasters-general of the forces in the office of the auditors of the imprest. The account we had been examining, was the last declared account of a paymaster-general of the forces, and of the year 1767; only one account more of a subsequent year, which is that of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend, ending the 24th of June 1768, has been declared. An arrear of 14 years in the accounts of an office so important and of so extensive a public expenditure, was a subject that called for inquiry.

We required from the auditors of the imprest the state of the accounts of the paymasters-general of the forces in their offices, distinguishing the times when the several parts of the accounts were delivered in, and the progress made towards completing the same.

In the return to this requisition from the office of Lord Sondes, the first article is the final account of Henry Lord Holland, for six months, ending the 24th of June 1765: it is stated to have been delivered to the auditor in 1772. The accounts of three succeeding paymasters, for the three succeeding years, have been declared; but this account is neither declared, nor ready for declaration. It was incumbent upon us to enquire into the causes that obstructed the completion of an account of so remote a period.

This account had been under our consideration in the beginning of the year 1781, as far as regarded the balance then due from the representatives of Lord Holland to the public: what farther progress had been made in it since that time, both in the auditor's office and in the pay office, we learned from Joseph Hughes, esq. one of the deputy-  
auditors,



auditors, Mr. Thomas Gibbes, one of the clerks in the office of Lord Sondes, and Mr. John Colborne, an assistant in the pay-office, who has been the principal person employed in making up the accounts of Lord Holland.

This account has been ready for declaration, as far as the auditor has been enabled to proceed with it, ever since the year 1778; the two parts have been engrossed for above two years, and it has waited only for the acting executor of Lord Holland to strike the balance, and attest the account. Since it has been ingrossed, several additions have from time to time been made to the book of account in the pay-office: such as were made before Christmas last have been entered in the ingrossments. Some time about Christmas, the book of account was taken from the office of the auditor to the pay-office, for the purpose of adding two articles to the charge, amounting to 1368l. 9s. 3d. arising from errors in the account pointed out by the auditor. At this time the balance (including these two articles) agreed by the pay-office, and by them pencilled into the book of account, was 68,008l. 6s. 6d. <sup>71</sup>/<sub>100</sub>. Soon after Christmas the book was returned to the auditor, with several other articles, amounting together to 48,799l. 10s. 11d. added to the end of the charge, and inserted next before the two pointed out by the auditor; and upon the 12th of February, in consequence of a letter from Lord Sondes to Mr. Powell, an addition was made of three more articles; amounting to 774l. 7s. 3d. which are the last additions to the charge. An allowance was also claimed of 2845l. 17s. 10d. in addition to the discharge. Supposing this claim to be well founded, the balance due on the 12th of Fe-

bruary last from the representatives of Lord Holland, as paymaster-general of the forces, to the public, was 114,736l. 6s. 10d.

The balance of public money in the hands, custody, or power of the representatives of Lord Holland, as paymaster-general of the forces, upon the 27th of September 1780, returned to our precept by John Powell, esq. his only acting executor, and attested by him on oath before us upon the 28th of March 1781, as being, to the best of his knowledge, the whole balance then remaining upon the account of the said Lord Holland, was 256,456l. 2s. 4d.; of this balance he paid into the exchequer in November 1781, pursuant to the act of the 21st of his present majesty, 232,515l. 4s. 8d. which reduced the balance in his hands to 23,940l. 17s. 8d.; this being deducted from 114,736l. 6s. 10d. his balance upon the 12th of February, leaves 90,795l. 9s. 2d.; of which 39,853l. 1s. 9d. was included in the charge before Christmas last, and 50,942l. 7s. 5d. was added to it between Christmas and the 12th of February. Such appeared the increase of the debt due to the public from the representatives of Lord Holland, since the 27th of September 1780. By what means this balance could accumulate to such a degree since Mrs. Powell's examination before us, and and fifteen years after Lord Holland had resigned the office of paymaster-general, was a difficulty that wanted explanation.

We required from the auditor of the impress a copy of the additions made to the charge and discharge of the final account of Henry Lord Holland, as paymaster-general of the forces, between the 27th of September 1780, and the 5th of October last, and also a copy of the like



like additions since the 5th of October last.

It was not in the power of the auditor to comply with our first requisition, nor were we able by any means, to discover either what the particular additions were, or at what times any of them were entered upon the account prior to the 5th of October last; for the entries upon the account are without date, and no memorandum or minute of the time, or subject matter of the entry is kept in the offices either of the auditor or of the paymaster-general. It has been usual for the pay-office to leave, in different parts of the body of the account blanks for sums not ascertained when the account is first drawn out, and to fill them up afterwards at such times when they take the book back to the office.

It was in the power of the auditor to answer our other requisition; for all the additions since the 5th of October, were entered together at the end of the charge in the account. He returned to us a state of them; but the entries of these articles being also without the material circumstance of dates and authorities, we annexed a copy of this return to a precept to the pay-office, requiring an account of the times when, and the warrants and authorities by which, the sums contained in that return were respectively paid into the hands, or placed to the account of the paymaster-general of the forces, with the dates of such warrants, and by whom granted. They returned to us this state completed as we desired; it consists of a variety of articles which may be classed under five heads: sums paid to deputies of Lord Holland, amounting to 19,251. 6s. 11d.—two articles of profit on remittances, 9,518l. 4s.

7d.—Stoppages made by deputies, 20,025l. 19s. 5d.—the two articles pointed out by the auditor, 1368l. 9s. 3d.—and the three articles added the 12th of February, 774l. 7s. 3d. the total of these additions is 50,942l. 7s. 5d. The dates of all of them, except the two discovered by the auditor, are comprehended between the year 1758 and 1765 inclusive; several of the sums are directed to be paid to, and most of the stoppages to be made by the deputies, pursuant to warrants of commanders in chief; for the payment of others of them no authority appears.

All the articles that were charges upon Lord Holland, have been several years ago selected from his ledger accounts, and at different times all inserted in his book of account: the additions which were entered about Christmas last, and the three entered the 12th of February, complete the charge against him. It rested now with Mr. Powell alone to explain to us the reason why near 90,000l. the difference between his balance in September 1780, and the present balance of the account in the office of the auditor, was not included in his return to our precept upon the 27th of September 1780; and for this purpose we required his attendance.

Upon our informing him, at his desire, of the subject we intended to examine him upon, he begged the indulgence of a few days for consideration. Upon his next attendance he delivered to us, in writing, a request, that his examination might be deferred; alledging, that he was informed it was under consideration, whether a criminal prosecution should not be commenced against him, on account of his examination upon oath,



oath, taken by us in February and March 1781, left questions should be put, the answers to which might tend to accuse himself. Upon producing to us, at his next attendance, a copy of an extract of a minute of the lords commissioners of the treasury, dated the 27th of February, and being informed by William Chamberlayne, esq. the solicitor to the treasury, that a criminal prosecution was in their contemplation, we postponed the examination of Mr. Powell.

But we did not desist from pursuing such other means of information upon this subject as were within our reach. We had recourse to the official books of the paymaster-general of the forces (now declared by the legislature to be the property of the public) in the pay-office of the army. We directed the attendance of Mr. Powell, Mr. Bembridge, and Mr. Colborne, at the pay-office, that they might not be ignorant of our proceedings, and might be ready to give us such information relative to the accounts, as we might think proper to require: in their presence we inspected those books of Lord Holland's accounts, from whence the articles added to the charge in his final account, and included in the return made to us from the pay-office, had been extracted.

From this inspection, and from the examination of Mr. John Colborne, we find, that such of those articles as consist of payments made to deputy-paymasters, had long ago been entered in the proper books belonging to each respective deputy, as charges against him. It is usual for the deputies abroad to return to the pay-office in London, as often as they have opportunity, accounts of their receipts and payments, down as low as to

the date of their accounts, with the vouchers. The accounts are immediately examined in the office, and entered in the books of each respective deputy; and when the account of the year to which these receipts and payments belong, is made up for the auditor, these articles are posted to their separate accounts in the ledger. The two articles stated in the return as profit on remittances, were made up, one of them about the year 1764, under the direction of Mr. Nicholls, the then accountant of the pay-office; the other, about four or five years ago, under the direction of Mr. Powell. The stoppages are taken from the accounts of the deputies, and entered in their respective books. All the articles composing the sum of 20,025l. 19s. 5d. the amount of the stoppages, were posted into the ledger, to the accounts of the proper deputies, previous to the year 1772, when the final account was sent to the auditor; and one of these articles in this list is 6854l. 7s. 6d. consisting of stoppages by Mr. Powell, as deputy-paymaster at Quebec. All the deputies mentioned in this return are dead; and all their accounts have been long since made up, except that of Mr. Barrow, and that appears now to be finished.

We required a state of the balances of the deputies to Lord Holland, as they now stand between such deputies and the acting executor of Lord Holland. By this return, the sum now due from them amounts to 41,626l. 19s. 4d. but for which the acting executor is answerable to the public.

The circumstance in this inquiry that materially concerns the interest of the public, is their claim upon the estate of the late Lord Holland: this claim is much greater



ter than it was conceived to be: according to Mr. Powell's account (whose duty it was, and who, as accountant in the pay-office from June 1765 to March 1776, and cashier ever since, and as the only acting executor of Lord Holland, must be presumed to know with precision) the total debt to the public upon the 27th of September 1780, was 256,456l. 2s. 4d. What the balance of the account in the office of the auditor might be at that time, was totally immaterial; the debt to the public was the same, however incomplete that account was, or whatever entries might be wanting to the charge or the discharge. After the payments into the exchequer in the year 1781, this debt was reduced to 23,940l. 17s. 8d. In February last the account in the auditor's office states an increase, in consequence of an agreed and pencilled balance, and of additions (except in two small articles) voluntarily made to the charge in the pay office, to 114,736l. 6s. 10d. In March last Mr. Powell paid into the exchequer in part of his balance 20,000l. which reduced it to 94,736l. 6s. 10d. a sum to which the public has at this time confessedly an undoubted right: but this sum too may be varied by two articles not yet decided, the one in the charge, the other in the discharge.

In the charge upon the final account of Lord Holland, there is an article of 29,556l. 11s. 6d. profit on exchange made by Peter Taylor, esq. his deputy in Germany. In order to check this article, the auditor has frequently required from the pay-office the materials from whence this sum was computed and made out. He was furnished about Christmas last with a book dated the 12th of May

1764, under the signature of Peter Taylor, intituled, "Account of profit and loss to the public on all payments made by Peter Taylor, deputy-paymaster in Germany." The auditor has examined this book, and discovered in it variety of errors to the amount of 8,577l. 13s. 10d. in favour of the public: he sent his observations upon these errors to Mr. Powell the 23d of February; in consequence of which, some of the articles objected to, have been examined on the part of Lord Holland, and found to agree with the computations of the auditor: the rest are as yet unexamined. In the discharge, the article of 2845l. 17s. 10d. is under the consideration of the lords of the treasury: they have not decided, whether they shall admit or reject the claim of Mr. Powell to be allowed this sum among his payments. Should this article be disallowed, and the errors in the profit and loss account be found to be real, the sum due to the public will be 106,159l. 18s. 6d.

Hence appears the present state of the debt due to the public from the representatives of Henry Lord Holland as paymaster-general of the forces. The public have, at all events, an undoubted right to the sum of 94,736l. 6s. 10d. and, therefore, in obedience to the act that regulates our conduct, we report it as our opinion, that the representatives of Lord Holland ought, without delay, to pay into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, upon the terms mentioned in the act of the 21st of his present majesty, chapter 48th, the sum of 94,736l. 6s. 10d. to be applied to the service of the public; and, as it is highly expedient, as well for the quiet of the persons interested as for the satisfaction of the public, that



that an account so long depending, and of so remote a period, should be brought to a conclusion, we are of opinion the doubtful articles should forthwith be examined and decided upon, and the balance struck between the public and the accountant, and this account be presented for declaration.

In the states of the accounts of the paymasters-general of the forces, in the office of the auditors of the imprest, the accounts standing next after the final account of Lord Holland, are those of the right honourable Richard Rigby. It appears from these states, that two of his accounts, the one for half a year ending the 24th of December 1768, the other for the next year ending the 24th of December 1769, are balanced and attested. An objection made by the auditors, relative to omissions in the civil list deduction, retards their declaration. Since the 16th of November 1780, four more accounts of the four succeeding years have been delivered into the auditors office: they are under examination, and in different stages towards their completion. The auditor does not appear to have received any account from the pay-office of a year subsequent to that of 1773. He proceeds upon the pay-office accounts as soon as they are sent to him. When objections arise from mistakes, omissions, articles that require explanation, or want of vouchers, those objections are transmitted to the pay-office to be corrected, explained, or supplied. Answers are returned, sometimes shortly after the observations are sent, sometimes not until long after; and the auditor is retarded in completing the accounts for want of a regular attention to his applications. The first step must certainly be taken by the

pay-office, that is, the delivery of the account to the auditor, with the vouchers. By the dates of the delivery, as they are stated by him, they have not been sent to him until long after the year of the account has been elapsed. The accounts of the years 1768 and 1769 were not delivered until ten years after. We do not, therefore, find that the imputation of delay lies in the office of the auditor. The pay-office seems lately to have been more attentive to this duty: we see by their list of accounts delivered into the office of the auditor, that five accounts, down to the year 1769, were delivered in the year 1779; two, for the years 1770 and 1771, in the year 1780; and two, for the years 1772 and 1773, in the year 1782.

Considering the account, as drawn up in the pay-office for the purpose of being examined and checked in another office, there seem to be, in the state in which it is transmitted to the auditor, some defects that require correction. The entries of many of the articles are without dates and authorities: these are the distinguishing marks of similar articles, and the omission of them tends to confound the auditor, and may be the means of fraud or concealment. Every article both of receipt and payment, should be entered, with its date and the authority which directs it, in the account of the year in which the sum is actually received and paid. It is not the account of the year it purports to be, unless it comprehends all the known receipts and payments of that year. Can any good reason be assigned, why sums, received by the deputies and entered in the books of those deputies in the pay-office, in the year 1758, should be left out of their proper place,



place, the account of the year 1758, (which was not delivered to the auditor until 1768) and continue to be omitted in every succeeding account, until the last of that paymaster-general, the account of the year 1765, and not even there inserted until the year 1782? twenty-four years after they were entered as charges upon that paymaster-general in the books of the office.

The account is sent to the auditor, with blanks for sums in the body of it: after he has examined it as far he is able, it is taken back again to the pay-office, the blanks filled up, and corrections and additions made to it at their pleasure, without the knowledge of the auditor; and this, frequently, in the progress of the examination. This practice is inconvenient and dangerous: it increases the trouble of the officer; it confounds the articles he has examined with those he has not; alterations may be made in the former to the prejudice of the public, and pass unobserved by the auditor. We are of opinion that the account, when once delivered to the auditor, ought to remain in his office until it is completed, and all additions and corrections after the delivery, be made at his office, and with his privity.

There are some articles in the voluntary charge, of whose accuracy the auditor cannot judge for want of sufficient materials: these are profit on exchange and remittances, some of the payments to the deputies, and some of the stoppages. The vouchers produced to the auditor for these charges, are accounts made up and signed by the accountant of the pay-office. A voluntary charge is an admission of the receipt of a sum on account, as far as it goes; but it may be erro-

neous or defective, or sums received may be suppressed; and the account of an officer in the same office can be no check by which such errors may be discovered. The auditor should be furnished with the same materials from which the accountant collects the charge. Had not Peter Taylor's own account of profit and loss by exchange, been at last produced to the auditor, the error of 8,577l. 13s. 10d. had never been brought in question, and the right of the public might have been so far violated.

In the account of the additions to the charge in Lord Holland's final account returned to us from the pay-office, is the sum of 4000l. received of Major Gates by Mr. Mortier, a deputy-paymaster: the sum had been issued to him by warrant from General Monckton, and consequently Major Gates must be set insuper for that sum in the account of Lord Holland. Major Gates paid it back to Mr. Mortier, who gave him a receipt for it: unless Major Gates passes his account of this sum in the office of the auditor (an event not very probable) this receipt which is the only evidence to charge Mr. Mortier, can never appear against him; and consequently this sum might have slept in the hands of the deputy, or upon his charging himself with it, in the hands of the paymaster-general, without being discovered by the auditor. We are therefore, of opinion, that no money should be paid into the hands of the paymaster-general, or his deputy, unless by warrant; and that a copy or extract of such warrant, if it proceeds from a commander in chief, should be transmitted to the treasury, as the evidence of the charge upon the paymaster-general of the forces.



The business of the auditor of the imprest, to be collected from his commission, is to audit the accounts of most of the receivers, and of all the officers and persons entrusted with the expenditure of the public revenue. Possibly this office might formerly have been able to accomplish this duty; but such has been the increase of the revenue within these few years, that the accounts are grown to a number, magnitude, and extent, greatly beyond what could have been foreseen. The accounts, which at this day remain for the audit of the exchequer, are 74,000,000, the issues of twenty-one years, for the navy service; 58,000,000, the issues of eighteen years, for the army service; near 39,000,000 issued to sub-accountants; together, 171,000,000; the receipts and issues of all the provisions for the support of the land forces in America and the West Indies, during the late war: all these accounts must be passed. The public have a right and good cause to demand it. If, according to the present constitution of the exchequer, they can be passed no where but in the office of the auditor, that constitution should be altered. Such of the accounts as may appear the most proper to be removed, should be transferred from his office to such other offices as may, from their peculiar circumstances, and the relation they bear to the subject matter of the accounts, be presumed to be the best qualified for the examination of them.

Wherever an office is instituted for the purpose of examining and controlling accounts previous to their examination by the auditor, and that office is so formed as to answer the use intended, and the officers do their duty, it seems to us to render any subsequent ex-

amination superfluous, and an unnecessary expence to the public. Upon this principle we suggested the exemption of the accounts of the treasurer of the navy from the jurisdiction of the auditor. The same principle leads us to relieve him from the accounts of the army. Parts of these accounts, and those very considerable,—the execution of the contracts, and the expenditure of the extraordinaries,—according to the present usage, pass the office of the controller of the army accounts previous to their examination by the auditor. As far as appears to us, the examinations by the controller are sufficient, and consequently those of the auditor may be dispensed with. If the office of the controller is so constituted, that these species of accounts may safely rest upon his examination (and the treasury rely so much upon it, that they direct payments upon his reports without waiting for the confirmation of the auditor) he must be equally qualified to pass the rest of the accounts of the army: the latter are not more difficult than the former; nor does it require greater talents to examine the one than the other.

Though the business of the controller is at present confined to these particular branches, yet he seems to have been originally intended for a more extensive employment. By his commission, in the 2d year of queen Anne, he is created controller of all accounts relating to the forces; and, by the last instructions for the conduct of the office, dated the 28th of April 1704, he is to keep an account of all monies issued to the paymaster-general of the forces, and to take care he is charged therewith.

The time seems to be come when the state of the business in the office of the auditor renders it neces-



fary to carry into execution the intention of queen Anne in the institution of this office, and to extend its duty to all the accounts of the army. The two offices of controller and paymaster-general are so unconnected and independent of each other, that the first may be with safety placed as a check upon the other. One entire species of public expenditure will be the employment of one office; which, though but one species of expenditure, is yet, from the number and variety of its branches, and from the long arrears suffered to be incurred, fully sufficient to engage the continual labour of any one office for a time not easily to be defined. Should the treasury be dissatisfied with the report of the controller upon any particular account or article, or require farther information, it will continue to be, as it is now, in their power to refer it to the auditor for his examination and opinion.

For these reasons we are of opinion, that the auditing the accounts of the paymaster-general of the forces should be transferred from the office of the auditors of the imprest to that of the controller of the accounts of the army; that the pay-office of the army should complete such accounts of the paymaster-general of the forces, as have been already delivered into the office of the auditor, and that the auditor should proceed without delay to finish and pass such accounts; and that all army accounts, subsequent to those already delivered into the office of the auditors, and all future accounts of paymasters-general of the forces should be sent to the office of the controller of the accounts of the army, and be examined and audited by him, and enrolled in the office of the king's remembrancer in the exchequer.

We required from the auditor of the imprest, a list of the fees on passing the account of the year 1767 (the year that had been under our examination) with the rate at which such fees were taken. We required, likewise, from the controller of the accounts of the army, an account of the salaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the officers and clerks in his office. From the state of the fees returned to us by the auditor, it appears that he is paid at the rate of ten shillings a-year for every troop and company, and a fee of 15ol. a year, for the account of the paymaster-general, and of 7ol. a year for the account of the treasurer of Chelsea hospital. The deputy had 100 guineas, and the clerks 54l. 12s. The amount of all the fees, for these two accounts of the year 1767, payable to the auditor, was 706l. 9s. 10d; and of those payable for passing them through the exchequer offices, 138l. 9s.

In the office of the controller of the accounts of the army, the two controllers have each a salary of 749l. 19s. 1d. reduced, by the army deductions and the land-tax, to net 558l. 16s. 8d. a year. They have no other emolument, except such saving as may be made out of their contingent allowance. The secretary and clerks received until very lately, salaries, fees, and gratuities, which in the year 1781 amounted to the net sum of 3193l. 9s. 4d. but this mode of payment has been changed to an allowance of one eighth per cent. upon the sum contained in the account, in lieu of fees and gratuities: this is allowed the contractor in his account, and is consequently a charge upon the public.

Should the auditing the accounts of the paymaster-general of the forces be transferred to this office,



it will be a saving to the public of some part, though not the whole of the expence now incurred in the office of the auditor; for so great an increase of the business in the office of the controller will, probably, require some addition to the establishment in that office.

The compensation to the controllers themselves for the execution of this office is a certain fixed salary only. Why the secretary and clerks are not paid in the like manner does not appear. The one eighth per cent. allowed them on the sum contained in the account, does not seem to be grounded on any rule of proportion between the labour and the reward; for this poundage, may, from the magnitude of the contract, amount to a very considerable sum, without a proportionable increase in the trouble arising from the examination of the account, and therefore, we see no reason why the rule of substituting one certain salary, in lieu of all fees, gratuities, and emoluments whatever, adopted in the case of the principals, should not be extended to all the subordinates in this office.

*Office of Accounts, Surrey-  
Street, 1st of July, 1, 83.*

T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAMUEL BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEORGE DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)

*The Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

IN our enquiries into the manner of passing the public accounts in the office of the auditors of the imprest, we find, upon the certificate of accounts depending in that

office, the chief cashier of the bank of England among the public accountants.

In the acts of parliament for raising the supplies by public loans, the cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England are appointed the receivers of the contributions to those loans. They are ordered to pay the sums so received into the exchequer, and to account duly for the same in that office: these contributions are received at the bank in the name of the chief cashier.

The shares or interests of the contributors, or their assignees, in the capital stocks of annuities created by these acts, are made transferable at the bank of England; and the money appropriated to answer the annuities, and other payments therein directed, is ordered to be issued at the receipt of the exchequer, to the chief cashier, by way of imprest, and upon account; and he is enjoined to pay the annuities, and render his account thereof, according to the due course of the exchequer.

Hence the chief cashier has, every year, on the part of the bank, an account to pass of the receipts and payments of the several species of annuities payable at the bank of England; and, for some years last past, he has had also another annual account to pass, of the contributions to the loans to government, received at the bank.

We required from the auditors of the imprest the last declared accounts of Abraham Newland, esq. chief cashier of the bank of England, of money received and paid on the several species of bank annuities, and of contributions to annuities and a lottery, with the materials from which those accounts were severally made out.



Two accounts were returned to us pursuant to this requisition; the one an account of the sums received and paid on the annuities payable at the bank of England, for two years, ending the 5th of July 1779; and the other on account of the contributions to the annuities and lottery for the year 1781: both these accounts were declared upon the 29th of June 1782.

From the inspection of the accounts themselves, and of the lists, and other materials, returned with them; and from the examinations of John Lloyd and John Bray, esqrs. late deputy auditors of the imprest; of Charles Harris, esq. one of the present deputy-auditors; Mr. John Walker, and Mr. Bernard Cobbe, two of the clerks in that office; and Abraham Newland, esq. chief cashier of the bank of England; we are made acquainted with the forms and subject matter of these two kinds of public accounts, and with the manner in which they are examined and audited in the office of the auditors of the imprest.

In the first of these accounts, that of the sums received and paid on the annuities, the charge consists of the arrears remaining on the preceding account, and the sums imprested from the exchequer: the discharge contains the sums paid for dividends on each species of annuities payable at the bank of England, during the two years of the account; and to the total sum paid on each species is added the auditor's fee, for examining, auditing, and ingrossing the account of that annuity: it contains also—the sums paid for principal and interest of annuities paid off—the sums paid for prizes in the lotteries in the time of the account—the sums allowed the bank, for charges of ma-

nagement—the fees and charges paid by them to the treasury, and other offices—and the balance.

The materials from whence the articles in this account were collected, are—the imprest certificates—lists of the dividend warrants in each species of annuities; each of these dividend lists contains the number of the warrant, the name of every proprietor, his share in the capital stock, and the proportional half year's annuity attending it—lists of those warrants, in each species of annuities inserted in the above mentioned lists, but which remain unpaid at the time to which the account is brought down: these unpaid lists contain only the number of each warrant, and the share of the annuity—a list of those arrears of former dividends, in each species of annuities which have been paid during the period of the account: in this list of arrears are inserted, the number of the dividend, the number of the warrant, and the share of the annuity—a list of the sums paid for principal and interest of such funds as have been paid off—a list of the certificates of prizes in lotteries, paid within the time of the account: each certificate is described in this list by the number and the sum contained in it. These several lists with the dividend warrants and certificates themselves, and with abstracts of the lists, are sent from the bank to the office of the auditor of the imprest every year, as early after the expiration of the year of the account, as they can conveniently be made up at the bank.

Each year's account comprehends the payments upon two classes of dividends, the one payable at Lady-day and Michaelmas, the other at Midsummer and Christmas; and accordingly the accounts of these payments



payments terminate, the one class at Michaelmas, the other at Christmas!

Though these accounts are delivered annually to the auditor, yet it is usual for the chief cashier to pass an account only once in two years; at which time he passes the accounts of two years together.

It is, and has long been, the custom in the auditor's office, to make up the accounts of the bank and of the South Sea annuities, in both offices jointly. They divide the account as equally as they can: each office takes a part, examines the articles in that part, reduces it into the official form, and ingrosses it: the two parts are then joined together, and form one account; that on paper is ingrossed in one office, and that one parchment in the other.

The auditor proceeds upon the materials he receives from the bank, in the following manner:—

The dividend list of every species of annuities, contains an entry of every warrant for the payment of a share in that annuity, and consequently includes the entries of the warrants unpaid, as well as of those that are paid; and the amount of the shares of the annuity in the list is the amount of the half year's payment upon the total of the capital stock in that dividend.

The auditor examines every warrant; sees that it is correct; compares it with the correspondent entry in the dividend list; and marks that entry: he then compares the entries in the unpaid list, with the entries not marked in the dividend list; casts up both lists; and, deducting from the amount of the dividend list the amount of the unpaid list, and the amount of the fractions, which, from their minuteness, the bank have not paid,

the residue is the sum allowed the chief cashier, as the amount of his payments upon that dividend list.

The entries of the warrants, in the list of arrears, are compared with the warrants themselves; and the sum appearing to be paid for arrears, in each species of annuities, is added to the sum paid in the dividend list of that annuity, and forms the total sum allowed the chief cashier for dividends paid by him in that species of annuities, during the period of the account.

The entries in the list of payments of principal and interest of annuities paid off, are examined by the warrants for those payments; and the entries of the payments in the list of prizes in the lotteries, are compared with the certificates, and the totals of all these lists are compared with the entries in the abstracts.

The charge is seldom drawn up, until the account is near a completion.

All the sums received by the chief cashier are issues from the exchequer; and therefore to be verified by imprest certificates only: for this purpose he procures, from the receipt of the exchequer, an imprest certificate for every issue in the time of the account.

Each imprest (except the last) is, in general, compounded of a complete half year's annuity upon one species of capital stock, and the charges of management allowed the bank upon that capital; the last article is a sum to reimburse the bank the fees and charges advanced by them, and allowed in the preceding account. From these imprest rolls the auditor draws up the charge.

The lists and entries having been thus examined, and found to be correct, and the auditor having so far formed his account, the chief



cashier, soon after he has paid all the fees for this account to the treasury, the exchequer, and auditor's offices, transmits to the auditor an account current, containing the totals of all the articles of the charge and discharge in the two year's account. If both accounts are right, the sums in the account current will agree with those in the official account, except in the payments on the dividends, in which there is this difference:—the auditor, in his account adds to the total sum paid for the dividends in each species of annuities, his own fee for auditing the account of that annuity; but, in the account current, the total sum paid for the dividend is stated simply by itself, and all the auditors fees for the whole account, including his fees for examining the contribution accounts of the same years, are collected together, and the amount of them forms one article in the discharge: all the fees paid by the chief cashier, at the other offices, form another article in both accounts.

The auditors are paid their fees, and allow such payments to the chief cashier in the following manner:—

Soon after they have finished their examination of each year's account, it has been customary for them to apply to the bank for the fees that become due to them in consequence of that examination. The chief cashier calculates the fees according to the usual rate, and advances them to the auditors in equal shares: he then presents a memorial to the treasury, stating that he has paid several sums, to a certain amount, for fees of various kinds, at the treasury and exchequer, and to the auditors of the imprest, in relation to his accounts: he annexes a list of the particular

sums, and prays to be reimbursed. The lords of the treasury refer this memorial to the auditors of the imprest, to examine, and report upon it. The auditor examines the receipts necessary to be produced to him, as vouchers for the payments: he reports that the fees paid at the treasury and exchequer are the usual payments; and that the fees paid to the auditors of the imprest are computed at the same rate as have from time to time been allowed by treasury warrants.

Upon this report, the lords of the treasury direct the sum prayed to be issued to the chief cashier, by way of imprest, and upon account to reimburse the fees thus paid by him. As the cashier passes his account only once in two years, but every year pays fees, and applies to the treasury for a reimbursement, it follows that the two articles in the account current, the one comprehending the total of the fees paid to the auditor, the other the total of the fees and charges paid at the treasury, and other offices, are compounded of the sums stated under each of these heads in the two memorials: and, as these sums are issued to the chief cashier upon account, they together form one article in the charge upon him in his next succeeding account, as a sum to be accounted for by him.

The only remaining article in the discharge is the allowance, either detained by the bank out of the contributions, or claimed by them for the charges of management. This article, being grounded upon the several acts of parliament that create the annuities, will come more properly after we have examined the other account transmitted to us from the auditor of the imprest; that is, the account of the contributions to the annuities and lottery.



tery. The articles in the account drawn up by the auditors being found to agree with those in the account current, the balance remaining in the custody of the bank must be likewise the same in both: this balance consists of dividends, capital stock paid off, and sums received to pay prizes in lotteries, remaining in the bank unclaimed by the proprietors.

The chief cashier signs the account current, and swears to it before a baron of the exchequer: the account is then presented for declaration, and passed through the several offices of the exchequer.

The account of the two years before us consists of the following sums: in the charge, the balance on the former account is 284,719l. 17s. 6½d.: received to pay the annuities 7,039,375l. 1s.: to pay prizes in two lotteries, 980,000l.: to reimburse the bank the fees and charges paid by them in the last account, 19,367l. 17s. 10d.; for charges of management 114,427l. 1s. 6d.:—total charge 8,437,889l. 17s. 10¼d.—In the discharge, dividends paid, 7,012,957l. 4s.: principal and interest of annuities paid off, 2962l. 7s. 7d.: certificates for prizes, 969,844l.: allowances for management, 114,427l. 1s. 6d.: fees to the auditors, 21,693l.; and at the treasury and other offices, 1120l. 16s. 6d.—Total discharge, 8,123,004l. 9s. 7d.—Balance remaining in the custody of the bank, 314,885l. 8s. 3¼d.

The other account, that of the contributions to annuities and a lottery, comes to the office of the auditor of the imprest in a shape different from the former: the first official notice he has of it is from a memorial referred to him by the lords of the treasury.

When an act of parliament has passed for raising the supplies by

annuities and a lottery, about the end of the year, soon after the payments of the contributions are completed, the court of directors of the governor and company of the bank of England present a memorial to the lords commissioners of the treasury, with an account annexed, containing a charge and discharge: the charge consists of two articles; the amount of the contributions to the annuities, and the amount of the contributions to the lottery—the discharge has three articles; the sum paid into the receipt of the exchequer, the sum paid for interest to those contributors who advanced their money before the times appointed for making the several payments, and, the sum retained by the bank for the service, pains, and labour of their officers employed in receiving, paying, and accounting for this money, and the charges attending it: the memorial prays they may be allowed to retain the sum therein mentioned, for the charges; and that they may be allowed a certain annual sum for the services respecting the annuities, as being agreeable to former allowances for the like services; and that it may be paid to the chief cashier for their use. This memorial is referred by the treasury to the auditors of the imprest for their examination and report.

The auditor upon the receipt of this memorial, proceeds to examine the account annexed to it. The charge requires no proof or verification; for the chief cashier admits the receipt of the whole sum directed by the act to be raised.

In the discharge, the sum stated to be paid into the receipt of the exchequer is verified by the exchequer tallies, which the chief cashier sends to the auditor, with a list of the sums so paid in; he sends likewise a book, signed by himself,



containing a particular account of the sums paid for interest on the money advanced. The auditor computes each sum, and casts up the articles, to see that the total agrees with the sum stated in the account: the remaining article is the allowance the bank pray to retain, for the charges of receiving, paying, and accounting for the contributions: this the auditor examines, and reports that it is in proportion to former allowances for the like services: he reports also, that the annual sum prayed by them for the charges of management is according to the rate formerly allowed in accounts for the like services.

In consequence of this report, the lords of the treasury authorise and direct the auditors to allow in the account the sum paid to the contributors for interest, and the sum craved by the bank for their charges in receiving, paying, and accounting for the contributions. As to the allowance of the annual sum for the charges of management, they are silent.

But though the lords of the treasury do not, in their directions to the auditors on this memorial, empower them to allow the charges of management to the bank in their cashier's subsequent accounts of these annuities, yet the treasury warrants to the exchequer, for the issues of the sums to pay the half yearly dividends on them, seem sufficiently to authorise the auditor to make such allowances.

These warrants include not only the half year's annuity, but likewise a separate and distinct sum expressed to be for the charges of management, after the usual rate, upon that annuity; and the imprest certificate produced to the auditor, to verify the imprest article in the charge, contains a sum com-

pounded of the annuity, and the allowance to the bank. It remains to inquire upon what authority the lords of the treasury ground themselves, in authorising the payment of these several fees and charges, and at what rate they are calculated.

The various fees paid at the treasury, and the offices of the exchequer, are stated particularly in the two bank memorials. The auditors, as to one of them, report, that the fees are vouched by lists of the particulars, and receipts; and, as to the other, that they are the usual payments: and upon these reports is founded the treasury warrant, that directs the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer to issue to the chief cashier a sum to reimburse the fees thus paid by him.

The authority exercised by the treasury in granting the allowances to the bank, is grounded upon the act that creates the annuities. The act of the year 1781 (the year of the contribution account before us) for raising money by way of annuities, and establishing a lottery, pursuing the like forms with the acts of the same kind in preceding years, appoints the cashiers of the bank of England receivers of the contributions, and empowers the commissioners of the treasury, in such manner as to them shall seem reasonable, to discharge the incidental charges attending the execution of this act, and to settle the allowances for the service, pains, and labour of the cashiers, for receiving, paying, and accounting for the contributions, and for the annuities, and for the service of the accountant-general of the bank; which allowances are for the use and benefit of the governor and company of the bank of England, and at their disposal. The lords of the treasury, being thus empower-



ed by the legislature, to settle the quantum of the recompence to the bank, are governed in the exercise of this power, by such rules as appear to have been adopted by their predecessors.

The services for which the bank crave an allowance are of three kinds—the receipt of the contributions to the annuities,—the receipt of the contributions to the lottery,—and the annual management of the annuities.

The estimated rate of these allowances are stated in their memorial to the treasury. As to the contributions, they pray to be allowed to retain at the rate of 805*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* per million, as being in proportion to former allowances for the like services; and the auditors report that it is in that proportion. As to the lottery, they crave 1000*l.* upon the same ground; the auditors report, that it is the same as has been allowed in former accounts of the like services. As to the charge of management, they pray to be allowed a certain specified annual sum, agreeable to former allowances for the like services; the auditors report, that the allowance prayed for at the rate of 562*l.* 10*s.* a year for every million; which they represent to be the same in proportion as has been allowed for transacting annuities granted in former years.

Hence from the memorial, and the auditors report, taken together, it appears, that the bank crave for receiving the contributions to the annuities, at the rate of 805*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* per million on the money received; for receiving the contributions to the lottery, a sum of 1000*l.*; and for managing the annuities, at the rate of 562*l.* 10*s.* a year per million, upon the capital stock created: but, the annuities being of two kinds, perpetual, and for years, they are different as to

the subject of the transfer; in the one, the capital is transferable, in the other the annuity.

As the rate of allowance for management is taken upon the capital, and not upon the annuity, it becomes necessary to estimate the value of the annuity for years, so as to bring the rate of management upon them to an equality with the like rate upon the perpetual annuities. The value of both the long and short annuities; (for the different duration makes no difference in the annual trouble to the bank) is computed at twenty five years purchase; and this produces a sum, upon which the same rate per million being calculated, gives the like allowance for the management of these as of the four per cent. annuities.

As the first creation of annuities is within time of memory, we endeavoured to trace these allowances up to their origin. The oldest annuities at present in being, transferable at the bank, are those of the year 1726; but they are not the first that were committed to their management. During the reigns of king William and queen Anne, we do not find any contributions or annuities received at the bank; they were all paid into the exchequer: the first that appear to have been paid into the bank, are contributions to annuities granted in the first year of king George I. at the rate of 5*l.* per cent. for raising two sums of 910,000*l.* by the first of George I. chap. 19. and of 169,000*l.* by chap. 21.

The first of these acts empowers the commissioners of the treasury to allow the cashier, out of the contribution money, for his pains and charges in receiving and accounting for the same, a sum not exceeding 500*l.*; and the second act empowers them to allow him a sum not exceeding 100*l.*; and in



a manuscript book belonging to the bank, and submitted to our inspection, in which are entered abstracts of public accounts passed by their cashiers, Thomas Maddox, cashier at that time, appears to have been allowed the sum of 600*l.* for receiving those two contributions; which is the first entry of an allowance of the kind in this manuscript.

Since the year 1719, to the present time, where the annuities have been created, either from the sums subscribed, or from a lottery convertible into annuities, this allowance has been at the rate of 805*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* per million, the rate craved in the memorial before us, except in the year 1742. By the act of that year, the 15th of George II. chap. 19. for raising 800,000*l.* by annuities, the commissioners of the treasury are empowered to allow the cashier, out of the contribution money, 500*l.* for his pains and trouble in receiving and accounting for the same; and by a warrant, dated the 22d of June 1743, transmitted to us from the treasury, that sum was allowed him. But where the receipt of the contributions has been attended with any additional or unusual trouble or expence, the bank have been allowed at a higher rate: in the year 1747 they were allowed 1000*l.* per million.

The bank appear to have received contributions to lotteries earlier than the year 1714, which was their first year of receiving contributions to annuities: in 1710 and 1711, they received the contributions to two lotteries of 1,500,000*l.* each; and, in the following year, to two lotteries of 1,800,000*l.* each: these are the first entered in the manuscript book above mentioned; and it is there stated, that they were allowed, as to the two first, for their pains and service in receiving,

paying, and accounting for the monies received, and for all their charges and expences in performing this service (the charges of passing the accounts excepted) 2380*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*; for the two latter they were allowed 1250*l.* each.

The receipt of these contributions is attended with different degrees of trouble and expence. The number of tickets and subscribers varies in different lotteries: in the most simple, the whole business is the receipt of the money, the payment of it into the exchequer, and the payment of the certificates of the fortunate tickets; in others it is attended either with the creation or redemption of annuities: hence the allowance to the bank for this service has varied, according to these circumstances, from 1000*l.* the sum craved in the memorial before us, to 2000*l.* the sum allowed them in the years 1772, 1774, and 1775.

The remaining allowance, which is that for the charges of management, commenced with the grant of annuities in the year 1714: the two acts of that year, above alluded to, empower the commissioners of the treasury to allow, "out of the sum granted for the payment of the annuities to the cashier, two salaries or allowances; the one not exceeding 250*l.* the other 100*l.* a year, for receiving the money to pay the annuities, and applying the same to that use, and for his pains and charges for rendering his accounts thereof; and to the accountant-general two salaries, the one not exceeding 200*l.* the other 100*l.* for his service and charge in performing the duty and trust incumbent upon him by these acts."

As all warrants for these allowances proceed from the treasury, we required from them a copy of the  
first



first warrant granted for an allowance to the bank for charges of management: the copy transmitted to us is that of a dormant warrant, dated the 2d of July 1718, directed to the principal cashier of the bank of England; and authorizing him to retain, out of the monies imprested to him for the purposes of the acts, the allowances therein mentioned, amounting to 65*l*. a year, to commence from Michaelmas 1715: and it appears, from the entries in the bank manuscript above mentioned, that this allowance continued during the existence of the annuities; all of which appear to have been either redeemed or subscribed into the capital stock of the South Sea company. The 1,000,000 annuities of the year 1726 were created by the 12th of George I. chap. 2.: for the management of them the bank are now and have been ever since they were granted, allowed 360*l*. a year. The act itself is silent as to this allowance; but it appears by a treasury warrant, dated the 20th of December 1726, a copy of which we procured from the auditors of the imprest, that, upon a memorial from the bank, praying such an allowance for their charges of management of these annuities as the treasury should think reasonable, the then lords of the treasury granted and allowed them, for this purpose, 360*l*. a year, to commence from the Michaelmas preceding; and directed the cashier to retain this sum in his hands, for the use of the governor and company of the bank, out of the monies of the fund, for the said annuities to be imprested to him, and authorised the auditors of the imprest to allow it.

The next annuities were, 800,000*l*. granted in the year 1731: of these,

769,235*l*. 9*s*. 3*d*. are now a part of the consolidated 3 per cent. annuities, the remainder being redeemed: for the management of these the bank is now, and always have been allowed at the rate of 360*l*. a year; but upon what ground this rate was established, does not appear.

The 800,000*l*. annuities of the year 1742, were the next creation: by the act of that year, above alluded to, the treasury are empowered to allow the cashier, out of the sinking fund, a sum not exceeding 250*l*. and the accountant a sum not exceeding 200*l*. a year, for the like services as are expressed in the act of the year 1714; this is after the rate of 562*l*. 10*s*. per million; and that rate has been adhered to ever since.

From hence we collect the charges of management allowed at this time to the bank: for the million 3 per cent. annuities of the year 1726, 360*l*. a year: for the remainder of the 800,000*l*. of the 1731, at the rate of 360*l*.: for all the other annuities, either at 3 per cent. or 4 per cent. or for years, at the rate of 562*l*. 10*s*. a million, estimating the latter at 25 years purchase; and at this rate is the allowance prayed by the bank in the memorial before us.

There are two more annual allowances issued to the bank from the exchequer, which relate to their own capital stock, and are the only allowances upon that stock: these are two sums, of 4000*l*. and 1898*l*. 3*s*. 5*d*.

The first incorporation of the bank was in the year 1694. The act of the 5th of William and Mary, chap. 20. forms the subscribers to a loan of 1,200,000*l*. to government, into a body corporate, and appropriates 100,000*l*. a year for



for their use ; that is, 8 per cent. upon the capital, leaving a residue of 4000l.

At a general court of the bank of England, held the 26th of April 1695, a committee report it as their opinion, that 4000l. should be presented to the governor, deputy, and directors, for the year 1695, as a recompence for their great pains and constant attendance on the affairs of the bank : and by the 13th bye-law of the company, the payment of this sum is established, and continued to them as an annual recompence. The other allowance, that of 1808l. 3s. 5d. a year, is in consequence of the bank having become purchasers, from the South Sea company of 4,000,000l. of their capital : the ground of this allowance will appear in our examination into the manner in which the cashier of the South Sea company passes his account in the office of the auditors of the imprest. Observing this officer, likewise, among the public accountants, upon the certificate of accounts depending in that office, we required from them the last declared account of the cashier of the South Sea company, of annuities payable and transferable at the South Sea house, with the materials from which that account was made out.

The account returned to us was that of Peter Burrell, esq. chief cashier of the South Sea company, of the money imprest to him for paying the annuities granted in the year 1751, made payable at the South Sea house, for three years ending the 5th of January 1781 : this account was declared the 22d of December 1781. From the account itself, together with the examinations of Charles Harris, and Peter Burrell, esqrs. we are furnished with knowledge of the ar-

ticles it contains, and the manner in which it is audited and formed in the office of the auditors of the imprest. The charge in this account consists of the balance remaining, on the preceding account, and the sums imprest from the exchequer : the last of these is a sum to pay the fees on the preceding account ; the others are compounded of the half year's annuity, and the charges of management for each half year. The discharge contains each half yearly payment by the cashier to the South Sea company, for the charges of management, simply by itself, and the amount of the three years : it contains the half-yearly payments for the annuities, cast up to a total ; the fees paid at the treasury and exchequer offices for this account ; and the cashier's allowance for the period of the preceding account, with the balance remaining in the cash of the South Sea company.

Every year the cashier sends to the auditor the two half year's dividend books, each containing the names of all the proprietors, with their respective shares in the capital, and the annuity attending each share, and the number of each warrant. Each dividend book is accompanied with a paid list, containing entries of all the warrants paid upon that dividend, and for the arrears of former dividends during that half year, and with the warrants themselves ranged in a numerical order. The auditor compares the warrants with the correspondent entries in the dividend book, and marks them off ; he then examines the paid list with the dividend book, and with the warrants for the arrears, and gives the cashier credit for the amount of the paid list.

After the expiration of the three years,



years, the cashier transmits to the auditor his account current, containing a complete state of the three years receipts and payments. To verify the charge, which consists of issues from the exchequer, he produces the imprest certificates. In the discharge the first article is, the charges of management paid to the South Sea company: the auditor allows it, upon the authority of a dormant warrant from the treasury, dated the 29th of November 1752: which directs the cashier to retain, from time to time, out of the money to be imprested to him, a sum therein mentioned, for the use of the South Sea company, and authorises the auditor to allow it. The treasury direct this allowance pursuant to the powers vested in them by the act of the 24th of George II. chap. 2. which created these annuities, to discharge the incident expences attending the execution of this act; and to appoint such allowance as they shall think just and reasonable, for receiving, paying, and accounting for the annuities. This allowance to the South Sea company is 189l. 15s. 6d. a year; which, upon 1,919,600l. the sum now remaining of the 2,100,000l. the original capital of the annuities of the year 1751, is at the rate allowed to the bank, of 562l. 10s. per million. The total sum allowed for management of this account is 3239l. 6s. 6d.: the total sum paid for dividends, is the amount of the paid lists, which have been examined with the warrants by the auditor. This total is the same both in the official and account current; but the articles of which it is made up, are differently compounded; the auditor's articles are the total sums paid, during the period of the account, upon each separate dividend; the cashier's, are the sums paid by him

during each half year, and therefore include the arrears of former dividends, as well as the payments on the dividends of each half year. The total sum in this account, paid for dividends is 171,786l. 9s. 11d. The remaining article in the discharge is the sum paid for fees and charges at the several offices: to obtain this allowance, the cashier presents a memorial to the treasury, with a schedule of these fees and charges annexed, praying a warrant to the auditors of the imprest, authorising them to allow him such payments: this memorial is referred to the auditors, for their consideration and report. The auditors in their report, range the articles under two classes; the one consisting of articles that relate to the last declared account, the other articles that relate to the account depending; which, they say, are in proportion to what have been usually allowed in preceding accounts of this service. Upon this report, the treasury direct the auditors to give allowance to them; and the sum thus allowed him in the account depending is issued afterwards to the cashier, from the exchequer, upon account, and therefore inserted as an article in the charge in his next succeeding account. The total sum under this head, in the account before us, is 984l. 9s. 4d.; and the balance remaining in the hands of the South Sea company is 11,618l. 15s. 7d. The account current is signed by the cashier, and sworn to by him before a baron of the exchequer. These of the year 1751 are the only annuities transferable at the South Sea house, of which an account is rendered at the exchequer. The other stocks, namely, the South Sea stock, and the old and new annuities, are attended with annuities not subject to account.



The act that granted these of the year 1751, expressly directs the monies for the payment of them to be issued by way of imprest, and upon account: the acts that created the others do not give the like direction; but for the charges of their management the public pay an annual sum to the company.

These, now three distinct funds, originally constituted one capital only, under the appellation of the South Sea stock. The company was erected by the act of the 9th of queen Anne, chap. 21. in the year 1710: it consisted of the proprietors of public debts, to the amount of 9,177,967l. 15s. 4d. which sum formed the first capital stock of the South Sea company. This act directs, that the sum thereby appropriated to answer the annuity to the South Sea company, should be issued and paid out of the receipt of the exchequer, without fee or charge; and for the charges of management of that capital it directs 8000l. a year to be paid to the cashier, for the use of the company, out of the funds therein mentioned: additions were made from time to time to this capital by various acts of parliament, and some of them gave an increase to the allowance for the charges of management.

In the year 1720 the bank, pursuant to the powers given in the act of the 7th of George I. chap. 5. purchased of the South Sea company 4,000,000 of their capital, which was ingrafted into the bank stock; and with it they took, for their own benefit 1898l. 3s. 5d. a year (the sum before mentioned) as part of, and being the proportionable share of, the sum then allowed by the legislature to the South Sea company, for the charges of management of their whole ca-

pital; and this sum has been since issued every year to the bank, as a compensation for that service.

In the year 1722, by the act of the 9th of George I. chap. 6. the whole capital stock of the South Sea company was divided into two equal parts; and one moiety, amounting to 16,901,241l. 17s. 0½d. was separated from the capital, and converted into one joint stock, and named the joint stock of South Sea annuities, with an annuity attending it of 5l. per cent. payable out of the funds of the company, in lieu of all other profits and advantages accruing from or belonging to the capital stock. This annuity was continued to be issued from the exchequer to the company, but in trust for the proprietors of the new-created stock.

In the year 1732, by the act of the 6th of George II. chap. 28. three fourth parts of the remaining capital of this company, amounting to 10,988,327l. 11s. 0½d. was in like manner, separated from it, and converted into a new stock, called the new joint stock of South Sea annuities, with an annuity of 4l. per cent. attending it, payable out of the same funds, and to be issued from the exchequer to the company, in trust for the proprietors of this new stock; but these separations from the capital stock occasioned no alteration in the charges of management; the payment of the same sum was continued to the company, and remains at this day, except as far as it has been diminished, in proportion to the diminution of the several capitals by redemption. The present allowance is 14,022l. 3s. 2d. a year upon the old aggregate capital of 24,065,084l. 13s. 11½d. comprehending the total of the three capitals above mentioned: this allowance



allowance, being compounded of sums granted by different acts, and computed at different rates, cannot be estimated at any one given rate: it is issued annually, with the year's annuity, from the exchequer, by virtue of a treasury warrant, under the authority of the several acts above mentioned.

From this enquiry into the subject of these bank and South Sea house accounts, it appears that, exclusive of the sums paid every year in annuities to their creditors, the public incur two other kinds of annual expences, in consequence of the debts they contract: the one is, payments to the public companies for transacting the annuities they have granted, called the charges of management; the other is, fees and other charges at the several public offices, incidental to the issue of the money for the payment, and to the auditing and passing the accounts of these annuities. As the money for defraying the first of these expences is issued from the exchequer, usually, with the annuities themselves; that we might have the annual amount of it before us at one view, and be likewise enabled to state the present debt of this nation, with all its attendant expences (the most important of the public accounts), we procured from the auditor of the exchequer an account of all the public debts standing out at the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, upon the 5th of July last, with the annual interest, and other charges payable for the same, distinguishing the interest from the charges. In this account the charges of management of the debt therein stated, which is the present subject of our attention, amount to 124,369l. 3s. 1d. exclusive of 460l. allowed for the management of the annuities of the year 1726,

and of the sum to be claimed for the loan of the present year; which, at the same rate, upon 15,000,000 perpetual annuities, and 80,000l. a year long annuities, is 9562l. 10s. the addition of these two sums makes the total of this charge for the present year 134,291l. 13s. 1d. As the public debt has increased, this expence has increased with it; and as by far the greatest part of the annuities have been transacted at the bank, their share in this allowance is great in proportion; it will amount this year to 112,252l. 4s. 4d. exclusive of the 4000l. part of the 100,000l. originally granted to them; which, being allotted by the proprietors as a compensation to their governor, deputy, and directors, is not considered as an allowance for management: it is therefore included in the column of annual interest in the state of the public debt. This allowance is intended as a recompence to the public companies for their trouble, and the expences they incur for buildings, clerks, stationary, and various other contingencies, and as a compensation for the losses they are liable to sustain. It is a bargain between them and that branch of the administration to whom the conduct of the finances is intrusted; and the rate at which the bank are paid has not varied since the year 1742. Whether this is an equal bargain between the public and the companies, depends upon a variety of circumstances, the discussion of which would employ much time, and probably to no effectual purpose. The sum allowed is of magnitude, and so is the undertaking, 181,000,000 of redeemable annuities, and 1,098,000l. of annuities for years, are transferrable at the bank of England. The board intrusted



trusted by the legislature to settle the quantum of the compensation best know how closely the interest and credit of the nation are connected with those of the companies, how frequently they stand in need of each other's assistance, and what intercourse is necessary between them, and, consequently, in making their bargains with the companies, can take into their consideration every circumstance, and preserve an even balance between them and the state.

The other branch of annual expence, incidental to the public debt, is the fees and other charges paid at the public offices upon the issue, and for auditing and passing the accounts of these annuities: the total of them for the two years, ending the 5th of July 1779, as stated in the bank memorials above alluded to, and confirmed by the report of the auditors of the imprest, is 22,813l. 16s. 6d. of which 21,693l. was paid to the auditors of the imprest; the remainder being 1120l. 16s. 6d. to the other offices. Should the substitution of salaries in the place of fees and perquisites, in these offices, become the subject of consideration, the reasonableness and propriety of the fees enumerated in these accounts will come under the discussion of those persons to whom the power shall be intrusted of settling the quantum of the equivalent; but the sum paid to the auditors of the imprest so far exceeds the rest, as to require our immediate attention. This payment is grounded upon a warrant of the lord high treasurer Godolphin, dated the 4th of July 1704, a copy of which was transmitted to us by the auditors of the imprest. This warrant confirms the report of Henry Boyle, esq. chancellor and under-treasurer of the

exchequer, and William Lowndes, esq. secretary to the treasury, concerning allowances to be made to the auditors of the imprest on passing accounts; in which report there is this article — “ Lottery pensions. For every year's account of the payment of the lottery pensions, commonly called the Million Lottery, hereafter to be declared, the sum of 100l. and in that proportion as aforesaid, during the continuance of the said pensions.” These lottery pensions were annuities granted in the year 1694, by the act of the 5th of William and Mary, chapter the 7th, for raising 1,000,000: they were for sixteen years, at the rate of 14l. per cent. An officer was appointed for the payment of them at the exchequer, who was to pass his accounts before the auditors of the imprest. 100l. being thus allowed for auditing the annual account of these annuities, amounting to 140,000l. a year, purchased with 1,000,000, the annual allowance to the auditors has ever since been calculated at the rate of 100l. per million on the capital. Hence this payment has kept an even pace with the public debt: it amounted, upon the bank accounts for the year 1781, as appears by an account of them procured from the bank, to 14,833l. 7s. 4d. and will amount this year, and continue for every succeeding year, if no alteration is made in the annuities, to 19,682l. 3s. 8d.

The business for which this sum is intended to be the compensation, is the examination of the dividend and other warrants; comparing them with their correspondent entries in the lists; casting up the items; reducing the account into the official form; and ingrossing it.

It is true, in general, that where money is issued from the exchequer,



to be applied to certain public purposes, an account should be passed of that money, that the public may know and be satisfied as to the application; but circumstances may create exceptions to this, as well as to every other general rule: the trust may be so well guarded by the mode of execution, as to render a misapplication or abuse hardly practicable; or the expence of taking the account may be so heavy, as to outweigh every possible advantage to be derived from it.

A sum equal to a half year's annuity is issued from the exchequer to the bank, to be divided among the proprietors of that annuity, in proportion to the interest of each in the capital, the making this division is the trust which the bank engage to execute: the manner in which they execute it, we learn from the information of Mr. William Edwards, deputy accountant of the bank.

When the transfer books of any annuity are shut, for the payment of the dividend, the share of every proprietor in the capital stock is extracted from his account in the ledger, and set opposite to his name; a dividend warrant is filled up for each proprietor, with his share in the capital, and annuity attending it: a dividend book is formed, comprehending the name of every proprietor, the folio of his account in the ledger, his share in the capital and annuity, and the number of his warrant: a duplicate is made of this dividend book: the original, duplicate, and warrants are all compared together: that the warrants may be correct, and correspond with the dividend books, they undergo various formalities and examinations by different clerks; and, after being signed by the proper officer, they are de-

posited in the office where the annuity is transacted, until the proprietors apply for payment. The person receiving it signs the dividend book, opposite the name of the proprietor, and the receipt at the bottom of the warrant, which is witnessed by the clerk who delivers it. The teller pays it, enters it in his book, and cancels it; after which it is entered in a cash book in the dividend warrant office, and in the check ledger in the check office; where all the paid warrants are ranged in numerical order, and the total of them compared with the total of the unpaid list made out at the annuity office: from thence they are transmitted to the auditor of the imprest.

This transaction is simple;—the division of a certain sum among a number of persons, in proportion to their interests. Many persons are employed in this division; and it seems well fenced against fraud or error. The company can misapply no part of this money, for the whole annuity is distributed in the dividend warrants; and the entries of the shares in the dividend books, which are transcribed into the warrants, are cast up to see that they comprehend the whole. Whatever abuse or error may be committed, must immediately affect the proprietor; as by forging a receipt, or obtaining it from him by fraud, or refusing him payment, or by an erroneous calculation of his share; but against these the auditor's examination is no security: the injured proprietor must apply to the company for relief; and, if refused, he has his legal remedy. These circumstances cannot come before the auditor: all he requires is a formal receipt for every payment; and he allows it to the company without further enquiry; his business



ness is merely a comparison of the different entries of the same sums, and casting up a number of articles—the employment of inferior clerks: he is a check upon the formality of the warrant, and the accuracy of the casting; and for this the public are to pay, if the present system of accounting is continued, near 20,000*l.* a year. Since then this trust reposed in the public companies, being simple in its nature, and guarded in its execution, is not, as appears to us, open to abuse; nor the public money issued for this service liable to misapplication; we are of opinion, that the public derives no benefit whatever from the examination of the bank and South Sea annuities in the office of the auditors of the imprest; and, consequently, that such examination ought to be discontinued, as a heavy and unnecessary expence to the public. We are warranted in this opinion by usage in a similar instance: no account of the old and new South Sea annuities is rendered at the exchequer: being originally part of the capital South Sea stock, they were, as such, exempt from account: the annuities paid by government upon all the capital trading stocks, the bank, the South Sea, and the East India stock, are issued from the exchequer without account: the reason seems to be this;—the annuity is granted to the company in their collective capacity, as a body corporate, and paid to them as one entire debt to one person: after the officer appointed by them has received it, government has no more to do with it, it lies upon those to whom the company have entrusted the direction and management of their affairs, to take care that a just division of it is made among their members: but upon the separation

of the old and new annuities from the capital stock, the proprietors of those funds no longer continued members of the company: they quitted all share both in the direction and the profits: they became distinct bodies of men, like the proprietors of any other government security; the proportional shares of the original annuity, which they became entitled to upon the separation, continued to be issued, and are now issued from the exchequer to the company; blended with the stock annuity; but the acts expressly say, those shares shall be issued in trust for the proprietors; and therefore, from the time of the separation, the company became responsible to government for the payment of these annuities, just as the governor and company of the bank of England stand at this time responsible for the payment of the dividends upon any capital they transact; and the money for such payment ought, in consistency, to have been issued from the exchequer, by way of imprest and on account; and yet, ever since the year 1722, the sum of 357,224*l.* 2*s.* the present annuity attending the old South Sea annuities; and ever since the year 1732, the sum of 254,844*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* the present annuity attending the new South Sea annuities; and larger sums, during the time the rate of interest was higher, have been paid every year by the South Sea company, as trustees employed by the public, and no account of these payments whatever rendered at the exchequer; very much to the emolument of the public, by a saving in fees, to the auditors of the imprest only, of above 120,000*l.*

As the payment of these annuities has, for so many years, been intrusted to the South Sea company, without account, and without any



any instance of abuse or misapplication that has hitherto been discovered; every reason seems to concur for extending the same exemption from the jurisdiction of the auditor of the imprest to the annuities of the year 1751, and to those transacted at the bank of England.

The duty, however, and business of the cashier ought, in our opinion, to be continued without alteration. It is expedient that government should not be ignorant of the annual state of these accounts; and therefore the cashier of each company should, every year, transmit to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, an account current, similar to that now transmitted by them to the auditors of the imprest, containing the receipts and payments of all the annuities transacted by them, including the old and new South Sea annuities, with the balance of the unclaimed dividends and stock remaining in their hands, signed by the cashier, and attested by him on oath, before a baron of the exchequer.

We have suggested the exemption of these accounts from the jurisdiction of the auditors of the imprest, as a regulation proper and necessary to be carried into immediate execution: we do not mean to violate, in the slightest degree, any right vested in an officer by virtue of his office. The principles which secure the rights of private property are sacred, and to be preserved inviolate: they are landmarks to be considered as immovable: but the public have their rights also; rights equally sacred, and as freely to be exercised.—That we may pursue the line of justice, without invading the rights of the subject on the one hand, or sacrificing those of the public on

the other, it becomes necessary for us to endeavour to develop these official rights, and define, if we can, their precise boundaries. If a useless and expensive office cannot be suppressed, nor the redundancies of an office curtailed, be the necessities of the state ever so urgent, without intrenching upon the right of the possessor, and violating the public faith, the evil must be endured, until the power of the legislature can, without the imputation of injustice, be exerted for the relief of the state.

The principle which gives existence to, and governs every public office, is the benefit of the state. Government requires that various branches of business should be transacted, and persons must be found to transact them. The acceptance of a public office implies an engagement to do the business, and a right to a compensation: the officer has powers delegated to him necessary for the execution; but he has no other right than to the reward of his labour: he has no right to any specific quantity of business; that quantity must fluctuate according to circumstances, or may be regulated by the convenience of the state: if the good of the community requires a diminution or annihilation of the business of his office, or the transferring it elsewhere, the officer cannot oppose to the regulation, the diminution or annihilation of his profits; because not the emolument of the officer, but the advantage of the public, was the object of the institution: to suppose in him a right to make such an objection, would be to suppose the office created for his benefit; that is, to suppose it to originate in a violation of public trust, an abuse of power, and an offence against the state. Where law or  
(K 2) usage



usage has annexed terms to the grant, which limit the right of the executive power to resume or take it away, the reason seems to be the expedience of leaving the officer in the exercise of the duties of his office, independent of the influence of that power, which might otherwise, at pleasure, remove him: but when it is no longer for public convenience that such duties should be exercised, or when the exercise of them becomes an unnecessary expence to the public, it would be an inversion of the principle that governs such establishments, to suffer that private emolument, which was no motive for the institution, to prevent or retard the abolition of them. It matters not what the duration or condition of the interest may be, whether for life or years, during good behaviour or pleasure; all are equally subject to that governing principle for the sake of which it was created—the good of the public: hence, in every proposed official regulation, the advantage or disadvantage of the officer can never be properly a subject of discussion; the only question is, whether the necessity or good of the state actually requires it? This decides the propriety of the regulation; and the determination of it belongs only to the supreme power that watches over the public good, for its improvement as well as protection. The regulation we have here suggested affects the auditors of the imprest, by a diminution of their business, and consequently of their profits: it is necessary therefore to examine particularly, whether it interferes with any right vested in that officer by virtue of his office. We have procured, and inserted in the appendix, a copy of the last patent for the grant of this office, omitting

the recital of the then subsisting patents: this patent describes his office, with its objects and emoluments. The power of auditing the bank and South Sea house accounts, seems to be derived from the general words of “auditing and determining all accounts of all persons whatsoever, being accountable for any sums received by the name of imprest.” The issue, therefore, by way of imprest, is the circumstance that gives the auditor the power to examine the expenditure. Whether a sum shall be issued by way of imprest, or not, depends upon the authority that directs the issue; which is either the royal sign manual, or an act of parliament; and, consequently, the exercise of this power of auditing must depend upon the will and pleasure either of the crown, or the legislature.

The office of the auditors of the imprest existed before the mode of borrowing upon funds was first adopted. Upon the creation of annuities, the legislature thought proper to direct that the money to be issued for the payment of them should be accounted for according to the due course of the exchequer; and thereby gave the auditors a new object. Should the legislature see good reason for altering the mode of issue; should they find by experience that the examination of the accounts by the auditors of the imprest is unnecessary; or the advantage of it in no degree adequate to the expence; can there be a doubt of their having a right, without injustice, to take from them again that object, and to direct the issue for the future to be without account?

There is another limitation also, upon the power of the auditor, inserted in his patent; that is, the

consent



consent of the treasury: he is "to audit and determine, by and with the advice, authority, and consent of the high treasurer of Great Britain, or the commissioners of the treasury, chancellor, and undertreasurer of the exchequer for the time being." This necessarily implies a power in the treasury, if they see reason, to withhold their assent; and, consequently, renders the exercise of the power of the auditor dependent upon their discretion. If this mode of reasoning be solid and conclusive; if the propriety of continuing an office, or particular branches of the business of an office, be tried by the advantage it produces to the community; if the officer can have no right in his office, independent of the public good; we suggest the infringement of no private right, when we deliver it as our opinion, that the money for the annuities payable at the bank of England and South Sea house, ought for the future to be issued without account from the exchequer: and we have not violated any private right, by suggesting the necessity of an immediate abolition of useless and expensive offices, and reduction of unnecessary and redundant expenses; convinced as we are, by the irresistible evidence of the state of the national debt exhibited to us, of the absolute and indispensable necessity of an immediate attention to every practicable retrenchment.

This account of the public debt being transmitted to us from the exchequer in the usual official form, required some explanation; with which we were supplied by the examination of Mr. John Hughson, clerk of the debentures in the office of the auditor of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer.

The sums inserted in the column

under the head of principal debt, opposite to the first, second, third, and fifth articles of annuities payable at the exchequer, are the purchase money originally paid for them into the exchequer. This purchase money does not seem to us to constitute a part of the public debt; the public are in no event bound to pay it: they are bound to pay the annuities purchased with these sums for the duration of the terms, and the existence of the lives for which they were granted; but upon the expiration of the annuities, either by effluxion of time, or death, the debt is at an end; an event that has happened, as to the second article, of annuities for lives with the benefit of survivorship, since the 5th of July last, the date of the account. This annuity is now expired, by the death of the last nominee; and therefore we have omitted this article, as well as those other principal sums, in our state of the public debt.

The first article of 131,203l. 12s. 8d. annuities for long terms, being complicated, we obtained an account of the annuities that compose it. This sum consists of annuities for years, granted for different terms, at seven different periods, between the years 1692 and 1708; and they will all expire between the years 1790 and 1807. The annuities in the third article, for two and three lives amounting to 8,207l. 12s. were finally granted in the year 1703, by the act of the 2d and 3d of queen Anne, chap. 3.: the lives were all named by the 1st of May 1704. The original sum of these annuities was 37,013l. 1s. 7d.: the number of orders was 1701; of which 440 are now continued upon the books at the exchequer, as containing lives in being; notwithstanding most of these



may be, and probably are, expired. The act directs, that the contributor, or his representatives shall, within one month after the death of the nominee, certify it to the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer; and, within three months after notice of the determination of the annuity, deliver up his tally and order into the exchequer; and until this is done the life is continued upon the books as existing. Many of the contributors, and persons named in these orders, were foreigners, and might be ignorant of, or inattentive to, the directions of the act. Every nominee now living must be at least seventy-nine years and an half old: that 440, out of 5103 persons, supposing originally three lives in each order, should attain that age, is not probable upon any calculation.

In order to obtain the payment of this annuity, a formal certificate must be produced of the life of the nominee: the last life that was certified was upon the 1st of January 1781. But notwithstanding the probability that the greatest part of these annuities are expired, they cannot, upon that ground only, be omitted: they must be continued as part of the public debt, until the auditor of the exchequer has an authority for leaving them out.

The fourth article of 2200l. exchequer bills, made out, for interest of old bills, has been inserted among the public debts ever since the year 1727: the old bills were then cancelled; and this interest upon them was supposed to be due in the year 1719: it no where appears that any such bills were ever made out, or to whom this interest belongs: no demand has been made for them at the exchequer; and therefore we think this sum may

safely be erased from among the debts of the public, and have omitted it accordingly. The million raised in the year 1726, not having been paid into the exchequer, but applied in cancelling exchequer bills issued for the discharge of the civil list debts, has never been inserted among the debts of the public, standing out at the exchequer; but it seems to us as if the public have made themselves liable, to the payment of this debt. By the act of the 7th of George I. chap. 27. 500,000l. was raised by annuities to discharge the debts of the civil list: they were made a charge upon the hereditary revenues, and to be redeemed by the crown. To enable the crown to reimburse itself the sums to be paid for these annuities, and for their redemption, the six-penny duty was granted, and appropriated.

By the 11th of George I. chap. 17. a million was raised by exchequer bills, for the same purpose; and 500,000l. of it applied in the redemption of these annuities: the bills were charged upon the hereditary revenues; the six-penny duty was continued; and the surplus expressly appropriated for the cancelling them. The next year, by the 12th of George I. chap. 2. a million was raised by a lottery, and converted into annuities, at 3l. per cent. and applied in cancelling 990,000l. of the exchequer bills. The king was empowered to continue the six-penny duty; and out of it 30,000l. a year was made a specific fund for the payment of the annuity; the king was empowered also to redeem them, but out of what fund is not mentioned: the whole produce of the duty was appropriated towards paying and discharging the said annuities; and, should it produce a surplus, it was



be reserved in the exchequer, and not issued or applied, but by authority of parliament. This duty having for many years produced a surplus, the act of the 19th of his present majesty, chap. 65. appropriates it towards augmenting the salaries of the judges. As the million raised by exchequer bills, and the next year converted into annuities, was expressly charged upon the hereditary revenues of the crown, which by the act of the 1st of his present majesty, are carried to the aggregate fund; and the surplus of that fund is, by the act of the first of George I. chap. 12. which created it, disposable for the public service; and as the surplus of the six-penny duty, the whole of which was appropriated to pay the annuities, and cancel the exchequer bills, has been taken for, and is now appropriated to, a public service, the public have possessed themselves of the revenues chargeable with this million, and with the fund created to reimburse those revenues; and, therefore, we think ourselves well warranted to insert this million among the debts due from the public.

The sum of 1,164,262l. 5s. in the column of annual interest, consists of a variety of annuities granted by different acts: some for lives, and others for years for different periods, they are digested in two supplemental accounts we received from the exchequer. The sum for lives, granted in five different years, payable at the exchequer, and standing out upon the 5th of July last, is 71,055l. 16s. 7d. The annuities for long and short terms, granted in eight different years, amount to 1,098,525l. 7s.

In the column of principal debt, opposite to these annuities, no sum is inserted, because no sums were paid specifically for them into the

exchequer: they were all premiums granted to the subscribers, in addition to redeemable annuities. To compute the principal debt incurred on account of these annuities for lives and years, at any given time, the value of each species must be estimated by the age and circumstances of the nominees, or the time they have to run, and the market price at that time—a calculation not very practicable, and, if it were, of no great utility.

The sum of 5250l. the first article in the column under the title of management, is paid, pursuant to various treasury warrants, to the auditor, the clerk of the pells, and tellers of the exchequer, in certain proportions, for their trouble in transacting the annuities payable in that office.

All these debts may be classed under two heads, the redeemable, and the irredeemable; the first, are those which the legislature, pursuing the forms and terms specified in the acts that created them, may redeem, without the consent of the proprietors; the latter, are those which being granted for certain specified periods, cannot be redeemed without the consent of the proprietors: in the creation of some of the first, the right of redemption is restrained in favour of the subscribers, until after a limited period.

Corresponding with these observations, and consequently deviating somewhat from the form pursued in the exchequer, we have set forth the present state, as it appears to us, of the national debt standing out at the exchequer; in which the redeemable debt amounts to 211,363,254l. 15s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and the annuity attending it to 6,642,397l. 12s. 9d.; which annuity will expire upon the redemption, annihilation, or purchasing in of the capital. The irredeemable annuity



amounts to the annual sum of 1,309,532l. 8s. 3d.; which, unless purchased in, must continue for the periods for which the several parts of it were granted. The charges of managing this debt amount to 134,291l. 13s. 1d.

From the materials thus collected, we are enabled to state, at one view, with precision, the total sum paid by the public in consequence of their debts in this, and to be paid in every succeeding year, until a reduction shall take place. The sum paid in annuities on the capital, and for lives and years, is 7,951,930l. 1s.; the charges of management are 134,291l. 13s. 1d.: the fees to the auditors of the imprest, on the bank and South Sea house accounts, 19,874l. 2s. 8d.: the fees at the other offices, taken at the same rate as stated in the bank and South Sea house memorials above alluded to, 696l. 12s. 4d.; forming together, as flowing from and incidental to the debt they have contracted, the annual sum of 8,106,792l. 9s. 1d.

We have omitted to add to this account, as unnecessary, we hope, for the future, the expence incurred in the year of a loan by annuities and a lottery, and allowed to the bank for receiving, paying, and accounting for the contributions: this article, in the year 1781, as stated in the bank memorial, amounted to 10,669l. 10s.; and, in the year 1782, as stated in account transmitted to us from the auditors of the imprest, to 12,702l. 11s. 3d.

This is the state of the funded debt; that is, certain funds have been created, and appropriated by the legislature, as a provision for the payment of all the annuities therein enumerated: but this is not the whole debt; a heavy list of ar-

rears remains behind; debts for which no provision has as yet been made by government.

We required, from the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, an account of the unfunded debt, as it stood upon the 1st of October last; distinguishing those debts, that carry interest, from those which carry no interest, with the interest due on each species, computed to the 1st of October last. Four accounts were transmitted to us, pursuant to this requisition; the first contains the debt due at the navy and victualling offices; the second, at the office of ordnance; the third, at the exchequer; the fourth, for the extraordinaries of the army.

As some of the bills in the navy account, and a sum in the exchequer account, have been paid since the 1st of October last, we have collected the subsisting articles, and disposed them in such order as to shew, at one view, the present state of this unfunded debt; and from thence it appears, that the principal of this debt amounts to 18,856,541l. 11s. 4½d. of which the sum of 15,694,112l. 1s. 11d. carries interest; and the interest due upon it the 1st of October last, was 517,579l. 4s. 3d.: the amount of the annual interest is 612,742l. omitting fractions. The remainder of this principal, being 3,162,429l. 9s. 5½d. carries no interest. The principal of this debt, being added to 211,363,254l. 15s. 4¾d. the capital of the funded debt, makes the present capital debt of this nation 230,219,796l. 6s. 9½d. and the annual interest of this debt, being added to 7,951,930l. 1s. the sum of annuities stated in the account of the funded debt, increases the sum to be paid every year, for annuities and interest to 8,564,672l.



is; to which being added the sum of 154,862l. 8s. 1d. claimed for charges of management, and fees, the total sum paid every year by this nation, in consequence of its debt, will be 8,719,534l. 9s. 1d.: and should these arrears of the navy and ordnance, making together 12,742,415l. 0s. 1d. be converted into annuities of 3l. per cent. taken at the rate of 60 per cent. which is more than the present price, above 8,000,000l. more will be added to the capital, and increase it to upwards of 238,000,000l. including more than 6,000,000l. in exchequer bills and extraordinaries of the army; and above 100,000l. a year will be added to the annuity, and above 13,000l. a year to the expences attending it; which will, together, make the annual sum to be paid by this nation upwards of 8,882,534l.

It is expedient that the true state of the national debt should be disclosed to the public; every subject ought to know it, for every subject is interested in it. This debt is swelled to a magnitude that requires the united efforts of the ablest heads and purest hearts, to suggest the proper and effectual means of reduction. The nation calls for the aid of all its members to co-operate with government, and to combine in carrying into execution such measures as shall be adopted, for the attainment of so indispensable an end: this aid the subject is bound to give to the state, by every other obligation, as well as by the duty he owes to his country; and, with such general aid, the difficulties, great as they appear, will, we trust, be found not insurmountable.

A plan must be formed for the reduction of this debt, and that without delay; now, in the fa-

vourable moments of peace. The evil does not admit of procrastination, palliatives, or expedients: it presses on, and must be met with force and firmness. The right of the public creditor to his debt, must be preserved inviolate: his security rests upon the solid foundation, never to be shaken, of parliamentary national faith.

The obvious means of reduction is the creation of a fund to be appropriated, and invariably applied, under proper direction, in the gradual diminution of the debt: this fund must be the surplus of the annual income, above the annual expences of the state, to be obtained and increased by the extension and improvement of the sources of revenue, and by a frugal administration of the produce. To accomplish the first of these does not, in many instances, depend solely upon the will and power of the state. To open new or enlarge old channels of commerce, to set up new or improve old branches of manufacture, often require the concurrence of other nations, and of other bodies of men: but frugality in the management of the revenue, the object to which the act by which we are constituted, has pointed our attention, is within the reach of every government. It needs no concurrence or assistance from without: it possesses in itself full, absolute and uncontrouled powers, to regulate the management of every article of its revenue: it can quicken the passage of a tax or duty into the public coffers: it can direct it from thence, without delay, to the purpose for which it is intended: it can abolish useless offices; cut off superfluous and unnecessary expences; and reduce those that are necessary within certain and reasonable limits: it can call its officers to



to account; and reclaim the sums of public money, either detained in their hands, or converted to their own use: it can correct every abuse, and infuse a spirit of œconomy through every branch of the receipt and expenditure of the revenue. What can be done, the support of public credit, the preservation of national honour, and the justice due to the public creditor, demand should be done.—It must be done, or serious consequences will ensue.

Where the resources of a country are so extensive, so various, and productive, a spirit of frugality, universally diffused and kept alive, cannot but be attended with the most powerful effects. The subjects of this kingdom are opulent, generous, and public-spirited: let the distresses of their country be fairly laid before them; and let that interest they and their posterity have in this constitution be appealed to, and they will contribute cheerfully and liberally to her relief.

The subject must place confidence in the integrity and wisdom of the government: he should have no doubt but his contributions to the public service find their way, undiminished, without deviation or delay, to their proper object: and let him no more seek for shifts and subtleties to evade the payment of those duties and taxes which the wisdom of the legislature have deemed the most eligible, and which the necessities of the state fully justify.

Let public benevolence take the lead of private interest. Example may produce much; and must begin somewhere. An extraordinary and unprecedented conjuncture in the finances of a country may require extraordinary and unprecedented efforts. Every man may

dedicate a portion of his income, or some share of his affluence, according to his faculties, to this great national object: let the produce of such a general exertion be wisely directed, and faithfully applied; and this debt, enormous as it is, will begin to melt away: and every man who contributes to so great a work will feel the consolation resulting from the discharge of the most important of his duties, by having assisted in relieving public distress, restoring public credit, and averting a national calamity.

*Office of Accounts, Surry-street, Dec. 4. 1783.*

T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAMUEL BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEORGE DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)
WILLIAM ROE,	(L. S.)

*The Twelfth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

THE treasurer of the ordnance is among the public accountants upon the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the imprest. We required from that office the last declared account of the treasurer of the ordnance, with the materials from which it was made out. Two accounts were transmitted to us in consequence of this requisition; the one, the final account of John Ross Mackye, esq. treasurer and paymaster of the office of ordnance, from the 1st of January to the 16th of December 1780; the other, the account of William Adam, esq. from the 16th to the 31st of December, being the remaining part of that year: the first was declared the 7th of September 1782; the



the other, the 11th of January 1783.

The account of a treasurer of the ordnance contains the receipts and payments of an entire year, unless there have been more treasurers within the year than one; and, in that case, each treasurer makes up an account for that part of the year during which he had been in the office. We confined our examination to the first of these accounts, as being for the longest period.

The materials which were sent to us with this account, and had been received by the auditor from the treasurer, were a ledger—quarter books—and debentures: from the inspection of which, together with the examinations of Charles Harris, esq. one of the deputy auditors of the imprest, and Cuthbert Fisher, esq. chief clerk in the office of the treasurer of the ordnance, we are made acquainted with the forms of, and subject matter contained in, these books and instruments; and with the manner in which the auditor proceeds in examining and auditing these accounts.

The ledger contains a complete account of all the sums received and paid by the treasurer during the period of the account. The sums with which he charges himself are these—the balance remaining due on his last account—the money imprested to him from the exchequer—the voluntary charge—and, the imprests vacated.

The sum imprested from the exchequer is verified by the imprest certificate. The voluntary charge includes all the sums (except the imprests vacated) that have come to his hands by any other means than from the exchequer: the entry of this charge in the ledger

is signed at the end by three or more of the principal officers; and upon the authority of that signature the auditor admits it.

The imprests vacated, are sums which the treasurer stands charged with, in consequence of the accounts of money issued by way of imprest, either by him or his predecessors, having been settled during the time of the account. When a clearing debenture is made out, either for the whole amount, or for a part, of a debt due from the ordnance, the sums that have been advanced on account are entered by the clerk of the ordnance in the margin of the debenture; the treasurer pays the balance only; but he takes credit for the amount of the debenture, and charges himself with the imprests. If a part only of the sums imprested have been expended, the account is settled by the clerk of the ordnance, and the balance is directed by the board to be paid to the treasurer; the imprests in the one case, and the balances in the other, form the account of the imprest vacated. This account is signed in like manner with the voluntary charge, and admitted upon that authority; but the auditor, finding the persons, who have been thus cleared, either returned insuper, upon some former account, or inserted in the list of imprests in the account depending, writes them off, as far as they are cleared, opposite their names in the margin of that account in which they are so inserted,—the discharge contains all his payments: the vouchers for them are the quarter books and debentures. The quarter books are of two kinds; the one relates to the civil, the other to the military branch of the ordnance. The civil quarter book contains the titles of all the offices  
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in the several departments of the ordnance, and some other offices, the duty of which consists both of land and sea service; together with the salaries or allowances allotted to each office, and the signature of the officers themselves set opposite their salaries or allowances. The military quarter book contains the complete corps of engineers: it consists of the names of the officers, their pay, and the signatures of the agents who receive it. These quarter books are entered in the ledger, and that entry is signed by three or more board officers. This signature is the authority to the auditor for the rate of the allowance; and the signature upon the quarter book, of the person receiving, is the evidence of the payment.

A debenture is an instrument that describes the debt due from the ordnance: it contains—the name of the creditor—the sum due—the rate of computation—for what particular service—the time when it was performed—and, whether payable out of money applicable to the land or sea service: it is signed by three officers of the board, of whom the lieutenant-general, or, in his absence, some other board officer, and the clerk of the ordnance, must be two. The debentures are numbered, and sent to the auditor in bundles, with a list to each bundle, containing the number and date of each debenture, the name of the person entitled, and the sum. The debenture, indorsed by the person named in it, or his assignee, is the voucher to the auditor for the payment.

The last class of payments entered in the ledger, is that of imprests paid; which comprehends every sum issued upon account during the period of the account, and

the name of the person to whom it is issued. The imprest bills, which are the instruments that authorise the treasurer to advance the money, contain the sum to be advanced, the person to whom, and sometimes the service: these are never produced to the auditor, but are retained by the treasurer until the imprests are vacated by debentures; after which, their end being answered, they are deposited with the other ordnance papers, in the Record Room in the White Tower, under the clerk of the ordnance. This imprest account is signed at the foot of it by all the board officers, and is the authority by which the auditor allows the treasurer the articles contained in it.

The auditor examines the computations and castings in these books, lists, and debentures; and, having compared them with their correspondent entries in the ledger, he from them forms the official account; which agrees in substance with the account in the ledger, but is different in its form, and in the arrangement of the articles. In the ledger, the payments, both upon the quarter books and by debentures, are entered in the same order in which they appear in those books, and in the debenture lists, distinguished only into payments for the land and sea service; but in the official account they are disposed and classed under various distinct heads of service, according to such divisions and arrangement as it has been customary for the auditor to make use of in his office. Another difference is, that in the ledger the treasurer enters only the imprests paid by him during the time of the account; but the auditor in his account charges the treasurer with the total sum remaining insuper at the foot of the preceding



ceding account, and discharges him, at the foot of the account depending, of so much of that sum as remains uncleared by him, with the addition of the sum issued by him on imprest during the period of the account.

At the end of the ledger, is an abstract of the whole account; which, after the balance is agreed between the treasurer and the auditor, is signed by the treasurer, and attested by him upon oath before one of the barons of the exchequer.

The total charge upon the treasurer, in the account before us, is 2,732,389*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.* of which 1,752,874*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.* is the sum remaining insuper upon the last preceding account. The total discharge is 2,731,568*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.* of which the sum remaining insuper (being the amount of the imprests issued by the several treasurers of the ordnance, from the year 1673 to the 18th of December 1780, and not cleared) is 2,092,353*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.* and the balance of cash remaining in the hands of the treasurer is—820*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

This inquiry into the proceedings of the auditor of the imprest, relative to the accounts of the treasurer of the ordnance, gave us no insight into the manner in which the business of the ordnance is conducted: to obtain this knowledge we had recourse to the chief clerks, as the efficient officers in the several branches of this department. We examined John Bodington, esq. secretary to the board of ordnance; Robert Mackenzie, esq. secretary; and Mr. Nicholas Wittwer, minuting clerk to the lieutenant-general; John Vigden, esq. first clerk in the office of the surveyor-general; William Nettlehip, esq. first clerk to the clerk of

the ordnance; Mr. Thomas Day, late clerk in the office of the storekeeper; and Mr. William Weaver, first clerk to the clerk of the deliveries. From these examinations, and from the instructions for the government of the office of ordnance, given by king Charles the Second, in the year 1683, submitted to our inspection, and which, with very few alterations, are the rules that govern the office at this day, we have been enabled to obtain some knowledge of the manner in which this extensive branch of the public expenditure is transacted.

The office of ordnance is governed by a master-general, and a board under him, all appointed by separate letters patent.

The board consists of five principal officers—the lieutenant-general—the surveyor-general—the clerk of the ordnance—the storekeeper—and, clerk of the deliveries,—any three of whom form a board. The master-general and lieutenant-general are each, by virtue of his office, in two capacities; the one military, the other civil: in their military capacity the master-general is commander in chief, and the lieutenant-general second in command, over the artillery and engineers.

In his civil capacity the master-general is intrusted with the entire management of, and control over, the whole ordnance department: all warrants from the king, privy council, or, in sea affairs, from the board of admiralty, and all letters from secretaries of state, conveying orders relative to the ordnance, are directed, not to the board, but to the master-general; and the board carry them into execution under his authority, and in consequence of his direction: he can do alone  
any



any act, which can otherwise, if he does not interpose, be done by the board: he can order the issue of money; but that order must be executed in the established mode, that is, by debenture signed by three board officers.

The board are subordinate to the master-general: they act under him, pursuant to his significations or directions: if he does not interpose, they are competent of themselves to carry on all the official business: they make contracts and agreements for the purchase of stores and performance of services, and direct the issue of money and stores; but if the master-general chuses to exert the power intrusted to him, he can control all their actions.

During the absence of the master-general, or the vacancy of the office, the whole executive power devolves upon the board: all warrants, letters, and orders, are directed to the lieutenant-general and principal officers: they can order, sign, execute, transact, and perform every service or matter incident to the office of the ordnance.

The lieutenant-general, in his civil capacity, is the first in rank among the members that compose the board: his signature is essential to a debenture, to warrant the payment of it by the treasurer; unless he is absent abroad, in which case, any other of the principal officers is empowered by the king's instructions to sign it in his stead; or unless, as has been usual, his majesty appoints an assistant and deputy to the lieutenant-general, to act for him in his absence. The present lieutenant-general has no deputy, the last appointment of this kind was that of the surveyor-general, by warrant dated the 11th of April

1750. It is the duty, likewise, of this officer to superintend all the officers and ministers in the various departments of the ordnance, and to see that they perform the duties of their several employments.

The other four principal officers have each of them, independent of his being a member of the board, a separate and distinct branch of business committed to his management.

The surveyor-general, or master-surveyor, as he is styled in his patent, is the second board officer: his peculiar duty is, as his title imports, to survey all stores received or returned into the store-houses of the ordnance: he is interposed as a check upon the quality and quantity of the stores received into the magazines: at the Tower he executes this duty by his clerks; at the out-ports, and foreign garrisons, officers called clerks of the survey are appointed to this service, who regularly make their returns into his office. It is his province to examine the account of every expenditure; and therefore the price book, which contains the price allowed by the board for every species of stores and service, is lodged with him; and all bills for pay for stores delivered, and services performed, with their proper vouchers, are transmitted to him for his examination and allowance: he compares the prices charged, and sees that they agree with the terms of the contract, agreement, warrant, or order, on which they are grounded: he examines and passes the accounts of those officers, or others to whom money has been issued on account; and after he has finished his examination of any demand or expenditure, he forms a bill, signs it, and transmits it to the clerk of the ordnance, as the ground



ground for a debenture for payment. The repairs of the buildings belonging to the ordnance at the Tower, and the direction of the artificers, workmen, and labourers there employed, are intrusted to his care.

The clerk of the ordnance presides in that office, in which are recorded and preserved all the original authorities, instruments, and vouchers, that warrant, describe, and authenticate the proceedings of the ordnance: he is the accountant of the ordnance; and as such, keeps the accounts of all the cash and stores belonging to the whole department: he draws up the annual estimate for parliament, and the monthly estimate for the treasury. The treasurer sends him an account of the imprests from the exchequer, as soon as he receives them: the articles that compose the voluntary charge, and the imprests vacated, originate from accounts examined and settled in his office; and the instruments by which money is paid, or issued, are formed by him. He makes out the quarter books for the payment of the officers, from the appointments, whether they are by commission, patent, warrant, signification, or order; all of which, with the salaries annexed to them, are entered in his office. All debentures for the payment of money, either for stores delivered, or services performed, are made out by him, from the bills transmitted to him from the surveyor-general: he vacates the imprests issued to, or the debts due from, the persons named in the debentures or quarter books, by entering such sums in the margin: he draws all imprest bills ordered by the board: he keeps the imprest account; and is the proper officer to call upon the sub-ac-

countants to clear their accounts: he prepares the official letters to the treasurer, directing the payment of ready money debentures: he draws up, signs, and transmits to him, the lists of the debentures in course ordered for payment. Having by these means full knowledge, and keeping an account of the receipts and payments, he becomes a check upon the treasurer. It is part of his duty to attend at the receipt and return of all stores into the magazine of the ordnance at the Tower: he keeps a journal of these receipts and returns; and has access to the journal kept by the clerk of the deliveries, for the issues: from hence he forms a ledger, and becomes a check upon the store-keeper. He takes his account of the receipts and issues by the store-keepers of the out-ports and garrisons, from their accounts transmitted to the board, and referred to his examination.

The store-keeper (or principal store-keeper, as he is called, to distinguish him from other store-keepers) has the custody, and keeps the account of the ordnance and stores received into, and issued out of, the Tower. The store-keepers at the out-ports and garrisons keep the accounts of the like articles under their charge; but their accounts are subject to the examination both of the principal store-keeper and of the clerk of the ordnance; and for that purpose each store-keeper, and every other person who becomes accountable for stores (except the gunners of ships) transmits an account of his receipts and issues, with the vouchers and orders, to the board, who refer them to these two officers for their joint examination.

The clerk of the deliveries is the officer who superintends and keeps the



the account of the issues of the stores and ordnance: he prepares, pursuant to the direction of the board, an instrument, called "a proportion," directed to a store-keeper, authorising him to issue certain stores, particularly specified to a place therein named: this instrument, being signed by any three board officers, he delivers to the store-keeper as his warrant for the issue: he receives from him the articles specified, and delivers them to the person who is to receive or convey them; if the articles be arms or ammunition, he takes an indent, by which the person receiving engages to render an account of them.

Such being the duty of these officers, both collectively as a board, and in their separate capacities, we proceeded to inquire by what general rules the business of the ordnance is conducted in the several departments.

The business of the ordnance may be considered as comprehended under what relates to the receipt, and what relates to the expenditure, of the money applicable to that service.

The money provided for the ordnance service is received by the treasurer from the exchequer: it is distinguished under two heads—for the land—and, for the sea service. The money for the land service is contained in two accounts—the estimate for the current year—and the account of services performed, and not provided for. The money for the sea service is 51. per cent. of the sum granted by parliament for the seamen.

Every year the clerk of the ordnance draws up, and presents to the House of Commons, three accounts—first, an estimate for the current year—secondly, an account of the expence of services perform-

ed, and not provided for—and, thirdly, a state of the debt of the ordnance.—The estimate is an arrangement of the ordnance services under general heads, and states the sum that will probably be wanted for each head of service during the year: it is divided into the ordinary, and, the extraordinaries. The ordinary comprehends the permanent establishments, and certain usual services; the sums estimated as necessary to answer these establishments and services are taken or computed from what has been the usual expence of them in the preceding years. The extraordinaries consist of sums that will probably be wanted in certain garrisons, either in Great Britain or elsewhere, or for casual services; these expences are calculated either upon the estimates of engineers, relative to the construction of new or the repairs of old works, in those garrisons or divisions; or from the usual annual expences of such casual services.—The account of the expence of services performed, and not provided for, includes services that were unforeseen, and the excesses of expences beyond the provisions made for them: it has been the usage of office to insert likewise, in this account, some services, which, though foreseen, were yet omitted in the estimate; but the two last estimates have been formed with a view of avoiding as much as possible, the necessity of coming to parliament with an account of unprovided services.

The state of the debt of the ordnance, contains such of the debts incurred in all the preceding years as can be ascertained, and remain unpaid; either no provision having been made for them by parliament, or the provision made for them having been otherwise applied. After the sums in the estimate, and in the



the account of services performed, and not provided for, are voted, the clerk of the ordnance, at the requisition of the lords commissioners of the treasury, draws up a monthly estimate, that is, a state of the sums that will probably be wanted in every month during the year, both for the land and sea service, distinguishing the current services from the payments in course: the sum, thus divided into twelve parts, is compounded of the sum in the estimate, the sum granted for the unprovided services, and the sum arising from the five pounds per cent. of the vote for the seamen. This estimate is transmitted to the treasury, and the board apply to them by memorial every month for the portion stated for that month in the estimate; it is issued to the treasurer of the ordnance at such time as is convenient to the treasury.

The ordnance money is employed, in general, either in the purchase of stores and materials, or in payments for services performed. To come at a knowledge of the general rules by which these purchases are made, and services conducted, it was necessary to direct our inquiry to particular articles of business in the ordnance department, and to mark their progress through the several offices. The subjects we selected were—the hire of ships—the hire of horses, conductors, and drivers for the artillery—contracts for bricks and timber—fortifications—gunpowder—and ordnance. Upon these subjects we collected information from the officers of the ordnance above mentioned, and likewise from the following persons, conversant in those particular branches; viz. John Julius Angerstein and John Thompson, esquires, contractors with the board of ordnance for shipping;

Thomas Dickenson, esquire, superintendant of shipping; William Adam, esq. a contractor for bricks and timber; colonel Mathew Dixon, commanding engineer at Plymouth; major William Congreve, deputy-controller of the king's laboratory at Woolwich; and major Thomas Blomfield, the inspector of artillery.

In most of the transactions of this office, the distinguishing circumstances to which we particularly directed our attention, are—the contract, the execution—and the payment.

Every contract or agreement is made by the board. The terms have usually been settled, either in consequence of proposals delivered in, sometimes pursuant to advertisements, and sometimes upon the tender of the contractor without advertisements; or, in consequence of appointments, by the master-general, of particular persons to supply certain species of stores or materials, or to perform certain branches of service; but by a late resolution, the board have determined for the future to advertise for every kind of stores or services they shall stand in need of. The prices agreed to by the board are entered in the price-book, by which the surveyor-general checks the prices charged in the bills delivered to him for his examination and allowance, and regulates future contracts for the same or similar services.—The execution is guarded by the superintendance of officers employed in the service: it is the duty of some of them to take an account of, and examine the quantity and quality of all stores received into, or delivered out of, the magazines and of all materials supplied and used for the works: it is the duty of others to see that the services under their inspection are faithfully performed in



every article, according to the terms of the agreement. Upon the certificates of these officers the board rely for the due execution of every undertaking, and for the truth of every circumstance contained or implied in the instruments to which those certificates are annexed; and upon the credit of them they direct the several payments.

That these are the rules by which the board of ordnance conduct themselves in the execution of the business intrusted to their management, we collect from the examination of the subjects above mentioned.

Before the year 1777, ships for freight were procured by the ordnance, either in consequence of advertisements, or by the intervention of brokers: but in that year an officer was appointed, called the superintendant of shipping, whose business it is, either to look out for such ships as the service may stand in need of, or, where ships are tendered in pursuance of advertisements, to examine the condition of them, and the proposals delivered in by the contractors, and report his opinion thereupon to the board: it is his duty likewise to assist at the valuation of the ship, rigging and stores. Government is bound by the charter-party, where a ship is taken or destroyed by the enemy, to pay to the owner the value of the ship, rigging, and stores; this makes it necessary to set a value upon them previous to her sailing. Certain officers, of whom the superintendant is one, are appointed by the board to take an inventory of all her rigging and stores, and to make a valuation of them, and of the ship: this valuation is signed by all the officers, and lodged with the clerk of the ordnance. It is

not customary to give notice to the owner of the time when this valuation is to be made; he may have recourse to it in the office where it is kept: if he signs it, he considers himself as bound by it, otherwise not. If the ship be taken or destroyed by the enemy, the sum inserted in the valuation is paid to the owner, deducting 8s. per ton, per annum, for the wear and tear.

The number of ships employed in the service of the ordnance, from the 1st of January 1776 to the end of the year 1783, has been 110; and the number of tons, 39,934; of which the annual expence, at 13s. per ton per month, the price settled by the board, has been, upon an average, 311,485l. 4s. a year; that is, for seven years, exclusive of losses and wages of extra seamen, 2,180,396l. 8s.

The hire of horses, conductors, and drivers, for the service of the ordnance, during the late war, has been by contract. The obligation upon the contractor is, to provide and supply, from time to time, as many of each as shall be required by the board. The commander in chief regulates the number and the time when they will be wanted. From the account of the number of horses, conductors, and drivers, employed in the service of the artillery in England, from January 1778 to December 1783, returned to our requisition by the clerk of the ordnance, it appears that the establishment for the train in England, from its commencement in May 1778 to the end of October 1782, consisted of 1637 horses, 32 conductors, and 581 drivers. By a contract with Mr. Fitzherbert, of the year 1775, the full pay of the horses was 1s. 9d. and of the conductors, 3s. a day; and of the drivers, 8s. a week each. They were



were kept continually in the service, either upon full or half-pay, and were raised to full, or reduced to half-pay, in consequence of orders from the board to the contractor: he was supplied with forage for his horses from the king's magazines, at 6d. the ration; and for every horse killed or taken by the enemy, he was to be paid 10l. By a contract with Mr. Samuel Tewkesbury, in the year 1782, the full pay for a horse was reduced to 1s. 0½d. a day; and the contractor was to pay for a ration the price paid by government, which was 10½d.; and he was bound to find jackets, caps, and several other articles, for the horses and drivers, which were in the former contract found by government. The total expence to the public for this service, from the year 1778 to the year 1783, appears, by an account from the ordnance, to have been 233,385l. 18s. 4d.

The check upon the performance of this service is intrusted to the commissary of horse. The contractor passes, in the office of the surveyor-general, a monthly account, containing the number of horses, conductors, and drivers, upon full and half-pay during that month, with the sums due to him for the hire: this account is certified by the commissary of horse; and the surveyor-general relies upon that certificate for the truth of the account.

Bricks were provided for the works at Chatham, in consequence of an advertisement, at one guinea per thousand for the bricks, and 3s. for the carriage.

Timber has been supplied, and carpenters work done, for the service of the ordnance, either by contract pursuant to advertisements, or under the signification of the

master-general. The performance of the contract for bricks was superintended and checked by the principal engineer, and other officers belonging to that corps; and in every district where timber was delivered, or carpenter's work done, an officer was appointed by the board to examine into the goodness of the materials, and the execution of the work; and upon the certificate of these officers the demands of the contractors are allowed.

A fortification is erected by the commanding engineer, pursuant to an order from the master-general, for carrying a project into execution according to an approved plan and estimate: the commanding engineer forms the estimate for the different species of work by the established prices in the office. Since October last, proposals have been delivered to the board, in consequence of advertisements, for supplying timber and materials, and executing different species of work in the building branch, at a lower rate than the old established prices in the office: the proposals for the carpenters and bricklayers work at Plymouth, being at reduced prices, have been agreed to by the board: the proposals for carpenters work at the Tower, and in the Medway and Cinque Port divisions, are agreed to, but with a deduction of two and one quarter per cent. from the proposed prices in the Tower division: those for the Portsmouth division are not yet settled.

These works are executed part by contract, part by day-labour; but no part is executed, and no materials provided, without the express direction, in writing, of the master-general, or the board. The commanding engineer makes the contracts for the different work, upon such terms as have been ap-  
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proved of by the board : the labourers he procures himself, and settles their wages, either according to the usual price of labour in that country, or at such a rate as he can agree for ; if soldiers are employed, the commander in chief regulates their pay : the subaltern engineers and overseers superintend the execution. That part performed by contract is paid for by measure : the engineer or overseer appointed to superintend it, makes his report every week to the commanding engineer, of the progress of the work ; and every three months, or oftener, the engineer and overseer, in conjunction with a person on the part of the contractor, measure the work, and sign the measurement ; from whence is formed the bill, which contains the species and quantity of the work, and the sums due to the several artificers : this bill, being signed by the commanding engineer, and certified by the subaltern engineers and overseers, is transmitted to the surveyor-general, as the ground for the payment to the contractor.

Labour is paid by the day, and the same officers make a report every day to the commanding engineer of the progress of the work, specifying the materials expended, and the persons employed ; and from hence are formed the monthly pay lists ; which being certified by two or more engineers or overseers, are a ground for the order of the commanding engineer to the storekeeper for payment.

From an account of the sums that have been expended in the fortifications at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, from the beginning of the year 1770 to the end of the year 1783, it appears, that the expence to the public, for the works at Chatham, has been

144,009l. 15s. for those at Portsmouth, 297,903l. 8s. and for those at Plymouth, 128,178l. 14s. 6d. together, 570,091l. 17s. 6d. and from an extract of an estimate of the whole expence which will probably be incurred in completing the works therein mentioned, presented to the house of commons, and transmitted to us by the surveyor-general, it appears, that the sum required this year for repairs, in the three divisions of Portsmouth, Plymouth and Chatham, amounts to 68,008l. and that the expence to the public in completing certain of the works at Portsmouth, will amount to above 183,000l. and, to render both Portsmouth and Plymouth complete, will require 4 or 500,000l.

Gunpowder is manufactured by several persons, under contracts with the board of ordnance ; the manufactory of Faversham, which belongs to government, not being able to furnish them with near the quantity they want. The board supply the contractor with saltpetre. The India company engage by their charter to provide for government 500 tons every year, if demanded, at 53l. per ton in time of war, and 45l. per ton in time of peace : the contractor engages, at the price of 11. 7s. 6d. per barrel for workmanship, to work 80lb. of double-refined saltpetre into a barrel of gunpowder of 100lb. neat weight, to hold and undergo the usual proof and survey. Before any gunpowder used by government is received into the magazines, it undergoes, by order of the board, a proof at Purfleet. The only established mode of proof was, by raising a given weight in a frame, called a vertical eprouvette, by a given quantity of powder ; but by a course of experiments lately made, by order



der of the then master-general, with mortars; this mode has been found not to be a certain proof of the strength and goodness of the powder; for a powder, that with 2 drachms would raise the vertical eprouvette 4 inches and  $\frac{5}{16}$ , would, with 3lb. range a shell from a 13 inch mortar 1103 yards only; when another powder, that with the same quantities would raise the eprouvette only 1 inch and  $\frac{9}{16}$ , would range the shell, 1112 yards: the report upon these experiments is now under the consideration of the board of ordnance. The officers employed in making and superintending this proof are, the controller of the kings laboratory at Woolwich (or, in his absence, the deputy) the chief fire-master, the assistant fire-master, the store-keeper, the clerk of the survey, and the clerk of the check at Purfleet. After every proof, a report of the quantity and state of the powder proved, signed by the controller, the two fire-masters, and the store-keeper, is made to the master-general and the board; who, in consequence of that report, direct what powder shall be received as serviceable into the king's magazines.

The ordnance are either of brass or iron. All the brass ordnance are cast in the royal foundry at Woolwich. The iron are cast by contract, at foundries in different parts of the kingdom, and are delivered to the store-keeper at Woolwich: the contractor is bound to cast them, agreeably to moulds sent to him by the board, at 18l. a ton, subject to such survey and proof as the board shall direct; and if a concealed defect in any one gun is discovered, all the guns belonging to that contractor, laid down for a proof at that time, are rejected. Superintending the proof

was formerly intrusted to officers in the civil department of the ordnance; the surveyor-general, with other civil officers, were present at the first day's proof; the board attended the second day: but by his majesty's warrant, dated the 24th of January 1783, this duty is transferred to the officers of the artillery; it is now executed by the inspector of artillery, with the assistant-inspector, and proof-master.

Every gun undergoes first an examination, and then a proof. The examination is performed with instruments calculated to discover errors in the form and position of the bore, and to ascertain whether the construction is agreeable, in every respect, to the mould sent as a pattern to the gun-founder. The proof is, first, two days with gunpowder, and a search after each firing; then by forcing water into the bore; and lastly, by an inspection of the inward surface, effected by throwing into it a quantity of light, by means of a mirror, which frequently discovers concealed defects, that escape every other examination and proof. If the gun stands these examinations and proofs, to a degree sufficient in the judgment of the inspector, it is received into his majesty's stores, upon a report to the board, signed by the inspector of artillery, the assistant-inspector, and the proof-master.

From the information we have thus collected, relative to the contract and execution, it appears that the security to the public, for the faithful performance of the important service of the ordnance, rests upon the knowledge, attention, and integrity with which the contracts are made, and the ability, diligence, and fidelity which superintend and guard the execution.



The payments are made either by the treasurer, or by certain officers intrusted with money to discharge particular services. There are two modes of payment by the treasurer, the one upon quarter-books, the other by debenture. The quarter-books are made out by the clerk of the ordnance, from the establishments and instruments of appointment deposited in his office; and contain the names of the officers, and the salaries, allowances, or wages, annexed to the offices, or expressed in the appointments: these quarter-books, having been signed by three board-officers, are transmitted every quarter to the treasurer for payment.—The debentures are formed by the same officer, from bills sent to him by the surveyor-general. Every demand upon the ordnance is examined and compared with the vouchers in the office of the surveyor-general, and must receive his allowance, he then reduces it into the form of a bill, and sends it to the clerk of the ordnance, who from thence makes out the debenture, procures to it the signature of the board-officers, and delivers it to the person entitled; and when ordered by the board for payment, it is discharged by the treasurer.

The debentures are of two kinds—ready money—and in course. This distinction is grounded upon the time when the holder becomes entitled to receive his money; that time is either expressed or implied in the contract. The ready money debenture is to be paid as soon as it can be made out, or as soon after as the board have money to pay it. For the debentures in course there is no limited time of payment: when the board are supplied with money for this service, these debentures are classed according to the months in which they bear date,

that is in which the services are performed; and as many of those classes taking them in course, next the month last paid, are ordered for payment, as the state of the cash will allow. Upon every contract it is understood that the payment of the demands grounded upon it shall be in course, unless it is expressly stipulated that they shall be made with ready money. As the debentures are distinguished, so are the orders for payment; the ready money debentures are directed to be paid by letters of payment; the debentures in course, by lists. The clerk of the ordnance lays before every board a state of the cash, with an account which of the ready money debentures require payment, and what sums should be advanced on account; and if the cash be sufficient, he likewise produces to them an account of the amount of the debentures made out in course, for as many months next succeeding the month last paid, as the cash will discharge. The board having ordered for payment such of the ready money debentures as they judge expedient; the clerk of the ordnance prepares and sends to the board the official letters: each of them contains the date of the debenture it orders him to discharge, the sum, and the person to whom payable: and must be signed by the clerk of the ordnance, and two more of the board-officers. The board having likewise determined the numbers of months they intend to pay of the debentures in course, always taking the months in regular succession, the clerk of the ordnance makes out a list of those debentures: this list must be signed by three board-officers, and is retained in the office. A copy of it, signed by him alone, is sent to the treasurer. Public notice is given when money is ordered for the payment



ment of debentures in course; and a list of all the debentures of both kinds, that are in course of payments, is hung up in the hall of the office of ordnance. The other officers intrusted with the payment of money are—the messenger to the board—the paymaster to the artillery—the commissary and the paymaster to the train of artillery serving abroad—and, the store-keeper at an out-port or garrison.

Mr. John Daniel Lauzun, the messenger to the board, gave us an account of the payments made by him. This officer is employed to pay the wages of the furbishers, artificers, and labourers at the Tower, the land and window tax for the Tower, the stoppages of artificers belonging to the train of artillery serving abroad, and some other small expences of course, together with whatever other articles he receives the particular orders of the board to discharge. Upon application to them, and laying before them the state of his cash, they direct money to be imprested to him for these purposes. The bills for the furbishers, artificers, and labours, are paid every month; and each bill has the signature of some particular officers, on whom the board rely for the truth of the articles contained in it. Every six months, the accounts of the messenger are passed by the surveyor-general, and his impress vacated.

Richard Bethel Cox, esq. who has been employed in the office of the late paymaster of the artillery, gave us information relative to the business transacted in that department. The paymaster of the artillery pays the monthly subsistence of the corps of artillery at home, and in the Mediterranean, and defrays the contingent expences of that corps, pursuant to the orders

of the board of ordnance, who issues sums to him from time to time, on account, for these purposes. The subsistence and contingencies of the artillery serving in America, and the West Indies, are paid by paymasters resident there, and appointed by the board to that service: those in Canada obtain the sums they want by drawing upon the paymaster at home; the rest either draw upon the board of ordnance, or receive their money by remittances from contractors: but all these sums, by whatever means they obtain them, are charged to the account of the paymaster at home; for he is paymaster of the whole corps of artillery; and, therefore, he examines and passes the accounts of those paymasters abroad, as far as relates to the subsistence and contingencies, and passes himself the accounts of the whole corps in the office of the surveyor-general—This office having been executed by two persons, we required from them an account of the public money remaining in their hands, custody or power, as paymasters to the royal artillery. The account returned to us is dated the 31st of March 1784, and states to be due to them from the board, a balance of 15,056l. 10s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.: this balance consists of an issued subsistence advanced by them, and sums due to them for agency and salaries. The subsistence issued by the board to the paymaster is computed upon the establishment at home, and in the Mediterranean; but there are others of the corps for whom he is obliged to issue subsistence; such as soldiers doing duty at home, but belonging to the companies abroad, and supernumeraries mustered with the companies at home, but designed to recruit the companies abroad; for these the board



issue no subsistence to the paymasters at home, because they are considered as belonging to the companies abroad, and subsisted with them; but the commanding officers of the different detachments and companies at home, draw upon him for sums on account to pay this subsistence, and return to him monthly pay-lists as their vouchers.

The last account passed by the paymaster is that of the year 1776. As each year's account includes the receipts and payments of the paymasters abroad during that year, the events in America have delayed these accounts: the vouchers for the accounts of the detachment taken prisoners at Saratoga, subsequent to the year 1776, were not received until December last.

James Frazer, esq. late acting paymaster to the artillery, serving with the army in North America, described to us the service which that officer is intrusted to execute.

The payment of the subsistence and contingencies of the corps of artillery is a different service from that of paying the expences attending the train of artillery: the same person generally executes both; but in the one service he acts as deputy to the paymaster of the artillery at home, and passes his accounts with him; in the other he is an accountant to the board, and passes his accounts in the office of the surveyor-general. As commissary and paymaster to the train, it is his duty to defray every expence attending it, both civil and military, pursuant to the orders of the commanding officer of artillery. The board of ordnance supply him with money for this service, either by remittances from home, or by accepting bills of exchange drawn by him, and attested by the commanding officer of artillery. In

the year 1776 the artillery were supplied with waggons, horses, and drivers, by the quartermaster-general; and his bills were paid by the ordnance: since that time the waggons have most of them been constructed, and the horses purchased by government, as a mode less expensive to the service. The conductors, artificers, and labourers, are paid by monthly pay-lists, formed in the office from muster-rolls sent thither by the acting commissary of stores, who superintends the musters. The number of days they have been employed is taken from a check-list certified by the overseer of the work. The price of labour is according to a rate established long ago by the board of ordnance, and adopted in America. The commissary of stores having certified by his signature to the truth of the pay-list, and the commanding officer of artillery having signed upon it, an order for the payment, the persons therein named are paid at the office, by the paymaster or his clerks, and sign their names or set their marks opposite to the sums they receive.

Bills for stores and materials are examined and attested by the commissary of stores; and upon this attestation the commanding officer relies for the truth of every circumstance in the bill, and directs the payment accordingly; and two witnesses attest the receipt. The pay lists and bills thus verified and authenticated, are the paymaster's vouchers in the office of the surveyor-general.

A store-keeper at an out-port or garrison becomes an accountant from having money imprested to him, to enable him to fulfil the orders of the chief engineer in that division. He is the officer appointed to pay the labourers: the pay-



lists, which contain the names of the persons, and the sums they are intitled to, require the certificate of the engineers employed in the work (to which is generally added that of the overseers), and the order of the chief engineer for payment; the receipts are witnessed, by two officers. The pay-list, thus perfected, is the store-keeper's voucher. He generally, every quarter, sends up to the surveyor-general an abstract of his payments during the quarter, with the vouchers, and his affidavit annexed, verifying those payments.

We found in the accounts of the treasurer of the ordnance as in those of the treasurer of the navy, and pay-master-general of the forces, the names of many persons, to whom money has been imprested, and whose accounts are unsettled. We issued our precepts to the auditors of the imprest, for a list of the persons remaining insuper upon the accounts of the treasurer of the ordnance, from the 26th of March 1673, the most remote date in the account before us, to the 31st of December 1780: two lists were returned to this requisition; the one contained the names of the persons to whom money had been imprested between the 26th of March 1673, and the 1st of December 1714, with the sums for which they severally stand accountable, amounting together to 71,588l. 9s. 3 d.; the other comprehended the names of the persons, and the like issues, from that time to the end of December 1780, the amount of which is 1,770,683l. 14s. 7½d. As many of these sub-accountants might have passed their accounts since December 1780, or may be now passing them, we transmitted these two lists to the board of ordnance; requiring from them an account of the persons who either have passed, or are now passing the accounts of the sums they stand charged with. By the return to this requisition it appears, that none of the accounts inserted in the first list are either passed or passing; but that sums in the second list, amounting to 1,267,767l. 8s. 3d. either have been passed since December 1780, or are at this time in a train of being passed: we have, therefore, omitted the accounts under both these descriptions, and inserted in the appendix the remaining sub-accountants only, whose accounts are still depending, and who are taking no steps towards their final adjustment. The sum thus remaining insuper upon this list is 502,916l. 6s. 4½d.; which being added to 71,588l. 9s. 3½d. the amount of the first list, makes the total sum issued on account, and still depending, in the office of the ordnance 574,504l. 15s. 8½d.

We find in the progress of this inquiry, regulations lately adopted in this office, tending to produce beneficial effects to the public. We shall, in the course of our observations, suggest such further regulations as may in our judgment appear practicable and useful.

The mode of forming the estimate for the ordnance service, long in use in this office, is fundamentally defective. The design of an estimate is to inform the House of Commons what sum will probably be required for any service in the ensuing year, in order that the legislature may, out of the public revenue, provide and appropriate a portion adequate to that service, and thus the nation have an early knowledge how much they will be obliged to raise for the most considerable expences of the state, and  
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for the support of their government, credit, and security : every estimate ought therefore to be as complete and comprehensive as the experience and foresight of intelligent officers can form it ; and yet, since the year 1720, every annual estimate for the ordnance service has been attended with an account of services performed and not provided for, and sometimes to an amount exceeding the sum in the estimate. Most of the services in these accounts were such as might have been, many such as were actually foreseen ; but the usage of office warranted the omission of them : the estimate of the year 1783, formed with a view of comprehending every probable expence of the year, appears by the account of the unprovided services for that year, presented to the House of Commons, with the estimate for this year, to have been deficient 111,634l. 9s. 6d. ; and thus every year has been incumbered with more than its own burthens, with expences that belonged to, and ought to have been borne by, the revenue of preceding years. Nor is this the only grievance ; a debt has been accumulating, for services not included in any preceding either annual estimate, or annual account of unprovided services, until it has amounted, as appears by the state of that debt prefixed to the estimate of the present year, and that imperfect (as far only as it can be ascertained) to 874,196l. 7s. 6d. Hence the officers of this board have been obliged to hazard the exercise of powers not warranted by the constitution : they have applied public money to other services than those to which it was appropriated, and involved the nation in debts without the consent, or even the knowledge, of parliament ; rendering themselves

obnoxious to parliamentary censure. It has been usual to leave out of the estimate the demand for the sea-service : the fund applied to that service is 5l. per cent. of the sum voted for the seamen ;—a fund that bears no certain proportion to the expence ; it has never been sufficient during the late war ; the deficiency in one year was 260,000l. ; and this has been one of the sources of the accumulation of the debt.

As the office of ordnance supplies the navy as well as the army with every article the service requires from that department, it seems as proper that the estimate should contain, and the sum granted upon it include, the demand for the one service as for the other : it may be as easily computed, and renders the estimate more uniform and complete. No good reason occurs why, in the formation of a fund for a particular service, a portion of it should be borrowed from a sum, voted in a different estimate, for a different service : it serves only to render the account complicate, without any advantage to arise from it.

The estimate should not only include every foreseen and probable expence, and every ordnance service ; but the services should be distinguished and ranged, as far as possible without becoming too minute, under defined heads, that the House of Commons may be enabled to form a previous judgment upon the propriety of each service, and upon the quantum of the sum required for it. It is much easier to prevent the incurring an expence than to refuse to allow it after it is incurred. There can be little difficulty in forming an accurate and perfect estimate, adapted to the ordinary occasions of the service : the

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officer may judge, almost to a certainty, from the experience of former years (independent of such sudden emergencies as are beyond the reach of human foresight) what sum will be wanted for each head; and, should the provision exceed the demand, the excess may be well applied in increasing the fund, should happily such a fund be established, for reducing the debt of the public.

The determination of the board of ordnance, in the beginning of the year 1782, to advertise for the different articles wanted in every branch of the service, is a regulation that has produced advantage to the public, the contract for the hire of horses, conductors and drivers, of the year 1782, in consequence of advertisements, was made upon terms more favourable to the public than that of the year 1775: 8½d. upon the hire, and 4¾d. in the ration, for every horse per day is a considerable saving: it would have been, in the hire of 1637 horses, the number upon the establishment from the 18th May, 1778, to the end of October 1782, that is for four years five months and thirteen days, supposing them upon full pay for half the time, and upon half pay for the other half, 68,623l. 11s.;—and the saving upon the ration for the same number, during that period, supposing them supplied the whole year, would have been 52,680l. 14s. together 121,304l. 5s. exclusive of the savings to government by not providing the jackets, caps, and various other articles for the drivers.

By a report of the surveyor-general to the board of ordnance, dated the 10th of May 1783, part of which we have inserted in the appendix with the accounts it refers

to, it appears, that, had the fortifications at Portsmouth, therein mentioned, being executed by measurement and contract, the difference in favour of the public had been 55,057l. 8s. 6½d.; and to complete them by contract will be a saving to the public of 36,912l. 15s. 3d.—The price at which timber and other materials are supplied, and different species of work in the building branch are executed, has been reduced in consequence of this regulation.

In an inquiry relative to the article of gunpowder, we find, that the principal deposit in this part of the kingdom, for the gunpowder belonging to government, is at Purfleet; it consists of five magazines, placed at the distance of 58 feet from each other: the quantity of gunpowder in store, according to the last return of the officers there, was 35,406 barrels; containing 100lb. each; and 7252 half barrels; that is 3,902,200lb. of gunpowder; and, should any one of these magazines take fire, it is hardly possible but they must all be blown up together. Reflecting upon the consequences that must inevitably attend such an explosion, we are of opinion, that the danger arising from the situation and circumstances of these magazines, is an object that demands the immediate attention of the legislature.

The application to the treasury for money, by the board of ordnance, is made every month, for such a portion of the total compound sum applicable to the service, as is stated in the monthly estimate formed by the clerk of the ordnance, for the use of the commissioners of the treasury. The money is issued to the treasurer of the ordnance, and remains in his hands



hands until the instruments directing the payments are produced to him by the persons intitled: after his resignation, the board continue to direct him to make payments, until his balance is nearly exhausted; and when his final account is settled, he pays what remains in his hands to his successor: hence, in a quick succession of treasurers, many balances are existing at the same time in the hands of different treasurers, many different accounts are open and carrying on together; there are at this time four accounts of treasurers open for payments.

Uniformity in the course and modes of transacting the business of the public ought to be introduced and pursued, as far as is practicable in similar offices: it causes the intercourse between offices connected to be carried on with greater ease and expedition, and facilitates the means of acquiring official knowledge to those persons who pass through the different departments of the state to the high stations of administration; and thus, when a regulation is clearly of general utility, it should be extended to every office, the constitution and objects of which will admit of the application. The legislature have established important regulations in the office of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces: regulations suggested by us to be equally applicable to the office of treasurer of the navy, and which, in the judgment we have formed upon this present inquiry, may with equal propriety be extended to the office of treasurer of the ordnance.

The commissioners of the treasury, whose duty it is to guard the public treasure, both against superfluous and improvident issues, should, before they direct any issue, have knowledge of the sum remaining

unapplied in the hands of the officer—soliciting the issue, and of the services for which the supply is required: the defects in the annual estimate for the ordnance service manifestly shew, that the monthly estimate, formed in the beginning of the year, upon a conjecture what services will arise, and what sums will be wanted, in every successive month of that year, can never convey to the commissioners of the treasury, the accurate knowledge they ought to possess previous to the direction of every issue; and, therefore, we are of opinion, that in every memorial presented to the commissioners of the treasury for a supply of money for the service of the ordnance, the total sum remaining unapplied in the hands, or on the account of the treasurer of the ordnance, ought to be inserted, together with the services that are the ground of the requisition.

The legislature have transferred the custody of the cash for the army services, from the paymaster-general to the Bank of England, upon the solid ground of preventing the possibility of an accumulation of public money in the hands of public officers: this provident regulation should be universal: it should be extended to every office capable of admitting it. The effects flowing from the want of it are still felt by the public: sums liquidated, long-issued, unapplied, subject to no demand for public service, are not yet restored to the possession and use of government. We are therefore of opinion, that all the money for the service of the ordnance should be issued to the Bank of England, and placed to the account of the treasurer of the ordnance, subject only to his drafts upon the governor and company of the Bank of England, for ordnance services; and



and that, upon the death, resignation, or removal, of every treasurer of the ordnance, the balance on the credit of his account should, upon the appointment of a successor, vest in, and be carried over to the account of such successor.

The terms upon which the contracts are made relative to the payment of the debentures in course, are not the most beneficial to the public: the contractor understands, at the time he makes his terms, that, without an express stipulation, he is not to be paid ready money for the articles he supplies, or the service he performs, but must wait until he comes in turn. After those creditors are satisfied whose demands are of a prior date: he knows too, that there stands before him a long list of unsatisfied arrears; and he can form no judgment to what period the increasing emergencies of the state may protract his payment, he is to be allowed no interest for his debt; and his debenture will be for a sum so great as to be out of the reach of common purchasers. Under these circumstances, in order to secure to himself a fair and reasonable profit upon his contract, he must calculate what will be the value at market of the security he is to receive for his debt; and he calculates his value, not at the price those securities bear at that time, or have borne at any proceeding period, but according to the lowest price to which the declining state of public credit may depress them: agreeable to such an estimate, he frames the terms of his proposals; and thus the government compelled to purchase, at an extravagant rate, those articles that are essential to the defence and security of the kingdom. Public credit is depressed by the number of its securities at market;

and we see the return, without the blessings of peace. The ordnance debentures have been lately at a discount of 33 per cent. It is a disgrace to a nation, to suffer the demands upon them to be brought to market so depreciated, as to be sold at a price fixed by the courtesy of the purchaser, and accepted from the necessity of the public creditor.

It is the part of a wise and faithful government to guard against these mischiefs in their future contracts. The cheapest of all bargains, in public as in private life, is that made with ready money. If prompt payment be impracticable, a stated time of payment, strictly kept, is the next eligible method; and, last of all, an allowance of interest, according to the current value of money, punctually paid, upon securities easily negotiable.

Ordnance debentures are frequently made out for the amount of the demands, and, containing large sums with fractions, are negotiated with difficulty and loss: to give them that facility of circulation which, for the credit of the state, ought to attend all their securities, the fractions should be paid to the creditor in cash, and the integral sum distributed into debentures or bills for even sums, not exceeding 200l. each, and made transferrable with as little formality as India bonds or exchequer bills; and by that means they will bear an equal value in the market. These regulations extended to every board intrusted with the public expenditure, will enable them to treat upon terms more favourable to the public, and tend to the attainment of that great object, so needful in every department of the state, a frugal administration of the public revenue. To carry regulations of  
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this kind into execution requires an efficient fund: it supposes that the produce of the revenue shall keep pace, at least, with the expenditure; it supposes a state of affluence. That the nation may be restored to such a state, it is the duty of every individual subject to lend his assistance, to the extent of his abilities: private opulence is equal to the task; public justice and public credit demand the exertion: a wise and frugal management on the part of government, and a submission to the payment of productive taxes on the part of the subject, will accomplish this necessary end.

It is unnecessary for us to urge the propriety of proceeding to a speedy examination into the voluminous lists of sub-accountants, that swell the official accounts of every treasurer of the ordnance, in every year: we need not repeat the reasons we have given, in our reports upon the pay-offices of the navy and army, for liquidating the like accounts between the government and the subject, existing in those offices. The board of ordnance have it in contemplation to call upon the sub-accountants to clear their imprests; and for this purpose, by their order, dated the 22d of January last, they have directed the clerk of the ordnance to prepare for them a list of the imprests remaining in force, and of the debts due to the ordnance.

That most useful and necessary regulation, the abolition of all fees, gratuities, and rewards, and the substitution of certain fixed salaries in their stead, being adopted in the office of ordnance, and by his majesty's warrant of the 24th of January 1783, before alluded to (with the exceptions therein mentioned), we are relieved from any enquiry into the quantum and sources of the

profits of the several officers employed in this extensive department. In the establishment annexed to, and carried into execution by, that warrant, a salary is appointed to each office; and the annual amount of them, together, is 34,457l. 1s. 6d.

In every office, those persons who preside, and are intrusted with the superintending power and control over the whole, having full knowledge of the business allotted to each division, are the proper judges what number of officers and ministers are necessary, and what industry and talents are requisite for the performance of every branch of the duty: it must rest upon their judgment and fidelity to the public, that neither the number nor salaries exceed the demands of the service. Before this regulation was in force, fees and gratuities, under the sanction of custom, were paid by the contractor, in various stages of his transaction with the office, from the procuring his contract, to his payment by debenture: a contract for the hire of a ship of 700 tons, 20 months in the service, cost the contractor, in agency, fees, and gratuities, 382l. One per cent. the customary poundage for agency only, upon 2,180,396l. the amount of the freight, is 21,803l. Whatever saving accrues from this regulation is gain to the public; for the contractor, to insure his profit, will charge it in its fullest extent to the account of the public.

This regulation is a part of that system of œconomy that ought to be extended to every revenue department, whether of receipt or expenditure. The exertion of the authority of the superior officer, vested in him by virtue of his office, with his majesty's approbation and confirmation, has effected it in  
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the ordnance : were the same steps taken in other offices, the same end would be attained : there is hardly any office but possesses the like powers, lodged either with the supreme officer or a board ; and, should any defect or obstruction check the exercise of the power, the legislature can lend their aid. The utility of the regulation has the sanction, not only of high authority, in the instance before us, but of the declared sense of the legislature, by their establishing it in the office of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

It appears from this inquiry, that the auditor of the imprest is employed upon the ordnance, as upon the navy and other accounts that have been before us, in little more than comparing different entries of the same sums, and examining the formality of vouchers, and the accuracy of computations and castings : those circumstances of the account in which the interest of the nation is the most materially concerned, the terms of the contract, and the fidelity of the execution, are not within his reach : the board of ordnance alone are intrusted to decide upon them, and upon the authority of the signature of the board-officers he admits the voucher for an expenditure to be true in every circumstance, except in those which, being considered as the least important, are usually committed to the care of inferior clerks.

This account first undergoes, in the office of ordnance, an examination similar to that given to it by the auditor of the imprest, every article is checked by the proper officer ; and the final examination of the ledger with the vouchers is made by the board previous to their signature : a second examination of the same kind, in another office, at

the expence to the public of 310l. a year, the customary fee to the auditor for the business transacted by him, seems to be of no use ; and therefore we are of opinion, that auditing the accounts of the treasurer of the ordnance in the office of the auditors of the imprest, is an unnecessary expence to the public, and ought to be discontinued : that, after those accounts have been fully examined by the board of ordnance, the articles should be ranged under distinct and separate heads of service, and the accounts reduced into the official form, by the treasurer of the ordnance, and by him passed through the necessary offices of the exchequer.

Having, in conformity to the express directions of the legislature, inquired into and included in our reports upon the offices in the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, and upon the pay-offices of the navy and army, an account of the profits and emoluments accruing to the several officers and ministers in those departments, we directed our attention to the same object in the office of the auditors of his majesty's imprest : we required from them an exact state of the salaries, fees, and gratuities received or to be received by the officers and clerks in their offices for business transacted therein during the year 1783, together with an account of the fees claimed by such officers and clerks, for the several species of business.

Five accounts were transmitted to us pursuant to this requisition, and are inserted in the appendix : two of them contain the gross and net amount of the salaries and fees received by each of the two auditors themselves in the year 1783. Two of them, the amount of the salaries, fees, allowances, and gratuities received by the deputies and



and clerks in each of the two offices in the same year; the fifth is an account of the fees and gratuities claimed by the officers and clerks on the several species of business transacted in these offices.

From these accounts, and from the examination of Charles Harris, esq. one of the deputy auditors of the imprest, we learn what are the establishments in the two divisions of the office of the auditor of his majesty's imprest, and by what means they are supported.

One of these divisions consists of the auditor, one deputy, nine clerks, eight extra clerks, and a messenger: the other, of the auditor, two deputies, eight clerks, eight extra-clerks, an office-keeper, and a messenger.

Since the beginning of the year 1781, the establishments and a number of extra clerks in each division have been increased, for the purpose of bringing up and completing the arrears of business in the office. The deputies, and all the clerks and officers, are in the appointment of the auditor; to all of them he pays salaries, and to some of them he adds allowances, out of his fees and payments, for extra-work. The deputies receive all the profits of the office, and account to the auditors and clerks for their shares. The whole expence of the office is defrayed by the auditor.

The profits of the auditors arise from salaries and fees. The salaries are inconsiderable; one hundred marks granted to each in the letters patent by which he holds his office, payable out of the exchequer, and certain other small salaries, the whole amounting to about 100l. a-year to each of them. His fees depend upon the accounts audited, and the enrolment of public instruments in the office. In the

ordinary accounts, the fees upon some of them are a certain payment upon each account, whatever may be the amount of the sum accounted for; upon others of them the quantum of the fee bears a certain proportion to the sum in the account; but for the army account he receives both a fixed sum for each year's account, and also a certain sum for each troop and company the pay of which is contained therein. The fees upon extraordinary accounts are uncertain; they are in proportion to the length and period of the account, and the trouble it gives to the office. The fees for enrolments are small payments, according to a table long established in the office. The fees to the auditor are, except some of those arising from enrolments, all at the expence of the public; for the auditor inserts them, and they are allowed in the discharge of the accountant.

The authority upon which the auditor grounds his right to fees, is either the warrant of the lord high treasurer Godolphin, in the year 1704, alluded to in our last report, which ascertains the fees to be taken by him for auditing most of the ordinary accounts subject to his cognizance; or otherwise the royal sign manual, or the treasury warrant, allowing the fee craved by him in his memorial to the treasury, for auditing any particular account.

The deputies, besides the salaries paid to them by the auditor, receive fees and gratuities. The fees are certain known sums upon certain particular accounts, grounded upon usage in the office; some of these are inserted in the accountant's bill of incidents, and consequently paid by the public. The gratuities are voluntary donations by the accountants, but limited to such sums as the



the deputy understands to have been usually given upon auditing accounts of the same or a similar description.

The clerks have, over and above their salaries, for some accounts, certain payments; for others, a certain proportion out of the fees to the auditor; they are allowed likewise by him sums for ingrossing, and for extra business; and have gratuities from individuals.

By the accounts before us, it appears, that in the year 1783, the gross receipt of one of the auditors was 19,808l. 16s. 6d.; the expenses of his office 3578l. 12s. 6d.; and his net receipt 16,230l. 4s.: of the other auditor the gross receipt was 19,409l. 9s. 11d.; his expenses 3036l. 6s. 7d.; and his net receipt 16,373l. 3s. 4d. The payments to the deputies and clerks in the first office amounted to 3973l. 12s. 1d.; of which 3049l. 18s. 6d. was paid by the auditor out of his profits; and 923l. 13s. 7d. in fees and gratuities: this last sum being added to the gross receipt of the auditor, makes the total expence of the office 20,732l. 10s. 1d. The amount of the payments to deputies and clerks in the other office was 3489l. 9s. 8d.; of which 2619l. 8s. 7d. was part of the profits of the auditor; and 870l. 1s. 1d. arose from fees and gratuities; which, added to the gross receipt of the auditor, increases the total expence of that office to 20,279l. 11s.

Hence it appears, that in the year 1783, the gross sum received by all the officers and clerks in the two divisions of this office, was 41,012l. 1s. 1d.; the net profits of the two auditors was 32,603l. 7s. 4d.; and of the deputies and clerks 7463l. 1s. 9d.; and the whole of that gross sum (except a part of about 400l. the usual amount of fees from

inrolments; and a part of 1793l. 14s. 8d. the amount of the fees and gratuities paid to the deputies and clerks (neither of which parts can be easily ascertained) was a charge upon the public.

But neither of the auditors consider the sums stated in the accounts of their own salaries and fees, as properly the profits of the year 1783, though received in that year; they represent them as swelled to an unusual magnitude by the extraordinary industry and exertions of the officers and clerks, in clearing away, in that year, the arrears of accounts of former years: for these arrears the one deducts 7844l. 17s. 6d. and reduces his clear profits for the ordinary annual business of the year 1783, to 8385l. 6s. 6d.; the other deducts 8647l. 12s. 3d. and reduces his clear profits to 7725l. 11s. 1d.

The year 1783, then, being a year of extraordinary diligence, the profits of that year was no rule by which we could form a judgment of the general annual profits arising from this office; and therefore we required from the auditors an account of the annual gross and net receipt of the profits of their offices, for the five years preceding the year 1783. The returns to this requisition are inserted in the Appendix; in one of them, the average net receipt is 6024l. 8s. 8d.; in the other 6964l. 7s. 6d.; to which, if one fifth of the profits be added, from the arrears received in the year 1783, supposing them to be the arrears of those five years, the one sum will be increased to 7593l. 8s. 2d.; and the other to 8693l. 17s. 11d.

In the progress of our inquiry into the manner in which the public accounts are audited in this office, we have not been able to dis-



cover, from those which have hitherto come under our consideration, any solid advantage derived to the public from the examination given to them by the auditor of the impress; and for that reason, we have suggested the propriety of exempting them from his jurisdiction, and the urgent necessity of relieving the nation from so heavy, and, to all appearance, so unnecessary an expence.

The account of the fees and gratuities claimed by him, and his officers and clerks, and his certificate of the accounts depending in his office, transmitted every half year to the king's remembrancer of the exchequer, exhibit a number and variety of other accounts, subject to his cognizance, to which our inquiry has not yet been extended; and therefore, how far the security of the public may require the intervention of the auditor, to establish the truth and accuracy of those accounts, we can form no judgment; but we have proceeded far enough to warrant our opinion upon the propriety and necessity of introducing into this office the regulation we have so frequently had occasion to enforce in relation to other offices.

The office before us is an office of control; it is instituted as a check upon the public accounts: the allowance of the auditor being necessary to every article both of the receipt and expenditure, the state of the account, as between the public and the accountant, must continue unknown until the balance is ascertained by the auditor at the completion of his examination; and consequently, that balance, however great it may be, if in favour of the public, remains with the accountant; if in favour of the accountant, remains with the public,

until that period. Hence it may be the interest of the accountant to purchase, at a high price, either delay or expedition in passing his accounts; and, should an officer be corrupt, the permission to receive fees and gratuities is an obvious method to obtain it: and, therefore, we are of opinion, that the payment of fees and gratuities by the person accounting, however, confined by usage as to the quantum, is a mode ill adapted to the constitution of this office, and to the nature of the business there transacted.

We do not say or mean to insinuate, that we have discovered any instance of such abuse in this office; but the mode is open to it; and a wise government does not wait for the mischief it guards, as far as human prudence can guard, against the possibility of the evil; it prevents or removes the temptation.

But there is another, and still more weighty reason for a reform in the mode of defraying the expences of this office.

The service of the presiding officer bears no proportion to the magnitude of his profits. A deputy auditor tells us, in his examination annexed to our Eighth Report, that the whole business of the office is transacted by the deputy and clerks; from the year 1745 until the year 1781, that is for thirty-six years, he did not recollect that the principal ever executed any part of it; to him, therefore, it was a perfect sinecure. The business of the office is of the same kind now it was then; the quantity is increased; and that increase requires an addition to the number of clerks; but it does not make the intervention of the principal officer more necessary; the whole of the business is properly the labour of clerks only;



only; and, therefore, though the present auditors have paid an attention beyond their predecessors, by regulating their offices, accelerating the public accounts, and bringing up the arrears, yet, should men less active hereafter fill these stations, they may again sink into sinecures, and excessive stipends be paid every year to officers unprofitable to the public. In the year 1782, one of these officers received net 16,565l. 8s. 8d. the other, 10,331l. 5s. 11d. in the year 1783, the one received net 16,230l. 4s. the other, 16,373l. 3s. 4d.

The public cannot afford to maintain officers of any description at such an expence. This nation is in debt above 230,000,000l. it raises every year, to pay the interest and charges attending that debt, above 8,700,000l. of which above 19,800l. the bank fee alone, is to be paid every year to these officers, for business from whence the public derive no benefit; and, should additions be made this year to the public debt, unless the legislature will interpose their authority, these fees of office will have their addition likewise: the profits of the auditors

of the imprest rise in proportion to the increase of the public distress. Upon these reasons we ground our opinion, that the public good requires that all fees and gratuities in the office of the auditors of the imprest should be forthwith abolished; that the profits of the auditors themselves should be reduced to a reasonable standard; and that every officer and clerk in the said office should be paid, by the public, a certain fixed annual salary, in proportion to his rank and employment, in lieu of all salaries, fees, and gratuities, whatsoever: and we continue to adhere to the opinion we have stated in our last Report, seeing no reason to depart from it, that no right is vested in the auditor, either by the letters patent by which he holds his office, or by usage, that can be opposed to this reduction and regulation.

*Office of Accounts, Surry-  
Street, June 8, 1784.*

T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAMUEL BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEORGE DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)
WILLIAM ROE,	(L. S.)

## SUPPLIES granted in the Year 1786.

### N A V Y.

FEBRUARY 13, 1786.

FOR 18,000 men, including 3620 marines, at 4l.	£.	s.	d.
per man per month	936,000	0	0

MARCH 2.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the sea and marine officers	692,326	18	8
For building, rebuilding, and repairing ships of war, &c.	800,000	0	0

2,428,326 18 8

(M 2)

ARMY.



## A R M Y.

FEB. 10.

	£.	s.	d.
For 17638 effective men for guards and garrisons	647,005	0	8
For forces in the plantations and Gibraltar	234,160	5	11
For difference between the British and Irish establishment of six regiments of foot abroad	6,358	3	0
For the general and staff-officers for 1786	6,409	8	0
For full pay to reduced or supernumerary officers	24,378	7	8½
For one regiment of light dragoons and five battalions of foot in the East Indies	8,230	8	7½
For the paymaster-general, secretary at war, commissary-general of the musters, judge advocate-general, comptrollers of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaster-general, and on account of poundage to the infantry	59,320	13	5
For pensions to the widows of officers	11,409	7	6

MARCH 29.

For the army extraordinaries	638,662	12	4
For the reduced officers of land forces and marines	172,666	10	5
For the reduced horse-guards	333	9	7
For the Chelsea pensioners	175,016	7	9
For the officers of the British American forces	53,502	17	2
For officers late in the service of the States General	3,535	0	6

APRIL 11.

For the difference between the British and Irish establishment of several battalions and companies of foot, at sundry periods	2,741	6	7½
	2,043,729	19	2½

## O R D N A N C E.

MARCH 7.

For the charges of the office of ordnance for land service in 1786	287,096	17	11
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JUNE 7.

For completing the old works at Portsmouth and Plymouth	59,781	0	0
	346,877	17	1

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEB. 7.

To pay off exchequer bills	3,500,000	0	0
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MARCH 30.

Towards the reduction of the national debt	1,000,000	0	0
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APRIL 3.

To make good the damage sustained by the inhabitants of Faversham, &c. by the blowing up of his majesty's powder mills there, in 1781	1,377	6	0
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Carried forward £. 4,501,377 6 0.



	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	4,501	77	6 0
APRIL 6.			
To discharge the debts due on the civil list	210,000	0	0
APRIL 11.			
For the civil establishment of Nova Scotia	3,851	17	6
For the civil establishment of St. John's Island	1,900	0	0
For the civil establishment of the Bahama Islands	2,660	0	0
For the civil establishment of the island of Cape Breton	2,100	0	0
For the civil establishment of New Brunswick	4,300	0	0
To the representatives of the late John Ellis, esq. agent for West Florida, for arrears	1,816	15	7½
For the salary of the Chief Justice of the Bermuda Islands	580	0	0
MAY 15.			
For Somerset House	25,000	0	0
For the forts and settlements in Africa	13,000	0	0
For the prosecution of offenders against the coin laws	1,681	18	4
For the extraordinary expences of the mint	14,939	5	0½
For a compensation to Joseph Lodon du Maufoir, for the loss of his ship, seized by the Lord Dartmouth armed ship in 1776	4,106	10	0
MAY 22.			
For purchasing lands in the island of St. Vincent	6,500	0	0
For completing the purchase of the soil in the Bahama Islands	6,356	0	0
For the relief of the American sufferers	62,059	5	0
To Mr. Cotton, for fees paid at the exchequer on 150,000l. granted last sessions to the American loyalists	3,750	14	0
To Mr. Cotton, for the expences of Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton, esqrs. commissioners of American claims, at Nova Scotia, &c.	2,426	9	0
To Mr. Cotton, for the bills drawn on the Treasury by the governors of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, and for expences of convicts on board the prison ships at Portsmouth and Plymouth, &c.	16,061	16	3
For the convicts on the Thames	21,560	5	7
To the secretary of the commissioners of public accounts	1,000	0	0
JUNE 7.			
To Louis Borell and Abraham Henry Borell, for disclosing their method of dying the colour called Turkey red upon cotton	2,500	0	0
JUNE 12.			
For a new building at the Admiralty	6,000	0	0
For the Scotch roads and bridges	5,784	0	0
JUNE 13.			
To discharge exchequer bills	2,000,000	0	0
JUNE 19.			
For a compensation to the commissioners of public accounts	9,000	0	0
Carried over	£. 6,930,312	2	3½



	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	6,930,312	2	3½
To the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists	10,000	0	0
For the relief of the American loyalists	178,750	0	0
For the American civil officers, sufferers for their loyalty	55,000	0	0
To the secretary of the commissioners of the American loyalists	3,888	4	0
For money issued pursuant to addresses	12,259	9	2
For a compensation to the proprietors of lands for better securing the dock yards, &c.	33,890	15	1¾
For the expence of confining convicts	31,299	10	0
	<u>7,255,400</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7¼</u>

## DEFICIENCIES.

MARCH 20.

To the sinking fund for the monies paid out of it to make good the deficiencies of the duties granted for repealing the duties on tea, to July 5, 1785	365,719	2	4½
To make good the deficiency of the fund for the payment of annuities granted towards the supply in 1758	16,588	4	6¾
To ditto for 1778	180,357	3	6¼
To ditto for 1779	15,991	5	2½
To ditto for 1780	141,864	11	8
To ditto for 1783	361,963	3	4
To ditto for 1784	202,581	7	7½

MAY 15.

To make good the deficiencies of the grants in 1785	127,138	3	2½
	<u>1,412,203</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6½</u>

	L.	s.	d.
NAVY	2,428,326	18	8
ARMY	2,043,729	19	2¼
ORDNANCE	346,877	17	1
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES	7,255,400	0	7¼
DEFICIENCIES	1,412,203	1	6½
	<u>13,486,537</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1¾</u>

## WAYS and MEANS.

FEBRUARY 10.

Land-tax for 1786	2,000,000	0	0
Malt duty	750,000	0	0

MARCH 21.

To be applied out of the sinking fund	582,488	15	9¾
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Carried forward £. 3,332,488 15



		£.	s.	d.
	Brought forward	3,332,488	15	9½
MARCH 30.				
To be applied out of the sinking fund	—	1,000,000	0	0
MAY 2.				
Ditto	—	628,982	0	1
MAY 15.				
Exchequer bills	—	2,500,000	0	0
MAY 18.				
Surplus of the deduction of 6d. in the pound on all salaries, &c.	—	82,386	0	0
Ditto of the wine duties	—	16,491	5	0
Ditto of the glass duties	—	20,281	15	0
Ditto of the duties on vellum, &c.	—	12,735	15	0
Ditto of the two-sevenths excise	—	40,414	9	5½
JUNE 1.				
A lottery	—	688,750	0	0
Prizes	—	500,000	0	0
Surplus of monies granted for the army, &c. in 1784	—	290,810	4	6½
Disposable monies in the exchequer	—	100,508	13	1¼
Army savings and stoppages in 1785	—	65,575	4	1½
JUNE 20.				
To be applied out of the sinking fund	—	2,600,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	—	3,000,000	0	0
Surplus of monies voted for Chelsea pensioners	—	21,568	13	2½
		13,900,992	15	4⅝
		13,486,537	17	1⅞
Excess of ways and means		414,454	18	3½

The pay and clothing of the militia, for the year 1786, to be defrayed out of the produce of the land-tax.

*Public Acts passed in the Third Session, of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

March 3.

The land-tax act for 1786.

The malt duty act.

An act respecting the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and America.

An act respecting the commercial intercourse between America and Newfoundland,

An act to prohibit for a limited time the exportation of hay.

An act to regulate the exportation of hops to Ireland.

March 22.

An act for regulating the marines while on shore.

An act to enable certain persons to provide proper places on shore for the reception of the crew of the Voorberg Dutch East Indiaman, forced



forced by stress of weather into the port of Dartmouth.

*March 24.*

An act to explain and amend the shop-tax act.

The mutiny act.

*April 11.*

An act to explain and amend the East India regulating bill.

*May 3.*

An act to obviate all doubts with respect to the exclusive power of the court of directors of the East India Company, to appoint the governor-general and council of Fort William, in Bengal.

*May 22.*

An act for appointing commissioners of the land-tax.

An act to amend the laws for the encouragement of the Newfoundland fishery.

*May 26.*

An act for vesting certain sums in commissioners to be by them applied to the reduction of the national debt.

Two acts for raising certain sums of money by exchequer bills.

An act for altering the days of payment of the long annuities, and the annuities for 30 and 29 years.

An act for regulating courts of conscience.

*June 13.*

An act for laying an additional duty on battens and deals imported.

An act for the further encouragement of the fisheries in the Greenland seas and Davis's straits.

An act for regulating the production of manifests, and to prevent fraudulent practices in obtaining bounties and drawbacks, and in the clandestine lading of goods.

An act for the further encouragement of the growth of hemp and flax in England.

An act for the further relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons, and to oblige debtors who shall continue in execution in prison beyond a certain time, and for sums not exceeding what are mentioned in the act, to discover upon oath their estate, for the benefit of their creditors.

*June 16.*

An act for laying duties on perfumery, hair powder, &c.

An act for laying duties on stamped vellum, &c. in order to augment the salaries of the judges, &c. in Scotland.

An act for better securing the duties on starch.

An act for more effectually preventing the fraudulent removal of tobacco, &c.

An act for the encouragement of the Southern whale fishery.

An act for the further encouragement of the pilchard fishery.

An act respecting the importation of naval stores from the British colonies in America, British-made gunpowder, British sail-cloth, foreign sail-cloth, the exportation of sugars from the British colonies, directly to foreign ports in British-built ships, the discontinuing of duties upon the importation of tallow, hog's lard, and grease, and granting other duties on pot and pearl ashes, wood and wood ashes, in the room of those now repealed, for allowing the importation of salt from Europe to Quebec, the importation of raw goats skins into this kingdom; for encouraging the manufacture of flax and cotton in Great Britain, the reviving of the drawback on the duties on rum shipped as stores, and the allowing of



of a bounty on the importation of hemp and flax from the British American colonies.

An act for augmenting the salaries of the judges in Scotland.

An act for granting salaries, in lieu of certain fees, to the judges of the admiralty in Scotland.

*June 27.*

An act repealing certain duties on wines imported, and for granting new duties in lieu thereof, under the management of the commissioners of excise.

The militia act.

An act for the increase, &c. of shipping and navigation.

An act for amending the East India regulating bill.

An act to prevent occasional inhabitants from voting at the election of members for cities and boroughs in England.

An act obliging overseers of the poor to make returns upon oath to certain questions specified therein.

An act for procuring upon oath returns of all charitable donations for the benefit of poor persons.

*July 4.*

An act for raising a further sum of money by exchequer bills.

An act for raising a certain sum of money by lottery.

An act for granting a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund.

An act for more effectually carrying into execution the laws relative to the stamp duties, &c.

An act to explain the act for laying an additional duty on hackney coaches.

An act to appoint commissioners to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists.

An act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or York, for

1786.

the time being, to consecrate foreign bishops.

An act to appoint commissioners to enquire into the fees, &c. and also into the abuses in any public offices.

An act to prevent the unlawful pawning of goods, and easy redemption of goods pawned, &c.

An act for making perpetual the act, 14 George III, regulating mad-houses.

*July 5.*

An act granting new duties, in lieu of the old ones repealed, on low wines, spirits, &c. in Scotland.

An act to enable the East India company to raise money by the sale of annuities, &c.

An act for defraying the charges of the militia for 1786.

An act for the further preventing frauds in the payment of seamen's wages, &c.

An act repealing so much of two acts of the 14th and 21st George III. prohibiting the exportation of wool-cards at a limited price.

An act to continue certain acts relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised contrary to the excise and custom laws, and to prevent the committing of frauds by bankrupts.

An act respecting the act allowing a bounty on the exportation of British-made cordage.

An act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to indemnify themselves for offices, &c.

An act for appointing commissioners of the public accounts.

*July 10.*

An act for laying an additional duty on sweets.

An act for better securing the duties on paper painted, printed, or stained,

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An



An act for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries.

An act to explain the act for transferring certain duties from the commissioners of excise and stamps, to the commissioners of taxes, &c.

An act appointing commissioners to enquire into the losses sustained by persons in consequence of the cession of Florida to Spain.

# An act for incorporating certain

persons by the name of "The British Society for extending the fisheries and improving the sea coasts of this kingdom."

July 12.

An act for the regulating of  
houses, and other places, kept for  
the purpose of slaughtering horses.

An act to appoint commissioners to enquire into the state of the crown lands.



# PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1786.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 per c. ed.	3 ditt. conf.	4 p.c. conf.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India Ann.	India bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Excheq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 140 141	{ 69½ 71½	{ 69½ 72¼	{ 87½ 89½	{ 104 107½	{ 138 134	{ 156 162	{ 5½ 66	{ 46 pr. 56	{ 67¼ 69		{ 2½ dif 1	{ 11 pr. 12	{ 14 14
Feb.	{ 139 140½	{ 69½ 70½	{ 69½ 70½	{ 88½ 89½	{ 104 105½	{ 138 134	{ 155 159½	{ 64½ 65½	{ 46 55	{ 68½ 69	{ 67½ 68	{ 2½ 2½	{ 15 17	{ 14 20
Mar.	{ 139 142½	{ 70½ 71½	{ 69½ 70½	{ 89 89½	{ 104 105½	{ 138 134	{ 158½ 159½	{ 66½ 67½	{ 45 58	{ 68½ 69½		{ 2½ 2½	{ 4 10	
Apr.	{ 137 138½	{ 68½ 68½	{ 69 70¼	{ 87½ 90	{ 104 106½	{ 138 134	{ 158 160½	{ 65½ 67½	{ 45 57		{ 67½ 68½	{ 2½ 2½	{ 5 5	
May	{ 137½ 146½	{ 68½ 73½	{ 69½ 74½	{ 88 92½	{ 106½ 111½	{ 138 144	{ 159½ 162½	{ 65½ 69½	{ 46 53	{ 67½ 70½	{ 69½ 70½	{ 2½ 2½	{ 5 9	
June	{ 143 146½	{ 72 73½	{ 73½ 74½	{ 91½ 92½	{ 110½ 111½		{ 158 162½	{ 68 68½	{ 52 60	{ 70½ 71	{ 71½ 72½	{ 2½ dif 2½	{ 14 27	{ 14 16
July	{ 146½ 150½	{ 73½ 75½	{ 74½ 76	{ 92½ 97½	{ 111½ 114½	{ 14½ 14½	{ 157 161½	{ 68½ 73½	{ 65 83	{ 71½ 74½	{ 73½ 75	{ 2 2½	{ 31 34	{ 14 14
Aug.	{ 150½ 159	{ 77½ 78½	{ 76 78½	{ 97½ 99	{ 114½ 115½	{ 14½ 14½	{ 166 169½	{ 73½ 74½	{ 83 110	{ 76½ 78	{ 76½ 77½	{ 1½ 2	{ 42 50	{ 14 14
Sep.	{ 156 159½	{ 78½ 78½	{ 77½ 78½	{ 98 98½	{ 112½ 115½	{ 14½ 14½	{ 165½ 168½	{ 74½ 74½	{ 70 107	{ 77½ 78	{ 76½ 77½	{ 1½ 1½	{ 48 60	{ 14 15
Oct.	{ 149 146½	{ 75 77½	{ 75½ 77½	{ 94 98½	{ 112½ 113½	{ 13½ 13½	{ 163 167	{ 71½ 73	{ 85 91	{ 74½ 74½	{ 75½ 76½	{ 1½ 1½	{ 42 56	{ 15 15
Nov.	{ 145½ 149½	{ 73 75½	{ 73½ 76½	{ 91½ 94	{ 111½ 113½	{ 13½ 13½	{ 165½ 167½	{ 69 70½	{ 84 91	{ 72½ 74½	{ 73½ 75½	{ 1½ 2½	{ 10 40	{ 14 15
Dec.	{ 146½ 151½	{ 73½ 74½	{ 74½ 75½	{ 92½ 93½	{ 112½ 113½	{ 13½ 31½	{ 166 168½	{ 69½ 69½	{ 70 88	{ 72½ 73½	{ 73½ 74½	{ 1½ 2½	{ 15 17	{ 14 14

An act for the more effectual  
encouragement of the British  
fishery and improving the  
fisheries and improving the  
fisheries of the Kingdom.



TABLE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100



B I O G R A P H I C A L

A N E C D O T E S

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# BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Various Particulars of the LIFE of Lord DIGBY.

[Extracted from his Character, in the Supplement to the Third Volume of State Papers, collected by the Earl of CLARENDON.]

“**H**E was of a very extraordinary composition by nature, and if he had not from thence had some infirmities very prevalent over him, the advantages he had in his education must have rendered him a person of rare perfection; and, in truth, a person of rare parts he was. He was born in Spain, in the early growth of his father's greatness, who failed for many years with a full gale of success, till he was grown to a great height both in title and fortune. In which time his son received all the benefits of all sorts, which a liberal support, and a well ordered education could bring to him; and though he made a journey or two into his own country, yet his whole breeding upon that matter was in Spain, till he was thirteen years of age; so that the language might very well be called his own, and no Spaniard spoke it more naturally than he did ever after. When by the all-disposing power of the Duke of Buckingham, his father was not only removed from court, but committed to the Tower, he was sent with a petition

to the House of Commons on his father's behalf, which he delivered at the bar, with a short speech of his own, which being delivered with confidence by a youth very young, of delicate features, and a very graceful person, made a good impression on that body, and caused him to be looked upon as a young man of great expectation; but the same cloud of prejudice and disfavour still covering his father, though he had his liberty, the whole family retired into the country. His father grew rich, and was esteemed as a very wise man, who had failed very prosperously, and made a great voyage whilst the wind was with him, and when it raged against him in terrible storms and tempests preserved himself unhurt, and rested in greater security than his enemies; and it may be his reputation and esteem was the greater for having no favourable aspect from the court. In this calm the young gentleman was sent to the university of Oxford, being excellently prepared by his youthful studies for that approach, and from thence, after some years



with notable success in all kind of learning, he went into France, in the language whereof he was well versed, and had been carefully instructed; and after some time spent there, in a condition liberally supported for any virtuous improvement of himself, but not for riot or impertinence, he returned again to his country, and his father's house, the most accomplished person that that nation, or it may be, that any other at that time could present to the world, to which the beauty, comeliness, and gracefulness of his person gave no small lustre.

“When the disorders of Scotland obliged the king to call a Parliament, he was, by the universal election of the populous county where he lived, chosen to serve as one of their knights, where his person, and his parts, and the fame and reputation he had, made him quickly taken notice of; and the conversation he chose and wedded himself to, amongst those who were resolved to find fault with every thing that was amiss, and not to be content with any ordinary application of remedies, made it easily foreseen what counsels he meant to follow; but that stage allowed so short a time for action, that no possible conclusions could be made. But a few months after, when the discontents of men were grown higher, and the reverence to the government much impaired, he being then returned again by the same people to serve in the same place, it was quickly discovered that he meant to make himself as considerable as he could. If any thing was spoken against the government more bluntly and rudely, he took up the argument and polished it, making the edge more sharp to wound than it was before, dressing the general charge with some smart instances,

which made the enormity more sensible, and his delivery, and manner of speaking, from so lovely a person, and a very lovely aspect he had, was so graceful (though not altogether without affectation) that it wonderfully reconciled him to his auditors. When any grievances in religion were touched upon, and the government of the church assaulted or reproached, no man improved the discourse with more bitterness and animosity, speaking of the things he would be thought to value, gravely and as it seemed, with piety and devotion; and of the persons against whom he found it grateful to inveigh, wittily, and pleasantly, and scornfully; so that that party, which had the most mischievous intentions in religion, and against the church, believed that they had gotten a champion to their own desire, who would be equal to their stoutest adversary, even to the bishops themselves. The greatest combination was, and which was least communicated, the design against the Earl of Strafford, which was no sooner entered upon, and some short instances given of his exercise of a very exorbitant power in Ireland, than he entered into the argument, made him the chief author of all that was grievous in England, giving some instances of words and expressions he had used in private conversation, of a very unpopular nature, which he took upon himself to prove; which some very considerable actors in that tragedy did often protest afterwards was the principal inducement to their hasty resolution of charging that Earl with high treason. And from hence he grew into so entire a confidence with the other cabal, which did not then consist of above seven or eight, that he was immediately received into the bowels of their design, and made



one of those who were trusted to prepare such a charge against the Earl, that might satisfy the rest that they had done well in accusing him; and so he became quickly privy to all their secrets, knew what every particular man thought he knew, and by what means they intended to know more, what proofs they could for the present make, and how they meant to support and enlarge those truths, all their arts and artifices, which were necessary to be communicated amongst themselves, and with those Lords who were joined with them, to make their conspiracy more practicable. In a word, the whole method they proposed for their proceedings, and what they most apprehended might obstruct those proceedings, was as clearly understood by him as by Mr. Pym and Mr. Hambden themselves. Having now got himself to the top of the pinnacle, he began to look about him, and take a full prospect of all that was to be seen; and it is very possible, that the desperate designs of the persons with whom he had communicated, not answerable to the reputation they had of integrity to the nation, the uningenuity of their proceeding, and the foul arts they could give themselves leave to use, to compass any thing they proposed to do; as in truth their method was first to consider what was necessary to be done for some public end, and which might reasonably enough be wished for that public end, and then to make no scruple of doing any thing which might probably bring the other to pass, let it be of what nature it would, and never so much concern the honour or interest of any person who they thought did not, or would not favour their designs: I say possibly this observation might make some impression upon him, who

without doubt had no wicked purposes himself. Let what would be the cause or the temptation, resolve he did to steer another course, and to set up for himself upon that stock of commodities, in the getting together whereof there were so many joint sharers with him; and so he found ways easily enough (and his nature was marvellously disposed to that dexterity) to insinuate to the court; that, if they gave him seasons for it, they might depend upon his service, and that he would make it very useful to them: and the streights they were in, and the benefit they might receive from such a promptness, bringing him such a return from thence as he could wish, he took the first occasion (before he was so much as suspected) to give his party cause to believe, that he meant not to venture himself in their bottom. As soon as there was an occasion, by the address of a great number of ministers by way of proposition, to reform many particulars both in the doctrine and discipline of the church, he discovered his dislike of those designs and the spirit that produced them, very warmly; and because it was well known that many of those ministers had had frequent communication with him, and even consulted that very address by his consent and approbation, he took notice of it himself, and seemed much offended that they had insisted upon many particulars which he had disallowed; and so mentioned some particular expressions that had passed between them, and which offended more persons than had been privy to the conferences, and looked like a discovery of future projections which were not yet ripe. In the public prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, he continued still in the same conjunction, and kept his post amongst those



were to manage the evidence against him, but with such a temper (which could not be reasonably excepted against) that manifested enough, that he neither brought the spirit, nor would bring the testimony they expected from him; and as soon as the trial was over, and it was discerned that the house of Peers would not take upon them the condemning the Earl, but that it would be necessary to pass an act of Parliament to that purpose, the bill was no sooner brought into the House of Commons, but he appeared most violently against it, discovered many particulars which had passed in their most private conferences, which he said had first perplexed him, and enlarged so pathetically upon the whole matter, and against the condemning of the Earl, that that whole party had so great a detestation of him, that they had no less appetite to destroy him than the Earl of Strafford. And this contest produced another discovery, that a very important paper which had been produced and perused in the close committee, and upon which they principally depended for making good their charge, had been taken away, and could never afterwards be found; and it was confidently alledged, that at the time when that paper was last seen, and lay upon the table in Mr. Pym's chamber, there were only three persons present, whereof he was one. This produced an order in the House, that every one of that close committee, who were about eight, should make a solemn protestation in the house, that he neither had that paper, nor knew what became of it. Which test he cheerfully submitted to, with the most solemn and bitter execrations that can be imagined, upon himself and his family, if he knew what was become

of that paper, or if he had ever taken it away; notwithstanding which they who were angry with him did not believe him, and confidently reported, that it was found afterwards among some papers of his which were taken in the house of his father, in the war; which is not probable, since it may be presumed that a man who had gotten it in such a manner, would, at least after such an enquiry was made upon it, have cast it into the fire, though there was not then any suspicion that such an action could ever have produced it.

“However it was, the inconvenience of that discovery, produced by the surreption of that paper, that it produced many other notable discoveries with it which were all cast upon his accompt, who was looked upon as a deserter at least, if not a betrayer of his party; and so from as great a height of applause, and even adoration, which he had attained to by Christmas, before the Easter he was fallen to so low an esteem with all that people, that they thought no reproach equal to his demerit; and prosecuted him accordingly with their utmost animosity and rage.

“He was now compelled to transplant himself into the court, when the soil was neither so fruitful, nor the air so pleasant as it had formerly been; indeed, where a nipping frost had induced a marvellous sterility, and in this too his constitution was so happy that he found a consolation for himself, and industriously imputed that to his generosity and election, which other men thought to be the effect of his necessity, and that he could grow nowhere else, when he endeavoured to grow there. It was a very melancholy season there, where most of those who had received the greatest obligations



obligations from their master, and were most able to have done him service, not only forsook him but betrayed him; and in order to getting credit with those who suppressed all other authority, they discovered all they knew which might advance the evil designs of the other with whom they resolved to go thorough sharers in all that was to be gotten; and the other few who retained still their fidelity and their zeal, with indignation enough to see the back-sliding of their fellows, were yet so terrified with the power of the other, and with the perfidiousness that they saw every day practised, insomuch as nothing was said or done in the most secret places of the court, even by the king or queen themselves, but it was communicated to those who had no modesty in the considering it, but impudently declared that they would remove all persons from the King and Queen, whose very looks were not grateful to them, of which they had already given many instances. So that they, who, I say, wanted not faith, were yet without skill to foresee what they were to do, and the King himself found his infelicity to be so monstrous, that he knew not with whom to advise, nor in truth whom to trust; for they, who had no mind to betray him, were betrayed themselves, and, out of their trusting others, made themselves necessary to the betraying him. In this conjuncture the vivacity of such a person could not but be very acceptable, who had a brain perpetually working, and a conception and understanding deliberating and resolving together, and a courage so keen and fearless, that he was ready to execute the same minute whatsoever was resolved. The truth is

*Si duos præterea tales Idæa tulisset  
Terra viros*

God only knows what might, or might not have resulted from his bold temper; when the party, that did all the mischief, was made up of those whose despair of being safe any were else, and belief that the king would yield to any thing that should be confidently demanded; had thrown into that stronger side. He could no longer act upon the stage where he had so long flourished, and where his mercurial temper was not grateful, even to those to whom the violence and ill designs of the others was visible and equally odious; so that he was called up by writ to the House of Peers, as fit to move in that sphere, where he no sooner came than he gave fresh life and vigour to it, the real temper of that house retaining a vigorous affection to the king, church, and government, and consequently very inclined to follow his example, and to be swayed by his reason, who always delivered himself with notable advantage, and was now known to be trusted by the court, and so like to carry on their designs in the method prescribed there, and where he was looked upon, not as having deserted his principles or his party, but as a prudent discoverer of their exorbitant designs, contrary to the principles they owned, and had so retired himself from their dangerous conversation and lost their confidence, because he would not part with his innocence. And truly, if the too great activity and restlessness of his nature would have given him leave to have sat still, and expected, and made use of those advantages which the hasty and cholerick humour of the House of Commons was ready every day to present to them, and which temper was the utmost extent of courage the House of Peers could be carried to, which



did not yet suspect the designs of the worst men to be so monstrous as they shortly after appeared to be, it is very probable, the wisdom and temper of the one house, with the concurrence it would have found from the major part of the other, which was far from being corrupted, would have prevented those calamities, which, under the specious authority of the Parliament, were afterwards brought upon the kingdom. But his nature was impatient of such repose, and he always embraced those counsels which were boldest and most hazardous, which he thought would give a greater lustre to his wit and conduct.

“ This inconvenient presumption was the longer from being discovered or taken notice of, except by a few of his most intimate friends, by the wonderful faculty he had of dissimulation, which was so profound, that he appeared the most offended and enraged when he saw any thing done that was notoriously disliked, and bitterly inveighed against the authors of those counsels which himself alone had contrived, and to the execution whereof no man else was privy. So when he had prevailed with the king to cause the six members to be accused, and had undertaken to cause them to be committed, when he found in the House of Peers the general disapprobation and dislike of it, he stood himself up and spake against it, and whispered the lord Mandeville in the ear, that the king would be undone if he did not publicly discover those who had given him that counsel, and that he would immediately go to the court and dispose him to it; when he alone was the only man, who, without communicating it to any other, had advised that prosecution, named all the persons, and promised the king to bring in ample

testimony and evidence against them; and all this in a season when the king's affairs were in so good a posture, that there was no need of such a desperate remedy, and when the heart of the contrary party was so near broken, that they needed such an expedient to keep up their credit and ability to do farther mischief. And therefore many sober men detested that advice as the most visible introduction to all the misery that afterwards befel the king and kingdom. Yet his great spirit was so far from failing, that when he saw the whole city upon the matter in arms to defend them, knowing in what house they were together, he offered the king with a select number of a dozen gentlemen, who he presumed would stick to him to seize upon their persons, dead or alive, and without doubt he would have done it, which must likewise have had a wonderful effect. But that counsel being rejected, and finding his credit abated in all places, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and was shortly after, by a wonderful retaliation of Providence, and in the same method of contempt which he had cause to be practised towards the other (by publishing a proclamation to restrain them from going out of the kingdom, when he knew they were together in London, and environed with a strength and power enough to drive the king himself from Whitehall, as they shortly did), accused of high treason, upon the most slight and trivial suggestions, and a proclamation issued out for his apprehension; all which would have brought another man to make serious reflections upon himself, and extinguished that inordinate heat of brain and fancy, which had so often transported him to unreasonable and unprosperous resolutions. But



all this nothing allayed that flame, or extinguished that fire in him; but as soon as the war broke out, or rather as soon as there was any appearance of it, he retransported himself again into England, raised a regiment of horse, and charged in the head of it at the battle of Edge-hill, with as much courage as any man, and afterwards marched with prince Rupert towards the North; and in the way, finding the Close in the city of Litchfield garrisoned by the rebels, and secured by a strong old wall and a mote, and the prince resolving to reduce it, he caused his foot to storm it, which being beaten off, and indeed not being sufficient in number to make such a general assault as was necessary, the other, to encourage the officers of the horse to make an attempt in another place, offered himself to go at the head of them, and so led them through the mote to another part of the wall which was thought to be weaker; by means whereof, and the garrison within being divided into several quarters, the foot entered the place, and made themselves masters of it with great difficulty, and with great loss, and very many of the horse officers who entered by the mote were killed, and the rest beaten off, himself being in the midst to the middle, and shot through the thigh with a musket bullet, was wonderfully brought off, and afterwards recovered his wounds; but not finding that respect from the prince which he had promised himself, he gave up his regiment of horse and retired to the court, where he was sure to find good countenance.

“ Though he had thus discharged himself from any command in the army, he was always ready to engage himself as a volunteer with it, upon any brisk adventure; so

he was, after the relief of Gloucester, in the pursuit of the earl of Essex's army, and was in the first engagement at Aubourne, where he was hurt, and had all the powder of a pistol shot in his face, by which it was thought he had lost both his eyes, the bullet dropping or passing by; and the lord Falkland being the next day killed at Newberry, he was shortly after made secretary of state, and betook himself to the discharge of it, with great intentness of mind and industry enough, and continued in that employment many years; in all which time he ran many adventures, and frequently found himself at a loss when he believed he had attained his point, and at last found the greatest part of the officers of the army so implacably irreconciled towards him, that he was again forced to retire from his majesty's service with his full approbation and consent, who in truth, could not but find him at least very unfortunate. And by degrees, after several very brisk attempts of several kinds, in which he shewed as much resolution and dexterity as could be expected from a man of great wit and unquestionable courage, he was forced to transport himself into Ireland, about the time that the prince of Wales (after so great successes of the rebels, and the king's armies being upon the matter totally defeated) by his father's command to transport himself out of England, took his first refuge in the isle of Scilly, from whence he might naturally send to, and receive intelligence from Ireland.

“ This was now a scene fit for the other's activity, and being received very kindly by the lord lieutenant, out of respect to his person, and the character he had under the king, he quickly took upon him to say any thing in the king's



king's name, which the lord lieutenant believed (for he was steered by him) might contribute to his majesty's service in a time of so great jealousy. About the same time an express arrived from Scilly, who was sent thence to the lord lieutenant from the prince of Wales, to inform his lordship, that his highness was newly retired to that island, where he meant to reside as long as he should find it convenient; and because the island was poor and unfurnished with men, his highness wished that he might have a hundred men sent him, with good officers, for a guard to his person; having sent at the same time to his royal mother the queen, who was then at Paris, to procure him money from thence for the support of his person, and the payment of the soldiers. This news came no sooner to Dublin, but the person we mentioned presently conceived that the prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there, reduce the kingdom to his majesty's service, and oblige the Pope's Nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The lord lieutenant had so good an opinion of that expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused a hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board according to his highness's desire, and the lord Digby (who always concluded that that

was fit to be done, which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board these vessels, resolving that upon the strength of his own reason he should be able to persuade the prince, and the council which attended him, forwith to quit Scilly, and to repair to Dublin; which he did not doubt might be brought to pass in that way that would have been grateful to the lord lieutenant. The prince within a fortnight after his coming to Scilly, which was in March, found the place not so strong as he had understood it to be, that the island was very poor, and that he should not be able to draw any provisions thither from Cornwall, by which commerce those islands had still been supported; he resolved therefore, before the year advanced farther, when the seas were like to be more infested with the enemy's ships, to transport himself to Jersey, which he did very happily, and found it to be a place in all respects very fit to reside in, till he might better understand the present condition of England, and receive some positive advice from the king his father. But by this sudden remove of the prince from Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there, and the lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jersey, where he arrived well, and found the prince there with many other of his friends who attended his highness; the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the queen. He lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland, that the peace was concluded, and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England, of the great  
zeal



zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his service, and that if his highness would repair thither, he should find the whole kingdom devoted to his service; and thereupon positively advised him, without further deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates, which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation. The prince told him that it was a matter of greater importance than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation, that he no sooner arrived at Jersey than he received letters from the queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris, where all things were provided for his reception, that he had sent two of the lords of the council to the queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her commands, and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable security, in which he might safely expect to hear from the king his father before he took any other resolution. That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland before his messengers returned from Paris, in which time he might reasonably hope to hear from the king himself, and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination. This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction, he commended the prince's averseness from going into France, which he said was the most pernicious counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing the king his father abhorred, and never could consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the queen, and to give her such solid advice and reasons that should infallibly convert her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy her, that

his going into Ireland was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it, might deprive them of all the fruit which was to be expected from that journey, and therefore renewed his advice and importunity for losing no more time, but immediately to embark. Which when he saw was not like to prevail with his highness, he immediately repaired to one of those of the privy council who attended the prince, with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the king, who would be equally ruined if the prince went into France, of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable, and said, he was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that he said, if the person with whom he held this conference would concur with him, he would carry the prince into Ireland, even without and against his consent. The other person answered, that it was not to be attempted without his consent, nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass if they should both endeavour it; he replied, that he would invite the prince on board the frigates to a collation, and that he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them, and that as soon as he was on board, he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland. The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations, and told him they neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty, and left him in despair of his



his conjunction, and at the same time of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour, and resolved with all possible expedition to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the Queen from any farther thought of sending for the Prince into France, and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland, by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the Lord Lieutenant; and transported with this happy auguration, he left Jersey, leaving at the same time his two ships and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland without one penny of money to subsist upon during his absence.

“Whilst the civil wars of France continued, and every day discovered treachery and falsehood in the court, amongst those who were least suspected, his credit grew to that degree both with the queen and the cardinal, that he was admitted into the greatest trust, and was, in truth, ready for the boldest undertakings, in which he had sometimes success, which he never forgot, but he never remembered want of it, or when he had succeeded very ill; and was as prepared for any new undertaking. And in truth, the changes he met with, and even the reparations he sometimes received, might well work upon a nature less sanguine than his. Upon the king's

first coming to Paris after the murder of his father, at which time he stood possessed of the office of secretary of state, he had some very good friends about the young king, who did wish that he might receive all gracious treatment from his majesty, as a man who had behaved himself faithfully and signally in the service of his father, and being of that rank and quality as had seldom received any diminution upon the succession of the crown. But his majesty very quickly discovered such an aversion for him, that he did not receive him with any degree of grace, nor admit him into any kind of consultation, there being some persons of inferior condition about him who had made it their business to make the worst impression they could of him, principally infusing into him, that he was the most obnoxious person in England, and the most ingrateful to all degrees of persons, and therefore his majesty could not do a more unpopular thing than to receive such a person into any kind of credit with him. These and the like infusions prevailed so far, as that an obstinate aversion was too easily discovered by those who stood very near, and he himself discerned it soon enough not to expose himself till it was discerned by others at a farther distance; and therefore he speedily withdrew himself from any farther attendance, and retired to his command in the army, where he grew every day, and where he pleased himself with the having discharged his duty in the overture of his service, and as much, that that overture was rejected, the acceptance whereof might have made him less solicitous to have prosecuted his fortune, which Providence had laid before him in a more specious way. And in his resentments of this kind he was naturally very sharp and flowing



flowing, let the persons be of what quality soever, which were to be mentioned upon those occasions; and yet within two or three years, together with the progress he made in the war, he recovered so much credit with the person of the king, by his own pure address and dexterity, that he not only made himself acceptable to him in conversation, but so gracious, that he made him knight of the order, which was the greatest honour he could bestow, and the most useful to the person on whom he bestowed it. And here he again congratulated his stars for the neglect and affront he had formerly sustained, and his own genius for the honour and reparation he had wrought out for himself by his wisdom in supporting it; and at the time when he had this obligation conferred upon him, the king was at the Louvre with his Mother, and the city of Paris, with many of the princes, in rebellion. Whilst the king and his army were about St. Germain, he frankly undertook, by his pretence to pay his duty to the King, that he would introduce officers and men enough to possess himself of the Louvre, where the King was in great jealousy and umbrage with the princes and the city; and when the execution of this design was by some accident interrupted, he never thought he owed an apology to the King for engaging in such an enterprize, in which his person and his honour was to be so much concerned, without so much as communicating it to himself, but would with all assurance declare, that he ought not to let the King know of it, because it could not be presumed he would consent to it, and then it would be in his power to prevent it; and therefore it ought to be done without his privity, which would absolve him from be-

ing thought to have a hand in it, and the advantage would be so great to the King of France's service, and his own glory in the lustre of such an action, that he was obliged in honour to undertake it.

“It is pity that his whole life should not be exactly and carefully written, and it would be as much pity that any body else should do it but himself, who could only do it to the life; and make the truest descriptions of all his faculties and passions, and appetites, and the full operation of them; and he would do it with as much ingenuity and integrity as any man could do, and expose himself as much to the censure and reproach of other men, as the malice of his greatest enemy could do; for in truth he does believe many of those particular actions, which severe and rigid men do look upon as disfigurings of the other beautiful part of his life, to be great lustre and ornament to it; and would rather expose it nakedly to have the indiscretion and unwarrantable part of it censured, than that the fancy and high projection should be concealed, it being an infirmity that he would not part with, to believe that a very ill thing subtilly and warily designed, and well and bravely executed, is much worthier of a great spirit than a faint acquiescence under any infelicity, merely to contain himself within the bounds of innocence: and yet if any man concludes from hence that he is of a fierce and impetuous disposition, and prepared to undertake the worst enterprize, he will find cause enough to believe himself mistaken, and that he hath softness and tenderness enough about him to restrain him, not only from ill, but even from unkind and ill-natured actions. No man loves more passionately and violently, at least



least makes more lively expressions of it; and that his hatred and malice, which sometimes brake out from him with great impetuosity, as if he would destroy all he dislikes, it not compounded proportionably out of the same fiery materials, appears in this, that he would not only, upon very short warning and very easy address, trust a man who had done him injury to a very notable degree, but even such a man as he himself had provoked beyond the common bounds of reconciliation; he doth not believe that any body he loves so well, can be unloved by any body else; and that whatever prejudice is contracted against him, he could remove it if he were but admitted to conference with them which own it. No man can judge, hardly guess, by what he hath done formerly, what he will do in the time to come; whether his virtues will have the better, and triumph over his vanities, or whether the strength and vigour of his ambition and other exorbitances will be able to suppress and even extinguish his better disposed inclinations and resolutions, the suc-

cess of which will always depend upon circumstances and contingencies, and from somewhat without, and not within himself. I should not imagine that ever his activity, will be attended with success or security; but, without doubt, if ever his reflections upon the vanity of the world dispose him to condemn it, and to betake himself to a contemplation of God and nature, or to a strict and severe devotion, to which he hath sometimes some temptation, if not inclination; or if a satiety in wrestling and struggling in the world, or a despair of prospering by those strugglings, shall prevail with him to abandon those contests, and retire at a good distance from the court, to his book and a contemplative life, he may live to a great and a long age, and will be able to leave such information and advertisements of all kinds to posterity, that he will be looked upon as a great mirror, by which well disposed men may learn to dress themselves in the best ornaments, and to spend their lives to the best advantage of their country.

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## CHARACTER of Sir JOHN BERKLEY.

[From the same Work.]

“**H**E was a man of a temper and constitution which made him incapable of being happy; for, though he loved himself above all the world, and believed himself to be the wisest man and the best soldier of the nation, and had places and preferments proportionable to very great merit (when, in truth, he had been liberally rewarded for all the services he had done, or could ever do, when he was knight-

ed); yet, with that favourable opinion of himself, he had so great an undervaluing of all other men, that he was more grieved and afflicted at any good fortune, or preferment which other men attained to, than delighted with any promotion that befel himself; though, considering his great infirmities, his weakness, and his vanity, which were not concealed, he had a greater proportion of good fortune than any



any man of that time. They who had known him throughout the whole course of his life, did believe his too good success in the world, together with the pride and vanity that he contracted from that success, so changed and corrupted his nature, that there remained in him nothing of that ingenuity, modesty, or generosity which made him liked and beloved in his younger time.

“He was born a younger brother of a very good family in the West, where his father was owner of a very fair estate, and a good interest and reputation, and lived with more splendour than his neighbours of his own rank, which caused some breach and waste in his estate; so that, having many younger sons, he gave them good education, and left them only moderate annuities to support their pretences in the world. This gentleman was the youngest of five or six sons, and being but a boy at the death of his father, was left under the tuition of his mother, who was a wise woman, and took care of his breeding, and sent him to the university of Oxford, where he spent two or three years as well or better than gentlemen of that age usually do; and then his inclinations carried him to London, which was the scene upon which active men first shewed themselves. As he was of a very good extraction by his father, so he was by his mother allied to two good families, which at that time made some eclat in the court, the Jermyns and the Killigrews, who were both possessed of very fair fortunes in their several countries; and by which, together with very good natural faculties, they endeavoured to promote themselves in the court, and were in very good estimation there, and infected all their allies with an appetite to plant

in that climate. This gentleman chose first to see foreign armies abroad, as two of his brothers had done before; and so going first into the Low Countries, he chose to go into Germany with general Morgan, when he possessed himself of Stade, where he had some command, but his health not agreeing with that climate, he removed into France, and having spent some time there, returned into England, and renewed his old inclinations and applications to the court; but finding the ascents there not made with that expedition as they have been since, and being in his nature a little unsteady and irresolute, resolved to apply himself to such a course of life as might fit him for business, and so intitle him to make other pretences in the court than to be a mere courtier, and with this resolution he made another journey into France to make himself perfect in that language; and from thence made a journey into Spain, and thereby obtained a competency in that tongue; and with these faculties and qualifications he returned into England to prosecute his pretences in the court. He was at this time generally beloved, and was always found in the best company, where he was very acceptable, being a man of good parts, and better bred, having seen more of the world than most other men of that time, and being free from any lewd and scandalous vices; and in this state was well known in the town and in the court. And an occasion falling out, in which the king thought it necessary to send an envoy to the court of Sweden, he was made choice of, and performed his employment with approbation, and was shortly after rewarded with a place of attendance about the queen, in the office of gentleman



gentleman fewer, which was a relation the modesty of that time thought a very good preferment; and to him it was the more valuable, because his family and kindred were very powerful on that side of the house, and the greatest favours past by the queen's mediation or approbation. But the troubles coming on, he easily got a dispensation for his attendance at court, and engaged himself in the first levies, and having the reputation of knowing somewhat of war, which few young men could then pretend to, he commanded the earl of Holland's own troop, he being then general of the horse; and particularly kind to this gentleman. That war was quickly ended, but it produced another which lasted too long, in the beginning whereof he grew to be a major of horse; and being of the court as well as the camp, and a man generally esteemed, he was embarked in some intrigues with his friends at court, which being ill founded, and having success accordingly, he was forced to leave the kingdom, and upon his return was committed to the Tower by the parliament, as a man disaffected to their proceedings, which made him more known, and gave him more credit, without any farther inconvenience to him. So when the king withdrew to York, and sent the marquis of Hertford with a commission to secure the Western parts, he, with the other principal gentlemen of those counties, attended the marquis to assist him in the command of an army; sir Ralph Hopton and he being looked upon as men of the greatest experience in martial affairs, which most of the rest were absolutely without, and so were designed to command accordingly.

‘ This gentleman had been very

happy if he had been either qualified to do business, or composed to be quiet without meddling in any; but he was of so unhappy a constitution as that he had a very perplexed understanding, and a more perplexed delivery and expression, and yet believed he was fit for the greatest transactions; and he was of so restless a nature that he could never be quiet in a good condition, nor patient in a bad.

‘ He loved so much to be flattered, that he was at the mercy of any man who would attack him that way, and he paid liberally in the same kind, and was a very great flatterer himself, but of no body so much as of himself. He never loved his equals, and always hated his superiors, and was still governed by his inferiors; he had a very indifferent understanding, and a very obscure and troubled expression in debate; but inveighed against any thing that was concluded, and always believed himself the wisest man of the time, and took great pleasure in censuring the weakness and oversights in the time of king James, and of the counsellors which governed then, of whom, and the business, he never understood any thing. He was full of pride, and not without courage, and would well enough have discharged the office of a soldier, if he had known how to have obeyed. Yet he valued himself in that profession, as if he had been lieutenant-general to Julius Cæsar; but yet he never executed any design in the command he had, with tolerable sufficiency, or with any success. Yet he had got a habit of telling stories of his own actions, as if he had performed miracles, and sustained the war in England by his own virtue, without ever receiving an affront from the enemy; and he had



had so accustomed himself to those discourses that he had brought himself to believe all that he had reported. He had no friends who heartily esteemed him, and was the only person alive who compassed all that he set his heart upon, purely by his own ambition, without any merit, or ever having done any notable thing, but, by a perpetual restlessness, and unquietness in himself, and being uneasy to every body else; or by affecting somewhat which other pretenders found not friends to keep them to, or that his friends did therefore help him to, to cross those pretenders. If he loved any body it was those whom he had known a very little while, and who had purchased his affection at the price of much application, and very much flattery; and if he had any friends, they were likewise such who had known him very little, or else such who loved nobody else. All men

of parts who ever had a good opinion of him retired from it quickly, and either threw him quite off, or lived with a dry formality with him; only one, who was a worthy person indeed, (Sir Hugh Pollard, comptroller of his majesty's house) continued kind to him till his death; and being his cousin-german, and having spent the greatest part of his time in his company, believed he was to pay that penance for the error of his judgment; besides, his own longing disposition made him less acquainted with the improvement of his indiscretions than other men were; besides that he was much easier in his discourse to him, than to those he knew less, and many things that he said to him the other believed to proceed from his friendship in communication, and not from the malignity of his nature."

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## CHARACTER of Sir HENRY BENNET.

[From the same Work.]

"**H**E was a man bred from his cradle in the court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier; in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he may well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time; and, though his parts of nature were very mean, and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose. He was in his nature so very civil, that no man was more easily lived with, except his interest

was concerned; and in that he was so tenacious, that he observed no rules of courtesy, reason, or justice; in all other matters he offended nobody; but then his interest could never be discerned but by his importunity, being very ready, for his profit, to engage himself in any undertaking where he had credit, in which he neither considered the justice of the suit, or the honour of the person with whom he desired to prevail; but except it was for his profit, he never troubled himself heartily in any man's pretences, what relation or merit soever the party had towards him. He practised such a



kind of civility, and had such a mean in making professions, that they were oftentimes mistaken for friendship, which he never meant, or was guilty of to any man; but did really believe that his kind words and exercise of courtesy deserved the utmost service they could possibly do him. He was rather a lover of mankind than of any particular person, and would have done no man any harm except he could get by it, and then he cared not what he did, and thought no man ought to take it ill. He was not mischievous in his nature or inclinations, yet did more mischief than any man of the age he lived in, being the occasion of more prejudice to the king and to the crown, than any man of his condition ever was, and took more pains to lessen the king's reputation, and to make his person undervalued, than any other man did; and all this without the least purpose of infidelity, or desire of abating his prerogative, which he wished should be as high as any king's ever was, and desired only that they might prevail over it over whom he could prevail, and in that regard he cared not how low his reputation came to be. He was in his nature very covetous and tenacious, liberal in no degree, and denied all men but himself, and to himself was very indulgent, especially in his diet, which was magnificent enough, and his table was free to all men; but none so welcome to it as gamesters, all his delight and expence was in play, which was the sponge that sucked in, and the gulf that swallowed up all he could get. His ambition was illimited, that no prince had so much to give as he thought he had deserved; and after he had lived above forty years at the expence of the crown, and spent more than any body else had

got, he thought the court still in his debt, and that his having lived in it so many years, had merited much more than he had ever received from it. If he were even affected with melancholy, it was in considering what religion to be of, when that which he professed was so much discountenanced that he was almost weary of it; yet few men so often upon their knees, or so much desired to be thought a good protestant by all the parties which professed that faith, and could willingly comply with all of them, and yet took time of the Roman Catholics to be better informed. He was a great flatterer of those who were above him, and a great dissembler to his equals and inferiors, and of all vices he was least guilty of pride, except in preferring himself before all men, which they could never know; and he was of a temper and constitution that exceedingly contributed to his happiness; for though he loved nobody, he believed every body loved him, which was a great argument of having the master wit: he never underwent any other mortification than seeing men preferred whom he did not care for, or other men obtain that which he wished to have for himself. In the greatest miseries of the kingdom, and whilst the greatest and the best men were exercised with all kinds of adversity, he enjoyed the greatest plenty and pomp; and the king no sooner came home but he believed his merit in being banished was greater than any man's suffering could pretend to. He loves his country, as it is a good place to be a great man in, but would give it up to be made greater any where else; in a word, he would be a very extraordinary man, if he were endowed with any kind of sincerity, and if he dies without some very  
signal



signal calamity, he may well be looked upon as a man of rare felicity.

“ He was a great instance how much fortune can do towards the raising a man without any help of his own ; for being without money, without friends, without industry, or any one notable virtue, or the reputation of having any, he mounted up to office and honour, and the highest trust in business, without any experience in it, or capacity of understanding it : and very few men have ever ascended to such a height, *per saltum*, without climbing by steps. He was a younger brother of a broken and decayed family, by the vice and corruption of the person who raised it, and fell scandalously after a short prosperity. He was sent to the university, where he had a competent support by the bounty of the founder ; and his parts of nature were such as were very capable of improvement by moderate industry, had he not valued them too high to administer any help of that kind. He had the opportunity to be recommended to a great person of business and fancy, who took him into his service, and esteemed him much more because he found his nature and humour very like his own, and believed he had somewhat extraordinary in him, because he seemed to think so himself. He had address enough to make himself acceptable to any man who loved to hear himself commended and admired, and he could perform that part with dexterity enough. Though he got nothing of experience in business by this relation, he got both credit and money to carry him into France, and from thence into Italy, in a dependence upon a person who knew much and talked much, under whose protection he

staid some months in Rome. He profited very well in understanding the languages of the places where he lived, and made himself a good master in the French tongue ; and by his address made himself so gracious to the queen and her court, where he was allied to some persons who had much credit and interest there, that he was preferred by the queen to be near the person of the duke of York, by which he became likewise known to the king. His chief talent was being pleasant, and good company amongst those who were his superiors ; amongst his equals and inferiors his insolence was intolerable.

“ He never made a notable friendship, nor ever loved a man of a clearer fame and reputation, except he was of such an inferior quality, as would absolutely make him at his disposal. He loves money immoderately, and would get it by all means imaginable ; but his pride, and vanity, and ambition lead him into such a prodigious expence, that his gains must exceed all reasonable computation if he grows very rich, which he does impatiently desire to be. Justice was never otherwise considered or mentioned by him, but as it gave him occasion and opportunity to enveigh against the law, as a composition of nonsense, and not to be endured or submitted to by generous minds ; and, to express his malice and bitterness towards the lawyers, who are people he envies, hates and contemns as all his passions and affections are engaged and involved in such contradictions ; and yet he is not of those who fancy any other form or model of justice, otherwise than that he admires France, and thinks fit that all kings and princes should do, whatsoever they have a mind to do without



control, and that all that other men have, should be at their disposal. If he hath any inclinations in religion, they are to the church of Rome, being a people with whom he hath most conversed, and to whom he hath too much undervalued the protestant religion (which he never understood) to seem now to have any reverence for it; but surely he is without affection to, at

least reverence for any religion, and entertains discourse of it, as a field wide and large for all skirmishes of wit. In a word he is the first man that ever aimed to be great in government without the least pretence of caring for religion or of love to justice, and if his days end in prosperity he will be a rare example.

## MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN DAVIES.

[Extracted from the Account of his Life, prefixed to the Collection of his Historical Tracts.]

“**S**IR John Davies was one of that illustrious body of lawyers, who, at the commencement of the last century, adorned England by their learning, and by their writings advanced its jurisprudence.

“He was the third son of John Davies, of Tisbury in Wiltshire, who, having been of New Inn, returned to his native place from the practice of the law, with such a fortune as enabled him to give his children very liberal educations. Young Davies, when was not yet fifteen, was sent to Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1585, where he became a commoner of Queen’s College, which has reared so many men eminent for literature. Having an acute mind, an attentive tutor, and, what is seldom the companion of genius, great application, he soon acquired a considerable share of academic knowledge. His writings, which abound in classic allusions, are sufficient proofs of his scholastic acquirements. He obtained the degree of

Bachelor of Arts, in July 1590, as appears from the Fasti.

“Davies removed, mean while, from Queen’s to the Middle Temple, in February 1587-8. In this learned society he found an extensive field, on which to display his talents. As he abridged, at a subsequent period, the elaborate Reports of sir Edward Coke, we might infer, that he was a severe reader, if his own works did not evince how much he exerted a laudable industry in every situation. But he was high-spirited, perhaps quarrelsome; and he interrupted his own studies, and the quiet of the Inn, by misdemeanors, for which he was fined, and by disorders, for which he was removed from commons. In proportion as the discipline of those times was rigid, were the manners of the students licentious. With the relaxation of discipline, disorders gradually disappeared. To young men of superior acquirements, much was forgiven, by discerning benchers; and Davies, after all his frolics, was, alone, called



called to the degree of utter barrister, in July 1595.

‘ In an age when promotion was gradual and slow, Davies, probably, did not advance fast in his profession, against such powerful competitors as Coke, Bacon, and other eminent lawyers. He was, indeed, thrown several years behind by his own indiscretion. “ Upon some little provocation (as Anthony Wood relates) he bastinadoed Richard Martin, while they were at dinner in the Temple-hall.” This was, doubtless, a grievous offence against the severe manners of those times, and indeed against the punctilious civility of any times: and in February 1597-8, Davies was expelled by the unanimous suffrages of a society whose privileges he had forfeited, by an offence, dangerous to its members, and destructive of its credit. Of this outrage we are left by Wood to guess the provocation.

“ Davies now returned to Oxford, in the condition of a sojourner, according to Wood, but with a mind improved by adversity. He, indeed, says himself,

This mistress lately pluck’d me by the  
ear,  
And many a golden lesson hath me taught;  
Hath made my senses quick and reason  
clear,  
Reform’d my will, and rectify’d my  
thought.

Under this shelter, and with these golden lessons, our author composed his poem on the Immortality of the Soul, which he published in 1599, and entitled, *Nosce Teipsum*. If in this short period he composed this work, which Wood calls divine, he must have possessed very vigorous faculties. For we every where meet with systematic arrangement, metaphysical exact-

ness, reach of thought, and elegance of diction. But his predominant quality is copiousness of illustration. Speaking of the tendency of affliction to make the mind shrink within herself, he thus illustrates a truth, which most men have unhappily felt:

As spiders, touch’d, seek their webs in-  
most part;  
As bees, in storms, back to their hives  
return;  
As blood, in danger, gathers to the  
heart,  
As men seek towns, when foes the coun-  
try burn.

“ In a strain of wit and gallantry, which may have furnished patterns to Cowley and Waller, our author dedicated his elaborate production to queen Elizabeth:

To that clear majesty, which, in the  
north,  
Doth, like another sun, in glory rise,  
Which standeth fix’d, yet spreads her  
heavenly worth:  
Loadstone to hearts, and loadstar to all  
eyes.

“ Elizabeth was sufficiently eager of praise, which she received as due to her charms, even in the decline of life, as much as to her wisdom, when her government was most respected; but she too seldom extended her patronage to the greatest genius. This poem, however, procured him the notice of the great, and perhaps laid the foundation of his future fortune.

“ Davies was now considered as a professed wit, and at length enjoyed the notice, which greatness often yields to genius. When the queen was to be entertained by Mr. Secretary Cecil, our poet was summoned to furnish his share of gratulations. And he has left us A Conference between a Gentleman Usher and a Post, before the Queen,



at Mr. Secretary's House. This dramatic effort of our author's muse does him no great credit as a poet, however much it may have delighted the hearers, who came prepared to be pleased. On the other hand, few of our greatest dramatic writers could have produced the *Nosce Teipsum*, or the *Acrostics*.

“Davies was ere long called to play his own part in a drama of greater dignity. He was chosen (though by what influence, it is now impossible to tell) into the last parliament of Elizabeth, which met on the 27th of October 1601. He appears to have been extremely active in moving useful bills, and to have been a strenuous supporter of the privileges of the house, while it was not yet quite safe. He spoke manfully in the great debate about monopolies, insisting, that the house ought to proceed against them by bill, and not by petition. It is rather remarkable, that his old antagonist Martin maintained the other side of the question. On this occasion it was, that Hakewell asked, If bread was not in the long list of monopolies? Elizabeth, perceiving the house so greatly agitated as to disregard her minister's apologies, thought it prudent to recall the patents; and Davies was sent on the grand committee, to thank the queen for relinquishing projects, which, happy had it been for prince and people, had the legislature on this occasion abolished by statute.

“Davies had now acquired a station of some eminence, at a time of life when friendships are easily formed. And he ardently wished to be restored to the privileges and profits of a society, “amongst whom, as he declared, he had received his chiefest education, and

from whence he expected his best preferment.” After some delay, and in consequence of ample submission before chief justice Popham, and other judges, he was restored, in Trinity term, 1601, to his former rank; Martin, at the same time, forgiving an injury, which both probably wished to forget. It was by the favour of lord Ellesmere, says Wood, that he was restored to his chamber. Certain it is when Davies dedicated his *Law Reports* to that illustrious Chancellor, and worthy man, he acknowledged, that lord Ellesmere “had been a good angel unto him, and what might carry a shew of adulation in another, must needs be thought gratitude in him.”

“With the influence of such patronage, and the aid of great abilities, Davies continued to rise in his profession, till the demise of Elizabeth. New prospects opened to him, with the commencement of a new reign. If we may believe the great Bacon, there was, on that memorable event, a continual posting of men of good quality towards the king. Davies posted with lord Hunsdon to Scotland, in order to offer his adorations to the rising sun; and being, among other English gentlemen, introduced to James, the king, says, Wood, straightway asked, if he was *Nosce Teipsum*? and receiving for answer that he was the same, his majesty graciously embraced him. This conduct was truly characteristic of James, who is known to have been of much more familiar manners than Elizabeth, and still more forward to distinguish less merit than Davies possessed. If Bacon did not accompany Davies, he wrote to him, as he had done to every other person, who, he thought, could impress



a good conceit of a concealed poet. Davies was an avowed poet; Bacon a concealed one.

“It was to the patronage of sir Robert Cecil, as much as to the favour of James, that Davies was sent, in 1603, solicitor-general to Ireland, and immediately appointed attorney-general. These offices required, at that time, men as remarkable for prudence, as distinguished for knowledge.

“Davies was highly qualified for his station; and he was soon appointed one of the judges of assize, who, for the first time, ever visited several counties of Ireland, and who taught, at length, a rude people the difference between the tyrannic oppression of their ancient customs, and the mild influence of just government. In all these situations, Davies obtained the praises of his superiors, as a painful and well deserving servant of his majesty.

“It was on these circuits, probably, which enabled him to visit every province of Ireland, that he met with Eleanor, the third daughter of lord Audley, who having distinguished himself in the Irish wars, now enjoyed dignified ease, among a people that admired his valour. This lady he married: but, from her eccentricity of temper, he could not derive much domestic happiness. She brought him only one son, who died a youth, in his father's life, and one daughter, Lucy, who having married Ferdinando Hastings, carried the blood of Davies, with his fortune, into the family of Huntingdon.

“With the extension of law over a more quiet people, law-suits necessarily increased; and as the business of the courts of justice augmented, the practice of Davies also extended, in proportion to the

greatness of his station and his talents. He was called to the degree of serjeant at law, in Trinity-term 1606, and received the honour of knighthood, on the 11th of February 1607. These promotions he owed to the patronage of Lord Ellesmere and the Earl of Salisbury, with whom he corresponded. Sir Edward Coke was at the same time called to the degree of serjeant, being appointed chief justice of the Common Pleas. But Sir Francis Bacon was still left undistinguished behind, to the infinite mortification of an ambitious mind.

“Sir John retained his office of attorney-general of Ireland, notwithstanding his degree of serjeant, the king having specially dispensed with his presence in England. These honours, we may easily suppose, did not lessen his practice, or his credit; and there remains sufficient evidence, that he did not discontinue his accustomed diligence.

“Among his most laborious avocations, sir John employed much of his time in studying the complicated history of Ireland, and in tracing, through various revolutions, the origin of its laws, and progress of its constitution.

“He published the result of his inquiries in 1612, under the well-known title of *A Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued till the Beginning of his Majesty's Reign*. This elaborate performance he dedicated to the king, in a Latin line, which imported that it is the first duty of a prince to know his own dominions.

“This work is often quoted: and it can never be read without pleasure or instruction. Dr. Johnson by frequently citing the *Discovery*, and the *Nosce Teipsum*, as authorities, has enrolled the writings of sir John Davies among the Eng-



lish classics. Whether as an acknowledgment for this dedication, or as a reward for greater services, our author was, in June 1612, appointed the king's serjeant. But he not long after lost his first and steady patron the Earl of Salisbury, who died when his wisdom and his influence were the most necessary to a court, swayed by favouritism, and to a country governed by minions. Sir John was soon elected into a still more distinguished station. Amidst the distractions of civil war, and the repose of subsequent projects of improvement, no parliament had been called in Ireland during the last seven and twenty years; yet, never were legislative acts more necessary. The Irish nation was divided into two parties, whose power was nearly equal. The Roman Catholics formed the great body of the people: the Protestants composed probably not more than one fourth. The laws, however, imposed on the objects of their jealousy many disabilities; and the protestants of consequence enjoyed all official profit and all political power. When the people and the government stand thus opposed to each other, dissatisfaction must ever predominate. Such was the state of Ireland, when manifest utility induced the lord deputy to issue writs for a new election in 1612. Both parties exerted the artifices and the violences, which accompany popular elections, when the minds of the electors are strongly agitated by hopes or apprehensions. The Roman Catholic party carried their elections chiefly in the counties; the protestant party in the boroughs, several of which had been lately erected, during the progress of plantation. Sir John Davies was elected for the county of Fermanagh; being the first re-

presentative which it had ever chosen.

“ The house of commons consisted now of two hundred and twenty five members. Of these there appeared when the house met, of the protestant party, one hundred and twenty-one; of the Roman Catholic, one hundred and one. This approximation to equality had been also sufficient to create great intrigues and altercation in any popular assembly. But, among the members who were then assembled to chuse a speaker, and who were animated by a sense of ancient antipathy and of recent opposition, the tumult approached nearly to the bloody scenes of a Polish diet. Sir John Davies was proposed as speaker by the court; sir John Everard, who had been an Irish judge, but resigned, because he could not take the oath of supremacy, was supported by the Roman catholic party. The house divided. The court members went out, according to parliamentary form. But their opponents, considering themselves as the majority of legal representatives, placed sir John Everard in the chair, as duly elected, and nothing remained for the real majority but to remove the intruder, or to place the true speaker in the same chair. The perseverance of the majority induced the minority to secede from an assembly which they thus found they could not rule. All parties had been so much accustomed in that country to attempt every thing by force, that the parliament-men had not yet learned to defeat, or to qualify disagreeable measures by sly intrigue, pertinaacious debate, or by close divisions. The great body of the people applauded the seceders. And the lord deputy Chichester, whose prudence was equal to his firmness, prorogued the parliament, in order to suffer



suffer men's minds to cool, and to enable the seceding members to lay their complaints before the king. In the moment of high passion, it is not easy to please either party. On this difficult occasion, the lord deputy had not the good fortune to gratify either. When commissioners were sent by the Roman catholic faction to state their grievances, he was equally obliged to appear at Whitehall, for the purpose of defence or explanation. They were all patiently heard. Bacon, who, as attorney-general, was consulted about the affairs of Ireland, told king James, that it was always safe to keep in the middle way between extremes. The complaints about elections were all declared to be groundless except those of two boroughs, which had been erected after the issuing of the writs. The threats of resistance were opposed by denunciations of punishment. The seceders were reproached for their late outrages; but they were promised future favour, in return for peaceable behaviour. As it often happens, nobody was gratified, yet every one was obliged to submit, because there appeared no remedy but civil war for whatever grievance.

“Our author, mean while, concurred with other learned men in the revival of the antiquary society, which having been instituted in 1590, but afterwards discontinued, was now revived by sir James Ley, in 1614. To be associated with such men as Cotton, Hackwell, Camden, Stow, Spelman, Whitlock, in illustrating the progress of our manners and our arts, the rise of our political institutions, the improvement of our jurisprudence, the history of our civil and military transactions, would do honour to a name less dignified than that of sir John

Davies, by extensive knowledge, elegant literature, and estimable writings.

“Our author found leisure at length, in 1615, to publish his Reports of Cases adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland. These were the first reports of Irish judgments which had ever been made public, during the four hundred years that the laws of England had existed in this kingdom. They contain special cases in points of learning, not common, or at least not largely debated, in the English law books. And he protests, that they were collected principally for the use of the practisers in Ireland, and to invite others in this kingdom, by his example, to perform the like service to posterity. As none had gone before him, few indeed have followed him, in this useful tract of illustrating an important science.

“Having performed this last service to Ireland, sir John retired, in 1616, from a country, which could have been no very agreeable residence, distracted as it now was by faction, and embittered by enthusiasm.

“Sir John now lived among men of learning and genius, with that reception which is due to one who had distinguished himself, says Wood, as a bold spirit, a ready wit, and a great scholar. And, as king's serjeant, he continued the practice of the law, and was often associated as one of the Judges of assize. Some of his charges on the circuit still remain in the Museum, as additional evidence of his laudable diligence and profound knowledge.

“It probably occurred to our author's mind, without communication with his friend Bacon, who had now risen to a superior station, from which he was soon to fall,  
that



that influence in the house of commons gives influence in every other place. And Davies secured his seat for Newcastle-under-Line, by whatever means, in the parliament, which having been called in 1620, assembled on the 30th of January 1620-21. Seldom has there appeared in any house of commons a body of more profound lawyers, of more accomplished statesmen, of more virtuous patriots, than met on that occasion. Sir John Davies seldom spoke, except on the affairs of Ireland, being from his office of king's serjeant, perhaps more than from principle, a favourer of the court. When it was moved to acquaint the king with the grievances of Ireland, considering how much blood and treasure it had cost this kingdom, sir John said, it is expressly in the law books set down, that Ireland is a member of the crown of England; yet this kingdom here cannot make laws to bind that kingdom; for they have there a parliament of their own.

"It is a remark which does no little credit to Ireland, that scarcely any man ever enjoyed the offices of her government, who did not prove for ever after her strenuous defender.

"Our author found amusement, by publishing his *Nosce Teipsum* and *Acrostics*, during 1622, to which he now added *Orchestra* a poem, on the antiquity and excellence of dancing. He, with great propriety, dedicated the *Orchestra* to Charles Prince of Wales:

The fairest flow'r of noble chivalry;  
And of St. George's band the bravest knight.  
Then dancing's praise may be presented well  
To him, whose actions add more praise thereto  
Than all the Muses with their pens can do.

"When compared with the dedication of *Nosce Teipsum* to Elizabeth, this may, without much injustice, be considered as a sorry sonnet, without the vigour, the fancy, or copiousness of Davies. What has been observed of Dryden's poems to Cromwell, a man of deeds, and to Charles II. a sovereign of sufferings, may be remarked of the dedications to Elizabeth and prince Charles. The Queen had done much; the Prince of Wales had only danced. The lovers of poetry have lamented, that so ingenious a poem as the *Orchestra* should have been left unfinished; or at least, that the defective part should be lost. The copy printed by the author must have, doubtless, been perfect. And it is only to be regretted, that the subsequent editors did not print from the first edition, which may still be found, by diligent enquiry, though it is not in the Museum.

"Our author, probably, wrote no more for the public. He employed the short remainder of an useful life, in discharging the duties of his profession, and in performing the offices of friendship. While his sovereign was preparing to raise him to higher honours, he died of an apoplexy, in the night of the 7th of December 1626, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He had previously supped with the lord keeper Coventry, who gave him assurances of being chief justice of England, in the room of Sir Randolph Crew; but he lived not to enjoy, for a day, the eminent station, which he had amply earned by his learning, his services, and his honourable conduct. He was buried in St. Martin's church in the Fields. Here a monument was erected, in order to inform posterity, that he had been a man of  
fine



fine abilities, and a most excellent writer, both in prose and verse; that he had always tempered the severity of the lawyer with the politeness of the gentleman; that he had been a faithful advocate, an impartial judge, and a true Christian. His monument is forgotten;

but his works remain. Of ingenious men, who dedicate their labours to the instruction of their country, it ought to be the incentive, and the consolation, that their publications are perused long after other monuments are fallen.

### Some ACCOUNT of DE FOE.

[Extracted from his Life prefixed to the Third Edition of his History of the Union between England and Scotland.]

“**D**ANIEL FOE, or De Foe, as he is said, by his enemies to have called himself, that he might not be thought an Englishman, was born in London, about the year 1663. His family were probably dissenters, among whom he received no unlettered education; at least it is plain from his various writings, that he was a zealous defender of their principles, and a strenuous supporter of their politics, before the liberality of our rulers in church and state had freed this conduct from danger. He merits the praise due to sincerity in his manner of thinking, as well as to uniformity in his habits of acting, whatever obloquy may have been cast on his name, by attributing writings to him, which he was studious to disavow.

“Wherever our author was educated, he wrote, when he was not yet twenty, a pamphlet in 1683, against a very prevailing sentiment in favour of the Turks, but in opposition, to the house of Austria: and before he was three and twenty he appeared in arms for the Duke of Monmouth. Of this exploit he boasts in his latter years, when it was no longer dangerous to avow

his participation in this imprudent enterprise, with greater men of similar principles.

“Having escaped from the dangers of battle, and from the fangs of Jefferies, he found security in the more gainful pursuits of peace. Yet he was prompted by his zeal to mingle in the controversies of the reign of James II. whom he boldly opposed, by warning the dissenters of the secret danger of the insidious toleration, which was offered by that monarch’s bigotry.

“When our author republished his writings, he did not think proper to preserve his tract against the Turks any more than his pamphlet against the king.

“From 1685 to 1695, he acted as a hose factor in Freeman’s yard, Cornhill: but the hosier and the poet are very irreconcilable characters. With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies, who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours in the hilarity of the tavern, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house: and being obliged to abscond from his creditors, in 1694, he attributed those



those misfortunes to the war, which were doubtless owing to his own misconduct. He afterwards carried on the brick and pantile works near Tilbury fort; though probably with no success. He was in aftertimes wittily reproached, that he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without straw, but like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourers. He was born for other enterprizes, which, if they did not gain him wealth, have conferred a renown, that will descend the current of time with the language wherein his works are written.

“While he was yet under thirty, and had mortified no great man by his satire, or offended any party by his pamphlets, he had acquired friends by his powers of pleasing, who did not, with the usual instability of friendships, desert him amidst his distresses. They offered to settle him as a factor at Cadiz, where he had had some previous correspondence. In this situation he might have procured business by his attention, and accumulated wealth without a risk: but, as he assures us in his old age, Providence, which had other work for him to do, placed a secret aversion in his mind to quitting England. He had confidence enough in his own talents to think, that on this field he could gather laurels, or at least gain a livelihood.

“In a projecting age, as our author denominates the reign of king William, he was himself a projector. While he was yet young, De Foe was prompted by a vigorous mind to think of many schemes, and to offer what was most pleasing to the ruling powers, ways and means for carrying on the war. He wrote, as he says, many sheets about the coin; he proposed a register for seamen, long before the act of parlia-

ment was thought of; he projected county banks, and factors for goods; he mentioned a proposal for a commission of inquiries into bankrupts estates; he contrived a pension office for the relief of the poor. It is always curious to trace a thought in order to see where it first originated, and how it was afterwards expanded. Projectors, says our author, are to be generally taken with an allowance of one half at least. However his proposals were taken, certain it is, that when he ceased to be a hoier, he was, without solicitation, appointed accountant to the commissioners for managing the duties on glass.

“It is an observation of experience, how impossible it is to propose a tax that has not been offered before. In the present moment, one of the ways and means of De Foe is surely remarkable:—“Land and trade,” says he, “have been handled roughly enough. The retailers are the men who seem to call on us to be taxed; if not by their own extraordinary good circumstances, though that might bear it, yet, by the contrary in all other degrees in the kingdom. Besides, the retailers are the men who could pay it with least damage; because it is in their power to levy it again upon their customers in the prices of their goods; and is no more than paying a higher rent for their shops.” Thus, as a place man, thought our author. It was reserved for the iron age of finance to see his proposal adopted, after various attempts and rejections, by a necessity, which, when real, justifies the measure that cannot be avoided.

“From projects of ways and means, De Foe’s ardour soon carried him into the thorny ways of satiric poetry; and his muse produc-



ed, in 1701, *The True-born Englishman*.

“For this defence of king William and the Dutch, De Foe was amply rewarded. “How this poem was the occasion,” says he, “of my being known to his Majesty; how I was afterwards received by him; how employed; and how above my capacity of deserving, rewarded; is no part of the present case.” Of the particulars, which the author thus declined to tell, nothing now can be told. It is only certain, that for the royal favours De Foe was always grateful.

“When “the pen and ink war was raised against a standing army,” subsequent to the peace of Ryfwick, our author published an argument to prove that a standing army, with consent of parliament, is not inconsistent with a free government.

“When the nation flamed with faction, and the men of Kent desired the Commons “to mind the public more, and their private heats less, De Foe published in 1701, *The Original power of the collective Body of the People of England examined and asserted*. This timely treatise he dedicated to king William, in a dignified strain of nervous eloquence.

“At a time when “union and charity, the one relating to our civil, and the other to our religious concerns, were strangers in the land,” De Foe published, in 1701, *The Freeholders Plea against stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament-men*. This is certainly a very persuasive performance, though, doubtless, many voters were then influenced by arguments still more persuasive. “It is very rational to suppose,” says our author, “that they who will buy will sell; or, what seems more rational, they

who have bought must sell. For this seems to be a plain consequence, that he who makes use of any clandestine method to get into the House of Commons, must have some clandestine designs to carry on when he is there.”

“How much soever king William may have been pleased with the *True-born Englishman*, he was most probably little gratified by our author’s reasons against a war with France. This argument, shewing that the French king’s owning the prince of Wales as king of England is no sufficient ground of a war, is one of the finest, because it is one of the most useful tracts in the English language.

“A scene of sorrow soon after opened, which probably embittered our author’s future life. The death of king William deprived him of a protector, who, as he flattered himself amidst his later distresses, would never have suffered him to be treated as he had been in the world. Of that monarch’s memory, he says, that he never patiently heard it abused, nor ever could do so: and in this gratitude to a royal benefactor there is surely much to praise and nothing to blame.

“In the midst of that furious contest of party, civil and religious, which ensued on the accession of queen Anne, our author was no unconcerned spectator. He republished his *Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*, which had been published without effect three years before. He reprobates, with the unforbearance of the times, “this fast and loose game of religion;” for which he had never met with any considerable excuse but this, “that this is no conformity in point of religion, but done as a civil action.” He soon after published another *Enquiry*, in order to



to show, that the dissenters are no ways concerned in occasional conformity. The controversy, which in those days occasioned such vehement contests between the two Houses of Parliament, is probably silenced for ever; but De Foe opens this tract with a sentiment which ought never to be forgotten: "He, that opposes his own judgment against the current of the times, ought to be backed with unanswerable truths; and he, that has that truth on his side, is a fool, as well as a coward, if he is afraid to own it, because of the multitude of other men's opinions. 'Tis hard for a man to say, all the world is mistaken but himself; but if it be so, who can help it."

During the previous twenty years of his life, De Foe had busied himself unconsciously in charging a mine, which now blew himself and family into air. He had fought for Monmouth; he had opposed king James; he had vindicated the revolution; he had panegyricized king William; he had defended the rights of the collective body of the people; he had displeased the treasurer and the general, by objecting to the Flanders war; he had bantered sir Edward Seymour and sir Christopher Musgrave, the tory-leaders of the Commons; he had just ridiculed all the high-flyers in the kingdom, and he was obliged to seek for shelter from the indignation of persons and parties, thus overpowering and resitless.

"A proclamation was issued, in January, 1702-3, offering a reward of fifty pounds for discovering his retreat.

"He soon published an Explanation; though he "wonders to find there should be any occasion for it." "But since ignorance," says he, "has led most men to a

censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the government for it; in justice to those who are in danger to suffer by it; in submission to the parliament and council who may be offended at it; and courtesy to all mistaken people, who, it seems, have not penetrated into the real design; the author presents the world with the genuine meaning of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine and design to inflame and divide us:" and protesting the honesty of his purpose, he resolved, if the people now in trouble might be excused, to throw himself upon the favour of government, rather than others should be ruined for his mistakes. Neither his submissiveness to the ruling powers, nor his generosity with regard to his printers, was a sufficient shield from the resentment of his enemies. He was found guilty of a libel, sentenced to the pillory, and adjudged to be fined and imprisoned."

"While, as our author tells, he lay friendless and distressed in the prison of Newgate, his family ruined, and himself without hopes of deliverance, a message was brought him from a person of honour, whom till that time he had not the least knowledge of. This was no less a person than sir Robert Harley, the speaker of the House of Commons, who was soon made secretary of state, and who afterwards became lord treasurer and earl of Oxford. Harley approved probably of the principles and conduct of De Foe, and doubtless foresaw, that, during a factious age, such a genius could be converted to many uses. And he sent a verbal message to the prisoner, desiring to know what he could do for him. Our author readily



readily wrote the story of the blind man in the Gospel, concluding :— Lord, that I may receive my sight.

“ When the high-flyers were driven from the eminence which enabled them to do mischief rather than good, Harley became secretary of state, in 1704. He had now frequent opportunities of representing the unmerited sufferings of De Foe, to the queen and to the treasurer. Yet our author continued four months longer in gaol. The queen, however, inquired into his circumstances, and lord Godolphin sent, as he thankfully acknowledges, a considerable sum to his wife and family, and to him money to pay his fine, and the expence of his discharge. Here is the foundation, says he, on which he built his first sense of duty to the queen, and the indelible bond of gratitude to his benefactor.

“ To be relieved from gaol, must have been a circumstance sufficiently pleasing : but, to be employed by such ministers, to be approved of, and rewarded, and employed again, while his old enemies the high-flyers were in disgrace, must have been extremely flattering to a mind at once ardent and grateful. That he was engaged in several honourable, though secret services, by the interposition of his first benefactor ; that he was sent abroad, and ran personal risques equal to those of a grenadier on the counter-scarp, he himself assures us : but of the business, which our author did not think fit to explain, no knowledge can now be gained from the silence of the grave.

“ It is said, though perhaps without sufficient authority, that the vigorous remonstrances of De Foe procured the act for the encouragement of learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the

authors or their assigns. The vanity of an administration, which affected to patronize the learned, concurring with the mutual interest of authors and booksellers, produced at length this salutary law, that our author alone had called for without success.

“ Our author was soon after engaged in more important, because much more useful business. Lord Godolphin sent him to Scotland, on an errand which, as he says, was far from being unfit for a sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform. His knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of insinuation, and, above all, his readiness of pen, were deemed of no small utility, in promoting the Union. And we shall find him no inconsiderable actor in the performance of that greatest of all good works. He attended the committees of parliament, for whose use he made several of the calculations on the subject of trade and taxes. He complains, however, that when afterwards some clamour was raised upon the inequality of the proportions, and the contrivers began to be blamed, and a little threatened a-la-mob, that it was D. F. made it all, and he was to be stoned for it. He endeavoured to confute all that was published by the popular writers in Scotland against the Union : and he had his share of danger, and, as he says, he was watched by the mob, in order to know where to find him ; had his chamber windows insulted ; but, by the prudence of his friends, and God's providence, he escaped. In the midst of this great scene of business and tumult, he collected the documents, which he afterwards published for the instruction of posterity, with regard to one of the most difficult, and, at the same time, the most



most fortunate transactions in our annals.

“How he was rewarded for all these services, and all this risque, he does not tell; and cannot now be easily known. He already enjoyed an appointment, which had been formerly made in consideration of a special service of no small danger: yet is there reason to think, that he had a pension rather than an office, since his name is not in the red-book of the queen; and he solemnly avers, in his appeal, that he had not interest enough with lord Oxford to procure him the arrears due to him in the time of the former ministry. This appointment, whatever it was, he is studious to tell, he originally owed to Harley: he, however, thankfully acknowledges, that lord Godolphin continued his favour to him after the unhappy breach that separated his first benefactor from the minister, who for three years continued in power.

“The nation, which was thus filled with combustible matter, burst into flame, the moment of that memorable separation, in 1707. In the midst of this conflagration our author was not inactive. He waited on Harley, after he had been driven from power, who generously advised him to continue his services to the queen, which he supposed would have no relation to personal differences among statesmen. Godolphin received him with equal kindness by saying,—I always think a man honest till I find the contrary. And if we may credit De Foe’s asseverations, in the presence of those who could have convicted him of falsehood, he for three years held no correspondence with his principal benefactor, which the great man never took ill of him.

“When Godolphin was in his turn expelled, our author in the same manner waited on the ex-minister, who obligingly said to him, That he had the same good will, but not the same power to assist him: and Godolphin told him, what was of more real use, to wait till he saw things settled, and then to receive the Queen’s commands from her confidential servants. It naturally occurred to De Foe, that it was his duty to go along with every ministry, while, as he says, they did not break in on the constitution. And who can blame a very subordinate officer (if indeed he held an office), who had a wife and six children to maintain with very scanty means? He was thus, says he, cast back providentially on his first benefactor, who laid his case before her Majesty, whereby he preserved his interest without any engagement.

“De Foe now lived at Newington, in comfortable circumstances, preparing some works for the press, and publishing the Reviews: in this situation he gave and received many wounds, during the pen and ink war of that contentious period.

“Our author found leisure at length to republish, in 1712, a History of the Union, which, as he says, lay longer in the press than he expected; and which is now published a third time, when a similar union has become the topic of public debate and private conversation. It seems to have been but little noticed when it first appeared: for as the preface states, it had many difficulties in the way; many factions to encounter, and parties to please. The subject of this work is the completion of a measure, which was carried into effect, notwithstanding obstructions apparently insurmountable, and tumults approaching to rebellion;



rebellion; and which has produced the ends designed, beyond expectation, whether we consider its influence on the government, or on the happiness of the governed. The language of this narrative, if it wants the dignity of the great historians of the present day, has greater sweetness; if it is not sometimes grammatical, it is always precise; and if it is thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to possess in a high degree an easy flow of entertaining periods. Considering the factiousness of the age, the author's candour is admirable. He is at once learned and intelligent. And the minuteness with which he describes what he saw and heard on the turbulent stage, where he acted a conspicuous part, is extremely interesting to us, who wish to know what actually passed, however this circumstantiality may have disgusted contemporaneous readers. History is chiefly valuable as it transmits a faithful copy of the manners and sentiments of every age. This narrative of De Foe is a drama, in which he introduces the highest peers and the lowest peasants, speaking and acting according as they were each actuated by their characteristic passions; and while the man of taste is amused by his manner, the man of business may draw instruction from the documents, which are appended to the end, and interspersed in every page.

“Unhappily for his fame, De Foe's connection with the pillory has transmitted his name with no good report to posterity. If we could divest ourselves of hereditary prejudice, and judge of him by what he said and did, we should see him rise superior, as a statesman, to the great men of both sides,

who, having entangled themselves in names, bade defiance to common sense.

“The year 1715 may be regarded as the period of our author's political life. Faction henceforth found other advocates, and parties procured other writers to disseminate their suggestions, or to propagate their falsehoods. De Foe now lived, discountenanced and distressed, at Newington, and comforted only by a wife, whom he loved, and by six children, whom he had taken great pains to educate. In this retirement he is supposed to have written the well-known *Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*; the first part of which was published in 1719, and the second before the end of the year. The reception of it was popular, and the sale was great: for the story, says the preface, “was told with modesty and seriousness, and with religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them; the instruction of others by example, and the justification of Providence in all the different circumstances, during the sufferings of this world.” The attention is fixed either by the simplicity of the narrative, or by the variety of the incidents; the heart is amended by a vindication of the ways of God to man, and the understanding is informed by various instances of the superiority of the useful over the ornamental arts: the young are instructed, while the old are amused.

“How De Foe employed his latter years, it is now impossible to know. If he published *The Family Instructor* and the *Plan of Commerce*, with other smaller tracts, which are attributed to him, it may be truly affirmed, that his



old age was usefully spent. He died, in April 1731, within the parish of St. Giles's Cripplegate, London, at an age, if he was born in 1663, when it was time to prepare for his last voyage. He left a widow, Susannah, who did not long survive him; and six sons and daughters, whom he boasts of having educated as well as his circumstances would admit.

"It is no easy task to ascertain the value, or the titles of many of our author's writings, if we except those which he corrected himself and published in his life-time. His poems, whether we regard propriety of sentiment, or sweetness

of numbers, may, without much loss of pleasure or profit, be resigned to those, who in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obsolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phrase, or for happy rhymes. De Foe's ecclesiastical Pamphlets may be relinquished to the perusal of those who delight in ecclesiastical polemics. But his tracts, political and commercial, the lovers of that liberty which he ably defended, and the friends of that trade which he liberally explained, must wish to see rescued from oblivion, and republished without the contamination of matter less engaging and instructive."

### The LIFE of ALI BEY.

[Extracted from SAVARY'S LETTERS ON EGYPT.]

"ALI BEY was born in Nantolia, in 1728, and received at his birth the name of Joseph, Daoud his father, a Greek priest, of one of the most distinguished families in the country, designed him to succeed to his dignity, and neglected no part of his education, but fate had otherwise ordained. At thirteen years old, Joseph, hurried on by the ardour of his age, was hunting with other young men in a neighbouring forest: robbers fell upon them, and carried them off, in spite of their cries and their resistance. The son of Daoud being taken to Grand Cairo, was sold to Ibrahim Kiaia, a lieutenant of the Janizaries, who had him circumcised, clothed him in the dress of the Mamalukes, and called him by the name of Ali, under which he has been since known. He gave him masters of

the Turkish and Arabic languages, and of horsemanship. Compelled to give way, he deplored in his heart the loss of his parents, and his change of religion. Insensibly the kind treatment of his patron, the dignities with which his vanity flattered him, and above all, the example of his companions, gave him a relish for his new situation. The vivacity of his mind afforded him the means of distinguishing himself. In the course of a few years he was perfect master of the languages that were taught him, and even excelled in all bodily exercises. None of the Mamalukes managed a horse with more address, nor threw the javelin with greater force, nor made use of the sabre and fire-arms with more dexterity than him. His application to study, and his graceful manners, made him dear to Ibrahim Kiaia. Charmed with his talents,



talents, he raised him rapidly to the different employments of his household. He soon attained the post of Selihtar Aga, swordbearer, and of Kasnadar, treasurer. The intelligence he displayed in these employments gained him more and more the good graces of his patron, who created him a Cachef at the age of two and twenty.

“ Become a governor of towns, he manifested his natural equity in the administration of justice, and his discernment in the acquisition of the Mamalukes, to whom he endeavoured to communicate his genius. It was here he laid secretly the foundation of his future greatness. Not only had he gained the affection of Ibrahim, but judging that the favour of the Pacha might be made subservient to his ambitious views, he made a point of pleasing him. This viceroy was called Rahiph; he was a man of real merit, discovering in the young Cachef an upright and elevated mind, he granted him his friendship, and declared himself his protector.

“ He remained several years a Cachef. His patron, Ibrahim, being elected Emir Haji, or prince of the caravan, which is the second dignity in Egypt, he took him with him to escort the pilgrims. In their march they were attacked by the Arabs. Ali fell upon them at the head of the Mamalukes he commanded, and behaved with so much valour, that he repulsed the enemy, and killed a great number on the spot. On his return, several tribes being collected, were determined to avenge their defeat. The young Cachef gave them battle. He precipitated himself like lightning amidst their squadrons, and, overturning every thing that opposed his passage, he obtained a signal victory. The Arabs appear-

ed no more. Ibrahim did justice to the services of his lieutenant in full council, and proposed to create him a Sangiak. Ibrahim, the Circassian, an enemy to the former, opposed it with all his might, and employed all his eloquence to prevent a nomination which displeased him. The Emir Haji prevailed. Ali was nominated by the Divan; Eddin Mohamed, the Pacha, confirmed this choice, clothed him with a caftan, and gave him, agreeable to custom, the Firman of Bey.

“ Become now one of the 24 members of the republic, he never forgot his obligations to his patron, and defended his interests with an admirable constancy. In 1758 the Emir Haji was murdered by the party of Ibrahim, the Circassian. From this moment Ali meditated vengeance. For three years he concealed in his heart his resentment for this murder, and employed all the resources of his mind to arrive at the post of Scheik Elbalad, the first dignity of the republic. In 1763 he attained that dangerous title, the summit of his ambition. Soon after, he revenged the blood of his protector, by sacrificing Ibrahim, the Circassian, with his own hand. In committing this desperate action he followed the impulse of hatred rather than of prudence; for it raised up numerous enemies against him. All the Sangiaks, attached to the party of the Circassian, conspired against him. Exposed to their intrigues, and on the point of being murdered, he saved himself by flight. After rapidly crossing the deserts of the isthmus of Suez, he repaired to Jerusalem. Having gained the good graces of the governor of that city, he thought himself in safety. But friendship has no sacred asylum amongst the Turks, when opposed to the commands of the despot. His enemies were afraid of him, e-



ven in his exile. They wrote to the Porte to demand his death, and orders were immediately sent to the governor to strike off his head. Fortunately, Rahiph, his old friend, now one of the members of the Divan, gave him timely warning, and advised him to fly from Jerusalem. Ali therefore anticipated the arrival of the Capigi Bachi, and took refuge with Scheik Daher, prince of St. John of Acre. This respectable old man, who for fifty years had defended his little principality against the whole forces of the Ottoman empire, received with open arms the unfortunate Scheik Elbalad, and afforded him hospitality, that sacred pledge of the safety of mankind, whose holy ties are never violated by the Arabs. He was not long in discovering the merit of his guest, and from that moment loaded him with caresses, and called him his son. He exhorted him to support adversity with courage, flattered his hopes, soothed his sorrows, and made him taste of pleasures in the bosom even of his disgrace. Ali Bey might have passed his days happily with Scheik Daher, but ambition, that preyed upon him, would not suffer him to remain inactive. He carried on a secret correspondence with some of the Sangiaks attached to his interest. He inflamed their zeal by the temptation of better government. The prince of Acre, on his part, wrote to his friends at Grand Cairo, and urged them to hasten the recall of the Scheik Elbalad. While this was going on, Rahiph, now grand visier, openly espoused the interest of his old friend, and employed all his credit to obtain his re-establishment. These different means succeeded to the wishes of Ali. The beys invited him to return to Grand Cairo, and to resume his dignity. He set

off immediately, and was received with the acclamations of the people.

“The Scheik Elbalad restored, was nevertheless perfectly acquainted with the precariousness of his situation. He could never reckon upon a tranquil administration. Hatreds were stifled, but not extinguished. On all sides the storm was gathering around him. All those whom the murder of Ibrahim, the Circassian, had offended, were constantly spreading snares for him. All his penetration was necessary to avoid them. They waited only for a favourable occasion to let their resentment break out. The death of Rahiph, which happened in 1763, furnished them this opportunity. They threw off the mask, and declared open war against him. On the point of perishing, he escaped into Arabia Felix, visiting the coasts of the Red Sea, and once more took refuge with the Scheik of Acre, who received him with the same tenderness. This wise old man, taught by the experience of fourscore years, had gone through every reverse of fortune. He was calculated to furnish consolation to the wretched. He charmed by the wisdom of his conversation the listlessness of his guest; he revived his courage by the hope of a happier hereafter, and endeavoured to make him forget his misfortunes. Whilst he was alleviating his destiny, the Sangiaks of the party of Ibrahim, the Circassian, trusting in the total destruction of their enemy, abandoned themselves to all sorts of vexations, and persecuted those who were devoted to the interests of Ali. This imprudence opened the eyes of the majority. They perceived that they were the dupes of a few ambitious men, and, to strengthen their party, recalled the Scheik Elbalad, and promised to support him



with all their power. He set off immediately, with the embraces of the Scheik Daher, who proffered the sincerest wishes for his prosperity. On his return to Grand Cairo, in 1766, Ali held a council with his partizans. He represented to them that moderation had only excited to revenge the friends of Ibrahim, that nothing but flight would have saved him from their plots; and that, to secure the common safety, these turbulent spirits must be sacrificed. The whole assembly applauded this resolution, and the next day they took off the heads of four of them. This execution insured the tranquillity of Ali. He saw himself at the head of the government, and in the space of six years he raised sixteen of his Mamalukes to the dignity of Beys, and one of them to that of Janizary Aga. The principals were Mahomed Abou Dahab, Ismael, Mourad, Hassan, Tentaoui, and Ibrahim. The first was his countryman. He purchased him in 1758, and had a particular affection for him.

“Supreme chief of the republic, he adopted every measure to render her power durable. Not content with increasing his Mamalukes to the number of six thousand, he took into pay ten thousand Mograbi. He made his troops observe the most rigid discipline, and, by continually exercising them in the handling of arms, formed excellent soldiers. He attached to himself the young men who composed his household, by the paternal attention he paid to their education, and above all by bestowing favours and rewards on those who were the most worthy. His party became so powerful, that such of his colleagues as were not his friends, dreaded his power, and did not dare to thwart his projects. Believing

his authority established on a solid basis, he turned his attention to the welfare of the people. The Arabs, dispersed over the deserts, and on the frontiers of Egypt, committed ravages not to be suppressed by a fluctuating government. He declared war, and sent against them bodies of cavalry which beat them every where, and drove them back into the depth of their solitudes. Egypt began to respire, and agriculture, encouraged, flourished once more in that rich country. Having rendered the chiefs of each village responsible for the crimes of the inhabitants, he punished them until the authors of the offence were delivered into the hands of justice. In this manner, the principal citizens looked after the public safety, and for the first time, since the commencement of the Turkish empire, the traveller and the merchant could pass through the whole extent of the kingdom, without the apprehension of an insult. Acquainted with the excesses of mercenary soldiers, both in the capital and in the provinces, he ordered the persons injured to address their complaints immediately to him, and he never failed to do them justice.

“The Scheik Elbalad, wishing to give a fresh proof of his friendship to Mahomed Abou Dahab, and to attach him by an indissoluble tie, bestowed his sister in marriage on him. For three days their nuptials were celebrated by illuminations, by horse races, and brilliant entertainments. But this was only accumulating favours on a traitor, who was meditating in silence, the ruin of his benefactor. Connected secretly with the remains of Ibrahim's family, he aspired to the sovereign power. Ambition and thirst of gold had corrupted his heart. Every method by which he



might possibly attain the dignity of Scheik Elbalad appeared to him legitimate. The Sangiaks with whom he had an understanding, being no strangers to his avarice, gave him considerable sums to engage him to put Ali out of the way. Knowing how difficult his own vigilance, and the love of those about him, rendered the execution of this plot, and fearing for his life, he deferred it to a more favourable moment, and kept the gold. But to increase the confidence of his friend, and still more to blind him, he discovered the conspiracy. This confession succeeded beyond his expectation. The tenderness of Ali for a brother-in-law, to whom he thought himself indebted for his life, became excessive. Abou Dahab never lost sight of his infamous project. He attempted the fidelity of Tentaoui, and offered him 300,000 livres to murder his patron whilst he played at chess with him. This brave chief flew immediately to acquaint Ali with the proposal. The Scheik Elbalad, too much prejudiced in favour of Mahomed, only laughed at it. The traitor defeated in this, tried another method. He endeavoured to force his wife to poison a brother she loved, by presenting him a dish of coffee. She rejected the proposition with horror, and sent a faithful slave to conjure Ali to be upon his guard, and to fear every thing from Abou Dahab, as his most dangerous enemy. So many warnings ought to have opened his eyes, but his tenderness for him was excessive. He could not believe in crimes his own heart revolted at, and the consciousness of his bounties removed every apprehension.

“In 1768 the Russians declared war against the Porte, and their fleets penetrated into the Mediter-

anean. The Scheik Elbalad, according to custom, levied twelve thousand men to send to the assistance of the Grand Signior. His enemies availed themselves of this circumstance to ruin him. They wrote to the Divan of Constantinople, that the troops he was collecting were destined to serve in the Russian armies, with which court he had formed a treaty of alliance. The letter was signed by several beys. The calumny was credited without farther examination, and the Sultan immediately dispatched a Capigi Bachi, with four satellites, to take off his head. Fortunately for Ali, he had a trusty agent in the council. He sent off, without loss of time, two couriers, one by sea, the other by land, to acquaint him with this treachery. They arrived before the grand signior's messengers. The Scheik Elbalad kept the matter secret. He sent to Tentaoui, in whom he placed great confidence, and, discovering to him the mystery, commanded him to disguise himself like an Arab, and to go with twelve Mamalukes, twenty miles distant from Cairo, and wait for the grand signior's emissaries. You will take from them, added he, their dispatches, and you will put them to death.

“Tentaoui acquitted himself perfectly well of his commission. After waiting some time in the station assigned him, till the Capigi Bachi and his satellites made their appearance. He laid hold of their persons, wrested from them the fatal order, flew them all, and buried them in the sand. Possessed of the firman the Scheik Elbalad assembled the chiefs of the republic, and after communicating it, he addressed them: “How long shall we submit to be the victims of the despotism of the Ottoman Porte? What confidence



confidence can we have in treaties with her? A few years since, she made a part of the chiefs of this republic perish, contrary to all justice. Several amongst you witnessed that bloody execution, and still bear the marks of it. Behold the blood of four of your colleagues, with which this marble we are this moment treading on is still red. To-day my death is ordered. To-morrow will be demanded the head of him who shall fill my place. This is the moment to shake off the yoke of a despot, who, violating our privileges and our laws, seems to dispose of our lives as he thinks proper. Let us join our arms to those of Russia. Let us free this republic from the domination of a barbarous master. Aid me with your efforts, and I will answer for the liberty of Egypt." This discourse produced all the effect that Ali had a right to expect from it; the sixteen beys of his party exclaimed with one voice, that war must be declared against the grand signior. Such as were of a contrary opinion, unable to oppose it, promised to second it with all their power. The Pacha received an order to quit Egypt in four and twenty hours. The Scheik Elbalad communicated this resolution to the Prince of Acre, promising to join his troops with those of Egypt, in order to conquer Syria.

"He had formerly, as we have seen, surveyed the Jemen, and the eastern coast of the Red Sea. Judging what advantages he might derive from the commerce and productions of those countries, if he could subject them to his government, he levied two armies, the one of twenty-six thousand cavalry, the other of nine. The command of the former he gave to his brother-in-law, and that of the second to Ismael

Bey. Abou Dahab was to attack Arabia Felix, and the interior provinces; Ismael, the maritime towns and the sea-ports. He gave the general the plans they were to follow, and equipped a fleet to coast along the Red Sea, and supply them with provisions. He had calculated like an able warrior, the obstacles they had to surmount, and success depended on their fidelity in carrying his orders into execution. The Egyptian cohorts left Egypt in 1770. Whilst they were on their march to the conquest of Arabia, the Scheik Elbalad remained in the capital, where he gave up his whole attention to the internal police of the kingdom, and to the happiness of the people.

"The custom-houses of Egypt had long been in the hands of Jews, who committed horrid depredations, and harrassed foreigners with impunity. He removed them, and entrusted their administration to Christians of Syria with a particular recommendation to favour the European merchants. He was sensible how flourishing Egypt might become by commerce. His project was to open it to all the nations of the world, and to render it the emporium of the merchandize of Europe, India, and Africa. To effect this, it was only necessary to provide for the security of the caravans, and to put the merchants under the protection of the laws; which he did, by checking on every side the vagabond Arabs, and by establishing at Grand Cairo, Selim, Aga, and Solomon, Kiaia of the Janizaries, to protect the merchants, and to see justice done them. With the same view he ordered his generals to leave officers in the sea-ports they might take, to receive the vessels from India, and to defend them against the natives of the country.



He was not long in reaping the fruits of his wise administration. He had the happiness to see the Egyptians relieved, strangers favourably received, the public safety established, agriculture encouraged, and the republic raised to a pitch of splendour she never had attained from the first hour of her existence.

“ Whilst he was thus gloriously employed, his generals triumphed in Arabia. Abou Dahab conquered the Jemen in one campaign, destroyed the Scherif of Mecca, and substituted in his place the Emir Abdalla, who, to pay his court to Ali, gratified him with the pompous title of Sultan of Egypt and the two seas. Ismael, on his side, made himself master of all the towns bordering on the eastern shore of the Arabic Gulf. They returned to Cairo covered with laurels. The inhabitants received them with loud acclamations, and their triumphs were celebrated by splendid festivals.

“ Ali had not laid aside the expedition against Syria. In 1771 he sent Mohamed Abou Dahab to attempt that conquest, at the head of forty thousand men. Whilst these troops were traversing the desert, vessels, equipped at Damietta, transported to St. John of Acre, the necessary supplies for them. Availing himself, like an able politician, of the present circumstances, the Scheik Elbalad wrote to count Alexis Orlov, then at Leghorn, to form a treaty of alliance with the empress of Russia. He offered the admiral on his part, money, provisions, and soldiers; requiring only a few engineers, and engaged to unite his forces with those of the Russians to overthrow the Ottoman throne. The count thanked Ali, encouraged him in his glorious enterprize, made

him great promises, which were never realized, and assured him that he should lose no time in laying his dispatches before his sovereign.

“ He had deputed the year before a Venetian merchant, called Rosette, to propose an alliance with the Republic of Venice, and to encourage her to retake from the Turks those islands and delightful provinces she had formerly possessed in the Mediterranean. He promised to aid her with all the forces of Egypt, and to re-establish there her ancient commerce; but the Republic declined this hardy enterprize.

“ During these negotiations, Abou Dahab, assisted by the counsels and the succours of the prince of Acre, took all the towns of Syria from the Ottomans, and drove them before him like a flock of sheep.

“ He had long meditated the ruin of Ali, his patron, his brother-in-law, his friend. The desire of gaining the soldiery, by making them the companions of his victories, had alone induced him to take arms, and influenced all his measures. The interest of Egypt, which the union with Syria would have rendered independent of the Porte, had no part in his projects. No sooner was he sure of his officers and soldiers, than, after making them take an oath of fidelity, he hoisted the standard of rebellion. He withdrew all his garrisons from the conquered places, and, rendering abortive the fruit of so much blood spilt, and of a whole year of conquests, he re-entered Egypt. On his departure the Turks retook, without a struggle, the cities he had taken from them, razed their walls, and added new fortifications. Abou Dahab, thus elated with success, did not dare at first to at-

tack



tack the capital, where his rival was too powerful. He kept along the western coast of the Red Sea, crossed the Desert, and marched into Upper Egypt. It was then he made an open display of his criminal intentions. He took Girgé and other important towns. By force or by address, he gained the beys who commanded there, and descended towards Cairo.

“ Ali Bey repented, but too late, having followed the emotions of his heart rather than the dictates of prudence, by placing in the hands of a traitor a command with which he should never have entrusted him. He still had resources, and he hastened to oppose them to his enemy. Having collected twenty thousand men, he put at their head Ismael Bey, on whose experience and fidelity he thought he could safely reckon. Abou Dahab was encamped near Gaza; Ali ordered his general to take post near to Old Cairo, and prevent the enemy from passing the river. Nothing was more easy; but the perfidious Ismael, basely betraying the interests of his patron, formed a treaty of alliance with Abou Dahab, and passed over to his camp. The junction of the two armies was a thunderstroke for the generous Ali. In the first emotions of despair, he determined to shut himself up in the castle of Grand Cairo with his few brave adherents, and to bury himself under its ruins. The sons of Scheik Daher, who loved him, represented to him the folly of this resolution, and conjured him once more to escape with them to St. John of Acre. He felt the wisdom of their council, and followed it. He wrote instantly to count Orlov, requesting him to send some warlike stores, and some officers to him into Syria. He

entrusted these dispatches to the Armenian Jacob, who had already acquitted himself of a similar commission, collected his treasures, and loaded them on twenty camels. He sent to demand from Mallem Reisk, whom he had made intendant of the revenues of Egypt, all the money he had collected; but the knave had hid himself, and it was impossible to find him. In the middle of the night, Ali Bey, accompanied by the sons of Scheik Daher, Tentaoui, Ruffuan, Hassan, Kail, Mourad, Abd, Errohman, Latif, Moustafa, Ibrahim, Zoulficar, Hacheph, Osman, Selim, Aga, and Soliman, Kiaia of the Janizaries, all beys of his creation, and about 7000 troops, left Cairo for the third time, and fled across the deserts. He carried with him twenty-four millions of livres (about one million sterling) in gold and silver. After five days forced march, he arrived on the 16th of April, 1772, at the gates of Gaza, and his troops began to breathe. The treason of two men, on whose friendship he had the strictest claims, rent his heart with sorrow. He shuddered at the very name of Abou Dahab, and his blood boiled in his veins. This agitation, added to the fatigue of so difficult a rout, brought on a serious malady. A prey to the most gloomy melancholy, he looked for death with a sort of consolation. Liberty procured to Egypt, Arabia submitted to his sway, justice established in the cities, commerce flourishing, the good he had already done the people; all those advantages, which it was the wish of his heart still farther to procure them, he saw for ever vanished, and this bitter reflection filled the measure of his misfortunes. Whilst he was cruelly suffering under these poignant cares, the Scheik Daher, that



respectable old man, his faithful friend, his protector in adversity, came to visit him in his tent. After mingling his tears with those of Ali, he called him his son, and tried by exhortations full of sense and tenderness, to communicate some comfort to his sorrows. He represented to him that his situation was not desperate, that the Russian squadron was at hand, and that, with this succour, he might still regain the dignity from which he had been precipitated by treason. How powerful are the tender consolations of friendship on sensible hearts! It is a salutary balm that penetrates all our senses, and heals, as if by enchantment, the wounds both of the soul and of the body. Ali experienced its effects, and hope once more appeared to renew the lamp of life. The Arab prince had brought with him a physician, whom he left with his sick friend, and he recovered his health in a few weeks.

“ A detachment of the Russian squadron appearing before Acre, Ali took the advantage of this opportunity to write to count Orlov. He made the same request as before, desiring him to send him some cannon and engineers, and a corps of three thousand Albanians. He assured him, that immediately after his reinstatement, all the forces of Egypt should be at his disposal. Besides this, he addressed a letter to the Czarina, in which he solicited her alliance, and proposed to her a commercial treaty with Egypt. Zulficar Bey, the bearer of these dispatches, was commissioned to present to the Russian admiral three fine horses, richly caparisoned. It is certain that if Russia had only sent this feeble succour to the Scheik Elbalad, he would have triumphed over his enemies, and

have been proclaimed king of Egypt. Nor can it be doubted from his character, and every concurrent circumstance, that he would have delivered into the hands of the Russians the commerce of the eastern world, and have granted them ports in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. This alliance might have operated a total change of affairs in the East. The Russian ships set sail for Paros the 18th of May, 1772, and conducted the ambassador of Ali.

“ The precipitate retreat of Abou Dahab had given the Turks time to regain their possessions, and to fortify them. Having formed a corps of six thousand men, he gave the command of it to the brave Tentaoui, and ordered him to attack Seide. Scheik Lebi, and Scheik Crim, one the son, the other the son-in-law of the prince of Acre, joined the Egyptian chief, and marched in concert with him. In their route they fell in with the celebrated Hassan Pacha, who was expecting them, in an advantageous post, at the head of thirteen thousand men. Notwithstanding their inferiority, they did not hesitate to give him battle. Their cavalry was excellent. They rushed in a body on the Turks, broke through their ranks, cut a great number of them in pieces, and put the rest to flight. The fugitives conveyed the alarm to Seide, which instantly opened her gates to the conquerors. Tentaoui leaving a garrison in the town, under the orders of Hassan Bey, returned to the camp, where he received the compliments of Ali, and of the prince of Acre.

“ On the 13th of August, in the same year, Ali marched against Jaffa, accompanied by the valiant sons of the Scheik Daher.

“ After



“After the capture of Jaffa, the Scheik Elbalad led his troops to Rama, which was carried sword in hand. These successes raised the hopes of his partizans, and inspired him with the confidence of returning triumphant to Grand Cairo. Ali had constantly maintained a correspondence with the chiefs of the Janizaries, who have great power in the capital. The promises with which he flattered them, and the aversion with which Abou Dahab’s avarice inspired them, determined them openly to espouse his party, and to demand his recall. They wrote to him that he might return, and that they would defend his interests. This news overwhelmed him with joy; he imparted it to his friends, and prepared for his return to Egypt. Scheik Daher was of a different opinion. He advised him to wait the promised succours of the Russians, to foment divisions amongst the chiefs of the republic, to be previously well assured of the disposition of the troops in his favour, and not rashly risk his fortune and his life. These counsels, dictated by prudence, were not followed. Ali, impatient to return to Grand Cairo, and humble his enemies, fondly imagined he was marching to victory. He collected the garrisons of the conquered towns, raised contributions in them, arrived at Gaza, the 21st of March, and left it on the 4th of April : 773.

“His whole cavalry consisted of two thousand men, and two hundred and fifty mamalukes. Three thousand four hundred Mograbi composed his infantry. Tentacoui, Kalil, Latif, Hassan, Abd Errohman, Mourad, Selim the Aga, and Soliman Kiaia of the Janizaries, were all his remaining beys. Six hundred and fifty

horse commanded by the son and son-in-law of Scheik Daher, accompanied this little army, which formed in all six thousand three hundred and ten combatants.

“Abou Dahab had sent twelve thousand men to Salakia, a town situated on the isthmus of Suez, to oppose Ali’s passage. As soon, therefore, as he approached this place, these troops advanced to meet him, and ranged themselves in line of battle. The Scheik Elbalad, without hesitation, accepted the challenge. He rushed upon them with the rapidity of lightning. He fought sabre in hand at the head of his Mamalukes, who, encouraged by his presence, carried destruction through the ranks. The enemy sustained this terrible shock for four hours. At length, penetrated in all parts, they fled into the desert, leaving a great number of dead upon the field of battle. This glorious victory encouraged the little troop of Ali, who thought themselves invincible under so brave a leader. Profiting by the ardour of his warriors, he advanced directly to Grand Cairo. The fugitives carried the news of their defeat, and of his approach. Abou Dahab assembled the beys brought over to his interest, and the principal people, and addressed them in these terms: “Brave chiefs of the republic, and you Egyptians, who cherish the law of our prophet, you know Ali. He is a Christian in his heart, and has contracted alliances with the infidels. He wishes to subject this country, that he may abolish the religion of Mahomet, and force you to adopt Christianity. Remember what the Europeans have done in India; the Mussulmen of those rich countries received them with kindness, admitted them into their ports, granted them



them factories, and made commercial treaties with them. What was the consequence? The Christians have ravaged their provinces, destroyed their cities, conquered their kingdom, and, after reducing them to slavery, have established idolatry on the ruins of the true religion. Faithful Mussulmen, a similar fate awaits you. Ali, the ally of these Europeans, is about to overturn the constitution of your empire, to throw open Egypt to the infidels, and force you to become Christians. Aid me to repulse the enemy of the republic, of your laws, of Islamism; or prepare yourselves for all the miseries your brethren of Bengal have suffered.—Chuse between him and me.” At the conclusion of this harangue, Abou Dahab pretended a desire to abdicate the dignity of Scheik Elbalad, and to withdraw. But the whole audience pronounced with one unanimous cry, anathemas against Ali, and promised to spill the last drop of their blood in defence of the common cause. Availing himself adroitly of this moment of enthusiasm, Abou Dahab published a manifesto in the city, by which every man who loved his religion and his country, was invited to take arms; and before the close of the day, twenty thousand men were ranged under his banners. He set out immediately at the head of this army, to attack the enemy. The Janizaries, faithful to their promise, refused to follow him, and waited with tranquillity, the result of the combat.

“Ali was unprepared for this event. He no sooner heard that Abou Dahab was approaching with troops, three times superior to his in number, than he abandoned himself to despair, and fell dangerously ill. His friends advised

him to return to Acre, but he declared he would sooner perish than retreat an inch.

“The 13th of April, 1773, the army of Grand Cairo appeared in the presence of his camp. He immediately ranged his troops in order of battle. Scheik Lebi and Scheik Crim had the command of the left wing. The right he gave to Tentaoui, and placed his infantry in the center. Having made these able dispositions and exhorted the chiefs to fight valiantly, he made them convey him to his tent, for he was too weak to sit on horseback. The battle began at eleven in the morning. Both parties charged with fury, and in spite of the inferiority of Ali's troops, they at first had the advantage. Scheik Lebi and Scheik Crim gloriously repulsed the Egyptian cavalry. Tentaoui, at the head of the brave Mamalukes, overthrew every thing before him. Victory was declaring for Ali, when the Mograbi, those mercenary troops, invariably led by the allurements of gain, suffered themselves to be corrupted by the splendid promises of Abou Dahab, and passed over to his side. The fortune of the day was changed. The fugitives rallied, and having now but three thousand men to contend with, they environed them on every side, and slew a great number of them. The generous Tentaoui could not survive his defeat. He precipitated himself into the middle of their squadrons, and fell, covered with wounds, on a heap of dead, whom he had sacrificed. Scheik Lebi, the valiant son of the prince of Acre defended himself for a long time with his Arabs, and died combating. Scheik Crim, opening himself a passage through the Egyptian ranks, rode full speed to the tent of Ali, and conjured



conjured him to take refuge with him at St. John of Acre. Mourad, Ibrahim, Soliman, and Abd Errohman, arrived there also, and made the same remonstrances. My friends, replied he, fly, I command you ; as for me, my hour is come. Scarcely had they quitted him, before he was surrounded by the victorious troops. The Mamalukes, who were near his tent, defended their master to the last drop of their blood, and all perished with their arms in their hands. Despair having given new force to the unhappy Scheik Elbalad, he rose up, and slew the first two soldiers who attempted to seize him. He was fired upon, and wounded with two balls. At this moment the lieutenant of Abou Dahab appearing, sabre in hand, Ali shot him with a pistol. Swimming in his blood he fought like a lion, but a soldier having beat him down by the back stroke of a sabre, they threw themselves upon him, and carried him to the tent of the conqueror. The traitor carrying his perfidy to its greatest height, shed feigned tears on seeing him in this condition, and tried to console him for his disgrace. Ali turned away his eyes, and uttered not a word. He died of his wounds eight days after. Others have assured me that they were not mortal, and that he was poisoned by his infamous bro-

ther-in-law. This was to complete his enormities ; nor can we reflect, without shuddering on the horrors to which men are hurried by ambition.

“ Ali was of the middle size ; he had large eyes, full of fire ; his carriage was graceful and noble, and his character frank and generous. Nature had endowed him with an unfurmountable courage, and a lofty genius. Far removed from that barbarous pride which leads the Turks to despise strangers, he loved them for their talents, and generously repaid their services. He wished ardently for officers to discipline his troops, and teach them the European tactics. He died the victim of his friendship. His misfortunes arose from nourishing and bringing up a traitor, who took advantage of his bounty to embitter his days, and to conduct him to his grave. Had Russia availed herself of his offers, had she but granted him some engineers, and three or four thousand men, he would have made himself sovereign of Syria and Egypt, and have transferred to his ally the commerce of Arabia and India. He perished at 45 years of age. The Egyptians long wept his loss, and saw themselves again plunged into all the miseries from which he had delivered them.



# MANNERS OF NATIONS.

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## EFFECT of the PUBLIC GAMES on the CHARACTER of the GREEKS.

[From the First Volume of Dr. GILLIES's History of GREECE.]

“ **I**N examining the effect of the games, as institutions for bodily exercise and mental improvement, it is necessary to reflect, not only on the universality of their establishment, but on the frequency of their repetition. Besides the public solemnities already described, innumerable provincial festivals were celebrated in each particular republic. The Athenians employed near a third part of the year in such amusements; and, if we may be allowed to conjecture, that those communities which instituted most festivals, would most excel in the arts and exercises displayed in them, we may conclude, from the national designations of the Olympic victors, preserved in ancient authors, that the number of the Athenian festivals was rivalled by that of several other states.

“ For these warlike and elegant amusements the youth were carefully trained by the discipline of the gymnasia, in which they learned whatever can give strength and agility to the limbs, ease and grace to the motions, force and beauty to the genius. Bodily strength and agility were accompanied by health and vigour of constitution. Their athletic hardiness bore, without inconvenience, the vicissitudes of cold and heat. Even in the scorching warmth of July (for that was

the season of the Olympic games), they received, bare headed, the direct rays of the sun. And the firm organization, acquired by perpetual exercise, counteracted that fatal propensity to vicious indulgence, too natural to their voluptuous climate, and produced those inimitable models of strength and beauty, which are so deservedly admired in the precious remains of Grecian statuary.

“ These corporeal advantages were followed by a train of excellencies, to which they are nearly allied. There is a courage depending on nerves and blood, which was improved to the highest pitch among the Greeks. They delight, says Lucian, to behold the combats of bold and generous animals; and their own contentions are still more animated. In the memorable war with Persia, they shewed the superiority of their national courage; and it is worthy of observation, that the most signal exploits were performed in the field of battle by those who had been previously adorned with the Olympic crown. It was a general boast, that one Grecian could conquer ten Persians; and the suggestions of reason tend to confirm the evidence of history. In the battles of the Greeks and Persians, victory was not obtained by the mechanical exertions



tions of distant hostility. The contest was decided by the point of the sword and spear. These weapons require activity of the limbs, steadiness of the eye, and dexterity of the hand. They improve the courage as well as the vigour of the soldier; and both were admirably promoted by the habitual exercises of the gymnasia, which inspired not only the spirit to undertake, but the ability to execute, the most dangerous and difficult enterprizes.

“The gymnastic arts encouraged other qualities still more important than bodily accomplishments and courage. Chiefly by their influence, the love of pleasure and the love of action, the two most powerful principles in the human breast, were directed to purposes not only innocent but useful. The desire of an Olympic crown restrained alike those weaknesses which form the disgrace, and those vices which form the guilt and misery, of undisciplined minds; and an object of earthly and pe-

rishtable ambition, led to the same external purity and temperance, that is recommended by the precepts, and enforced by the sanctions, of a divine and immutable religion. The oil, the crown, the robes, and the palms, compose not the only resemblance between the Christian and the Olympic victors. These visible images have been borrowed, indeed, by the sacred writers, to assist our imperfect conception of divine truths; but they have been borrowed from an institution which resembles Christianity, not in the honours and rewards which it proposed, but in the efforts and duties which it required. The ambition of honest fame taught men to controul the appetites of the body by the affections of the soul; the springs of emulation, repressed the allurements of sensuality; one dangerous passion combated another still more dangerous; and a train of useful prejudices supported the cause, and maintained the ascendant of virtue.

## INFLUENCE of their MUSICAL and POETICAL CONTESTS.

[From the same Work.]

“IN explaining the influence of the Grecian solemnities, we must not forget the musical and poetical exhibitions, which, from being employed to reward the victors in the gymnastic exercises, came to be themselves thought worthy of reward. The martial lessons of Tyrtæus and Callinus admirably conspired with the effects which have already been described, encouraging the firm and manly virtues both by the enthusiasm with which their precepts were

conveyed, and by the lively impressions which they gave of those objects for which it is important to contend. The courage depending on blood and nerves is uncertain and transitory in its existence; and even while it exists, may be indifferently employed to purposes beneficial or destructive. It belonged to the martial bards to determine its doubtful nature, to fix and illustrate its genuine motives, and to direct it to the proper objects of its pursuit.

“The



“ The musical entertainments thus strengthened, refined, and exalted the manly principles inspired by all the customs and institutions of that warlike age. But as bravery is a hardy plant that grows in every soil, the most beneficial consequence of the arts consisted in infusing a proper mixture of softness and sensibility into the Grecian character. This is well known to be their effect in every country where they are allowed to flourish. The Greeks, in a peculiar manner required their assistance; nor could it have been possible for that people, without the happy influence of the arts, to controul the barbarity naturally occasioned by their constant employment in war, the savage cruelty introduced by the practice of domestic servitude, and the intolerable ferocity which seems essentially inherent in the nature of democratical government. Amidst these sources of degeneracy and corruption, the time and application necessary to attain proficiency in the pursuits of genius, habituated the Greeks to gentle amusements, and innocent pleasures. The honours and rewards bestowed on the successful candidates for literary fame, engaged them to seek happiness and glory in the peaceful shade of retirement, as well as on the contentious theatre of active life; and the observations and discoveries occasionally suggested by the free communication of sentiment, strengthened and confirmed those happy prejudices which combat on the side of virtue, and enforce the practice of such rules of behaviour as are most useful and agreeable in society.

“ If the musical and literary

entertainments acquired such an happy influence over the moral dispositions of the heart, they produced a still more considerable effect on the intellectual faculties of the mind. It is almost impossible, in the present age, to conceive the full extent of their efficacy in improving the memory, animating the imagination, and correcting the judgment. As to the memory, indeed, there is a period in the progress of society preceding the introduction of writing, when the energies of this faculty have been exerted among many nations with a wonderful degree of force. Even among the barbarous Celtic inhabitants of our own island, the Druids could repeat an incredible number of verses, containing the knowledge of their history, laws, and religion; and a period of twenty years was required to complete the poetical studies of a candidate for the priesthood.

“ But if the Greeks are more than equalled by other nations in the exercise of the memory, they have always been unrivalled in the delicacy of their taste, and the inimitable charms of their fancy. These excellencies, whether originally produced by natural and moral causes, or more probably by a combination of both, were doubtless extended and improved by emulation and habitual exercise. To this exercise the public solemnities afforded a proper field; and, in the contests of music and poetry, were displayed the opening blossoms of Grecian genius, blossoms which afterwards ripened into those fruits of philosophy and eloquence, that will form the admiration and delight of the last ages of the world.



## CONDITION and TREATMENT of the GRECIAN WOMEN.

[From the same Work.]

“FOR reasons which will immediately appear, we have not hitherto found it necessary particularly to describe the manners and influence of the Grecian women; but the character and condition of the fair sex will throw light on the preceding observations in this chapter, and present the most striking contrast of any to be met with in history. If we knew not the consideration in which women were anciently held in Greece, and the advantages which they enjoyed at Sparta, after the laws of Lycurgus had revived the institutions of the heroic ages, we should be apt to suspect that the ungenerous treatment of the feebler sex, which afterwards so universally prevailed, had been derived from the Egyptian and Asiatic colonies, which early settled in that part of Europe. Excluded from social intercourse, which nature had fitted them to adorn, the Grecian women were rigorously confined to the most retired apartments of the family, and employed in the meanest offices of domestic oeconomy. It was thought indecent for them to venture abroad, unless to attend a procession, to accompany a funeral, or to assist at certain other religious solemnities. Even on these occasions, their behaviour was attentively watched and often malignantly interpreted. The most innocent freedom was construed into a breach of decorum; and their reputation once sullied by the slightest imprudence, would never afterwards be retrieved. If such unreasonable severities had proceeded from that absurd jealousy

which sometimes accompanies a violent love, and of which a certain degree is nearly connected with the delicacy of passion between the sexes, the condition of the Grecian women, though little less miserable would have been far less contemptible. But the Greeks were utter strangers to that refinement of sentiment which in the ages of chivalry, and which, still in some southern countries of Europe, renders women the objects of a suspicious, but respectful passion, and leads men to gratify their vanity at the expence of their freedom. Married or unmarried, the Grecian females were kept in equal restraint; no pains were taken to render them, at any one period of their lives, agreeable members of society; and their education was either entirely neglected, or confined at least to such humble objects, as instead of elevating and enlarging the mind, tended only to narrow and to debase it. Though neither qualified for holding an honourable rank in society, nor permitted to enjoy the company of their nearest friends and relations, they were thought capable of superintending or performing the drudgery of domestic labour, of acting as stewards for their husbands, and thus relieving them from a multiplicity of little cares, which seemed unworthy their attention, and unsuitable to their dignity. The whole burden of such mercenary cares being imposed on the women, the first instructions and treatment were adapted to that lowly rank, beyond which they could never afterwards



aspire. Nothing was allowed to divert their minds from those servile occupations in which it was intended that their whole lives should be spent, no liberal idea was presented to their imaginations that might raise them above the ignoble arts in which they were ever destined to labour; the smallest familiarity with strangers was deemed a dangerous offence; and any intimacy or connection beyond the walls of their own family, a heinous crime; since it might engage them to embezzle the household furniture and effects committed to their care and custody. Even the laws of Athens confirmed this miserable degradation of women, holding the security of the

husband's property a matter of greater importance than defending the wife's person from outrage, and protecting her character from infamy. By such illiberal institutions were the most amiable part of the human species insulted, among a people in other respects the most improved of all antiquity. They were totally debarred from those refined arts and entertainments, to which their agreeable qualities might have added a new charm. Instead of directing the taste and enlivening the pleasures of society, their value was estimated, like that of the ignoblest objects, merely by profit or utility. Their chief virtue was reserve, and their point of honour, œconomy.

## CHARACTER and MANNERS, of the ANCIENT WELSH.

[From Warrington's History of Wales.]

**T**HE Welsh (according to Giraldus Cambrensis, who was himself a native of the country, and wrote in a period when their native manners, were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourse) were a nation light and nimble, and more fierce than strong; from the lowest to the highest of the people they were devoted to arms, which the plowman as well as the courtier was prepared to seize on the first summons. Their chief employment in works of husbandry was, that for oats they opened the soil, once only in March and April; and for wheat or rye, they turned it up, twice in the summer, and a third time in winter, about the season of thrashing.

“The chief sustenance of this people, in respect of their food,

was cattle and oats, besides milk, cheese, and butter; though they usually ate more plentifully of flesh meat than of bread.

“As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic either by sea or land, their time was entirely employed in military affairs. They were so anxious for the preservation of their country and its liberties, that they esteemed it delightful not only to fight for them, but even to sacrifice their lives: and, agreeably to this spirit, they entertained an idea that it was a disgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field. Such was their eager courage, that although unarmed, they often dared to engage with men entirely covered with armour. And in such engagements, by their activity and valour, they usually came off



off conquerors. That their activity might not be impeded by any unnecessary incumbrance, they made use of light armour; such as smaller coats of mail, shields, and sometimes of iron greaves; their offensive weapons were arrows and long spears. Their bows were usually made of light twigs joined or twisted together, and though rude in their form, they discharged an arrow with great force. The people of North Wales were remarkable for spears so long and well pointed, that they could pierce through an iron coat of mail; the men of South Wales were accounted the most expert archers. The chieftains, when they went to war, were mounted on swift horses, bred in the country; the lower sorts of people, on account of the marshes, as well as the inequalities of the ground, marched on foot to battle; though, whenever the occasion or the place rendered it necessary for the purposes either of fighting or flying, the horsemen themselves dismounted and served on foot.

“The Welsh either went with their feet entirely bare, or they used boots of raw leather, instead of shoes, sewed together with raw skin.

“In the time of peace, the young men accustomed themselves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops of mountains; and by continuing this exercise through the day and night, they prepared themselves for the fatigues and employments of war.

“These people were not given to excess either in eating or drinking. They had no set time appointed for their meals, nor any expensive riches in their cloaths. Their whole attention was occupied in the splendid appearance of their horses and arms, in the defence of their

country, and in the care of their plunder. Accustomed to fast from morning till night, their minds were wholly employed on business, they gave up the day entirely to prudent deliberations, and in the evening they partook of a sober supper. But if, at any time, it happened, that they were not able to procure any, or only a very sparing repast, they patiently waited till the next morning; and in this situation, prevented neither by hunger nor cold, they were eager to take advantage of dark and stormy nights for hostile invasions.

“There was not a beggar to be seen among these people; for the tables of all were common to all; and with them bounty, and particularly hospitable entertainment, were in higher estimation than any of the other virtues. Hospitality, indeed, was so much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of such civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requested by travellers. As soon as they entered any house, they immediately delivered their arms into the custody of some person; then if they suffered their feet to be washed by those, who for that purpose directly offered them water, they were considered as lodgers for the night. The refusal of this offered civility, intimated their desire of a morning's refreshment only. The offer of water for the purpose of washing the feet, was considered as an invitation to accept of hospitable entertainment. The young men usually marched in parties, or in tribes, a leader being appointed to each; and as they were devoted to arms, or given up to leisure, and were courageous in the defence of their country, they were permitted to enter the house of any person with the same security as their own. The strangers who arrived



rived in the morning were entertained until the evening, with the conversation of young women, and with the music of the harp; for in this country almost every house was provided with both. Hence we may reasonably conclude, that the people were not much inclined to jealousy. Such an influence had the powers of music on their minds, that in every family, or in every tribe, they esteemed skill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning.

“In the evening, when the visitors were all come, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the persons, and the wealth of the house, on which occasion the cook was not fatigued with dressing many dishes, nor such as were high seasoned as stimulatives to gluttony; nor was the house set off with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all these things they studied nature more than she. The guests were placed by threes at supper, and the dishes at the same time were put on rushes, in large and ample platters made of clean grass, with thin and broad cakes of bread, baked every day. At the same time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities, were in waiting, the master and mistress in particular, were always standing, very attentively overlooking the whole. At length, when the hour of sleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwise along the sides of the room; a few rushes being strowed on the floor, and covered only with a coarse hard cloth, the produce of the country. The same garb that the people were used to wear in the day, served them also in the night; and this consisted of a thin mantle, and a garment or shirt worn next to the skin. The fire was kept burning

at their feet throughout the night, as well as in the day.

“The Welsh were a people of an acute and subtle genius; and to whatever studies they applied their minds, enjoying so rich a vein of natural endowments, they excelled in wit and ingenuity any other of the western nations. In civil causes and actions, they exerted all the powers of rhetoric, and, in the conduct of these, their talents for insinuation, invention, and refutation, were conspicuous. In rhythmical songs, and in extempore effusions, they excelled to a great degree, both in respect to invention and elegance of style; and for these purposes poets or bards were appointed. But beyond all other rhetorical ornaments they preferred the use of alliteration, and that kind more especially which repeats the first letters or syllables of words. They made so much use of this ornament in every finished discourse, that they thought nothing elegantly spoken without it.

“In private company, or in seasons of public festivity, they were very facetious in their conversation, to entertain the company and display their own wit. With this view, persons of lively parts, sometimes in mild and sometimes in biting terms, under the cover of a double meaning, by a peculiar turn of voice, or by the transposition of words, were continually uttering humorous, or satirical expressions.

“The lowest of the people, as well as the nobles, were indebted to nature for a certain boldness in speech, and an honest confidence in giving answers to great men on matters of business, or in the presence of princes.

“Pride of ancestry and nobility of family were points held in the highest estimation among the Welsh, and



and of course they were far more desirous of noble than of rich and splendid marriages. So deeply rooted was this spirit, that even the very lowest of the people carefully preserved the genealogy of their families, and were able from memory readily to recite the names, not only of their immediate ancestors, but even to the sixth and seventh generation, and even to trace them still farther back; in this manner, Rhys ap Griffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tewdur, ap Enion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadwal, ap Roderic the Great.

“A Welshman was considered as honourable, if among his ancestors there had been neither slave, nor foreigner, nor infamous person, yet if any foreigner had saved the life of a Welshman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalized, and was entitled to the rights of Welshmen. And any foreign family, having resided in

Wales for four generations, were also admitted to the same privileges.

“The love which they felt for family connections was eager and warm; and of consequence they were keen in their resentments, and revenged deeply any injury committed on their family either of blood or dishonour. They were vindictive and bloody in their anger; and exceedingly prompt to revenge not only recent injuries, but even those which were past and committed in a remote period. What spread still farther this spirit of revenge, was a custom prevalent among this people, of sending their children to be fostered or nursed in other families; who, in consequence, regarded themselves as interested to promote the welfare of, or revenge any injuries done to, such fostered children. This custom, it is probable principally prevailed in the families of princes and chieftains.

## MANNERS of the MODERN EGYPTIANS.

[From the First Volume of SAVARY'S LETTERS ON EGYPT.]

“**L**IFE is more a passive than an active existence at Grand Cairo. The body, during nine months of the year, is oppressed with the excessive heats. The mind partakes of this state of indolence. Far from being continually tormented by the desire of seeing, of acquiring knowledge, and of acting, it sighs after calm and tranquillity. Under a temperate sky inactivity is a pain; here, on the contrary, repose is an enjoyment. The most frequent salutation, therefore, that which is made use of on accosting, and repeated on quitting

you, is, Peace be with you! Effeminacy is born with the Egyptian, grows up with him as he advances in life, and follows him to the tomb. It is a vice of the climate. It influences his taste, and governs all his actions. It is to satisfy this disposition that the most luxurious piece of furniture in his apartment is the sofa; that his gardens have delightful shades, convenient seats, and not a single alley one can walk in. The Frenchman born in a climate, the temperature of which is continually changing, receives every instant new impressions, which



keep his soul awake. He is active, impatient, and inconstant as the air he breathes in. The Egyptian, who for two thirds of the year almost invariably experiences the same degree of heat, the same sensation, is slothful, serious, and patient.

“He rises with the sun to enjoy the coolness of the morning. He purifies himself, and goes to prayer according to the precept. He is presented with a pipe and coffee. He remains softly reposing on his sofa. His slaves, with their hands crossed on their breasts, stand in silence at the bottom of the apartment. Their eyes fixed on their master, they strive to anticipate all his wishes. His children standing in his presence, unless he gives them permission to be seated, display in all their behaviour the utmost tenderness and respect. He gravely caresses them, gives them his blessing, and sends them back to the haram. He alone interrogates, and is answered with decency. He is at once, the chief, the judge, and the pontiff of the family, which respects in him those sacred rights.

“After breakfast he applies himself to his commercial affairs, or to those of the place he occupies. As to differences, they are very rare amongst a people where the monster of chicanery is dumb, where the name of attorney is unknown, where the code of laws is confined to a few clear and well defined precepts of the Coran, and where every man is his own advocate.

“If any visitors arrive, the master of the house receives them without many compliments, but in an affectionate manner. His equals go and seat themselves by him with their legs crossed; a posture by no means fatiguing with cloaths which do not fetter the limbs.

“His inferiors are on their knees, and seated on their heels. Persons of great distinction sit on an elevated sofa, from which they overlook the company. Thus Æneas was in the place of honour in the palace of Dido, when seated on a high bed, he related to the queen the disastrous fate of Troy, reduced to ashes. As soon as every one is seated, the slaves bring pipes and coffee, and place in the middle of the chamber a pan with perfumes, the delicious vapour of which fills the whole apartment. They are next presented with sweetmeats and forget.

“The tobacco made use of in Egypt comes from Syria. It is brought in leaves, which are cut in long filaments. It has not the pungency of the American tobacco. To render it more agreeable, it is mixed with the scented wood of aloes. The pipes, usually made of jessamine tipped with amber, and frequently enriched with precious stones. As they are extremely long, the smoke one inhales is very mild. The Orientals pretend that it tickles agreeably the palate, at the same time that it gratifies the smell. The rich smoke in lofty apartments, with a great number of windows.

“Towards the conclusion of the visit, a slave, holding in his hand a silver plate, on which are burning precious essences, approaches the face of the visitors, each of whom in his turn perfumes his beard. They then pour rose-water on the head and hands. This is the last ceremony, after which it is usual to withdraw.

“The ancient custom of perfuming one's head and beard, celebrated by the royal prophet, still subsists in our days. Anacreon, the father of joy, the poet of the Graces, never ceases repeating in his odes,



"I like to perfume myself with precious essences, and to crown my head with roses."

"About noon the table is covered. A large flat plate of copper, tinned, receives the dishes. No great variety is displayed, but there is an abundance of provisions. In the middle rises up a mountain of rice boiled with poultry, seasoned with saffron and a quantity of spices. Round it are placed hashed meats, pigeons, stuffed cucumbers, delicious melons, and other fruits. Their roast meat consists of fish cut into small morsels, covered with the fat of the animal, seasoned with salt, spitted and roasted on the coals. It is tender and juicy. The guests are seated on a carpet round the table. A slave holding a basin and ewer, offers it to wash with. This ceremony is indispensable in a country where every one puts his hand into the plate, and where they are unacquainted with the use of forks. This is repeated at the end of the repast. These customs appear very ancient in the East.

"Menelaus and the beautiful Helen, after loading Telemachus and Pisistratus with presents, gave them the banquet of hospitality. "The fair Menelaus conducted his guests to the place of entertainment. He made them be seated on thrones. A female slave, carrying in her hand a golden ewer with a silver basin, offers them to wash. She places before them a polished table, on which she arranges the victuals."

"The manner in which the son of Thetis received the Grecian deputies very much resembles that of the Egyptians towards their guests.

"Achilles perceiving the deputies of the Greeks, rises up, takes them by the hand, gives them the salute, —and introduces them into his tent, where he makes them be seat-

ed on beds of repose, covered with purple tapestry.—The banquet is prepared. Automedon holds the flesh, the noble Achilles divides it into pieces, and spits them. Menetius, a mortal like unto a god, lights the fire, spreads out the coals, arranges the spits upon the cinders, and strows over them the sacred salt—Achilles, seated opposite to the divine Ulysses, shares out the victuals.—The guests put their hands to the meat that is served out to them." A poet of an inferior genius to Homer would have thought he dishonoured a poem filled with magnificent descriptions by mixing such details with them. Yet how precious are they, by making us acquainted with the simplicity of ancient manners, a simplicity lost to Europe, but which is still existing in the eastern world.

"After dinner, the Egyptians retire into their harams, where they slumber a few hours in the midst of their children and their women. It is a great article of voluptuousness with them, to have a convenient and agreeable place of repose. Mahomet, accordingly, who neglected nothing that could seduce mankind, whose wants and tastes he knew thoroughly, says to them, "The guests of Paradise shall enjoy the luxury of repose, and shall have a delicious place to sleep in at noon."

"The poor, who have neither sofa nor haram, lie down on the mat where they have dined. Thus, when Jesus Christ took the supper with his disciples, he whom he loved had his head reposed upon his bosom.

"In the evening one goes in a boat upon the water, or to breathe the cool air on the banks of the Nile, under the shade of orange and sycamore trees. Supper-time is an hour after sunset. The tables are



spread with rice, poultry, vegetables, and fruit. These aliments are wholesome during the heats. The stomach, which would reject more substantial nourishment, has occasion for them. They eat little. Temperance is a virtue of this climate.

“Such is the usual life of the Egyptians. Our places of amusement, our noisy pleasures, are unknown to them. That sameness which would be the greatest punishment to an European, appears to them delicious. They pass their

whole life in doing the same thing, in following the established customs, without desiring any thing beyond them, without extending their ideas any farther. Having neither lively appetites, nor ardent desires, they are strangers to what we call *l'ennui*; that is a torment reserved for such persons as neither being able to moderate their passions, nor to satisfy the extent of their tastes, are a burthen to themselves, *s'ennuient* wherever they are, and only live where they are not.”

## ACCOUNT of the EGYPTIAN PSYLLI.

[From the same Work.]

“YOU are acquainted with the Psylli of antiquity, those celebrated eaters of serpents, who amused themselves with the bite of vipers, and the credulity of the people. Cyrene, a town situated to the west of Alexandria, formerly a dependency of Egypt, reckoned a great many of these people among its inhabitants. You know that the unworthy Octavius, who wished to gratify his vanity by chaining Cleopatra to his triumphal car, vexed at seeing that haughty female escape from him by death, made one of the Psylli suck the wound made by the asp which bit her. The attempt was fruitless; the poison had already corrupted the mass of blood. She was not restored to life. Will you believe it, these very eaters of serpents still exist in our days. A fact to which I was a witness will convince you of it.

“Last week was celebrated the feast of Sidi Ibrahim, which drew a vast concourse of people to Ro-

setta. A Turk permitted me to come to his house to see the procession. Seated at the window, I observed attentively this new spectacle. The different bodies of artisans gravely marched along under their respective banners. The standard of Mahomet, which was carried in triumph, attracted a vast crowd. Every body was desirous of touching, of kissing it, of putting it to his eyes. Such as were fortunate enough to partake of that favour returned contented. The tumult was incessantly renewed. At length came the Cheiks, (the priests of the country) wearing long caps of leather, in the form of a mitre. They marched with solemn steps, chanting the Coran. A few paces behind them, I perceived a band of madmen, with their arms bare, and a wild look, holding in their hands enormous serpents, which were twisted round their bodies, and were endeavouring to make their escape. These Psylli, griping them forcibly



forcibly by the neck, avoided their bite, and notwithstanding their hissing, tore them with their teeth, and ate them up alive, the blood streaming down from their polluted mouths. Others of the Pfylli were striving to tear from them their prey; it was a struggle who should devour a serpent.

“The populace followed them with amazement, and believed it to be a miracle. They pass for persons inspired, and possessed by a spirit who destroys the effect of the bite of the serpent. This description, which I give you after nature,

at first frightened me, and then made me reflect on man, that strange being, for whom poison becomes food; that credulous being, whose eyes are not opened by the spectacle renewed every year; and who in the blindness of his ignorance, is ready to worship as a God, his fellow creature who has the art to impose upon his understanding. You see, those ancient usages are not lost in a country where custom, that imperious tyrant of the world, has peculiarly established her throne, and her altars.”

## ACCOUNT of the DRUSES.

[Extracted from M. RUFFIN's APPENDIX to the MEMOIRS of the Baron DE TOTT.]

“ON the coast of Syria is a nation known only by name, but which merits our serious attention.—Its laws, customs, and religion, are peculiar to itself, and form a people very different from any other with whom we are acquainted.—However obscure they may be, they, nevertheless, enjoy the inestimable blessing of liberty; which they have taken care to preserve, even though surrounded by tyranny; the glory of which circumstance alone renders them highly interesting, and worthy the attention of philosophy.

“The Druses reside upon the mountains known by the names of Lebanon and Antilebanon, separated from each other by a fertile plain of twelve or thirteen leagues in length, and four or five in breadth, divided in its whole extent by the river Kasnie, the source of which is near Balbec,

and its mouth about three miles to the north of Sour (the ancient Tyre.) Their maritime coast stretches for fifteen leagues from the river Sidon to Gebail; where begins the pachalick of Tripolis.—The country which they possess is held in fief, one part from the government of Sidon, and the other from that of Damascus; which renders them tributary to these two pachalicks.

“Their finest possessions, and those which form the principal force of their dominions, are surrounded by the Lebanon and the Kesroan, which belong to the district of Sidon; this is properly the principality of the Grand Emir, and Dair-Kamar is its capital. The annual tribute which it pays to the pacha of Sidon is 350 purses. Antilebanon, in which is situated the plain of Bekaa, is held in fief from Damascus, and forms another principality, possessed by a Drutian family



family allied to the Grand Emir. Haibeia is its capital. The same blood, the same interests, the same desire to shake off the Ottoman yoke (which they submit to with impatience) unite them on all occasions.

“The government of the Druses is feudal; a prince, ~~to whom they~~ give the title of Emir, occupies the first station in quality of lord paramount; he receives from them fealty and homage; but his power is confined within narrow limits; it extends not to making new laws, or over-awing the people.

“His finances consist only in the revenues of his personal estates, the produce of the customs, and the farm of the country appropriated to his peculiar profit.—These riches are, however, sufficient to maintain a pomp and retinue which dazzle the eyes of a people unacquainted with luxury.—Responsible to the Porte for the miri of the mountain, he is charged to exact the payment.—This tribute is assessed with equity, and without variation, on all the possessors of lands.

“Next to the emir are the great vassals; they consist of seven, among whom we distinguish three principal families, whose forces and riches might dispute for power with the reigning emir. They are the families of Chek Ali Gemilat, Keleib, and D’Abou Selame.

“These great vassals, who, in the Arabic language, are called, El Sebaa Tavaif, enjoy a noble privilege, which has never been infringed, on any occasion, not even in case of rebellion.—The emir cannot pronounce sentence of death against them; the only punishment he can inflict is to send troops to burn the house of the guilty, lay

waste his lands, and cut down his mulberry-trees, but the constitution permits him not even to attempt his liberty.

“When harmony and concord reign in these mountains, the Druses are in a condition to make themselves respected. They have often resisted, with vigour, the united forces of the pachas of Damascus, of Tripoli, and of Sidon, leagued against them by command of the Porte.

“The emirs of the Druses in general make Dair Kamar the place of their residence, a village situated in the interior parts of the mountains, ten or twelve leagues distant from Baruth. There their councils are held, and all the great affairs of the nation decided.

“The Druses have no fortress in their country; but their mountains, inaccessible and impenetrable to an enemy, are a sufficient defence. The most celebrated is that of Kesroan. This is the name of that part of Lebanon which extends from Gebail to the river of Chier, the mouth of which is four leagues from Baruth.

“The mountains of Lebanon are every where intersected by valleys, of which the labour and industry of the Druses have formed most delicious gardens.—Water melons, cucumbers, melongenes, banias, and all sorts of garden vegetables grow there, under the shade of fruit-trees of every kind, and recompence with profusion the care of the cultivator.

“The laborious Druse knows how to derive advantage from the most ungrateful soil.—He possesses not an inch of land, proper for cultivation, on which he does not attempt to raise a tree or produce some plant more useful. The stony soil is destined for the cultivation of



rye or tobacco ; and the plains for that of wheat, necessary for the support of their inhabitants. Although the Bekaa produces most abundant crops, they are nevertheless obliged to import a large quantity to supply the ordinary consumption.

“ But the principal riches of these mountains are its mulberry trees, which are every where cultivated with the greatest success.—At the latter end of Autumn they lop off all their branches, which, in the spring following, shoot out with a profusion of tender succulent leaves, on which the silk-worm feeds with rapacity.—In the interior parts of these mountains this valuable insect is nurtured within doors ; but in the territory of Baruth in the open air, under sheds, covered with briars and brambles ; the only care necessary is cleanliness.—This occupation belongs to the woman.—As they do not hatch before the end of the rainy season, and when thunder is no more heard, their general increase is prodigious.—Those brought up under the shelter of a good house produce yellow silk ; those under the sheds, white. The annual products are all collected by and in the month of August ; and in a divan or council, where the emir presides, the price of the silk is fixed, according to its plenty or scarcity and the demand of foreign markets. The price stated regulates the payment of those duties which the cultivator owes to the emir, or to his respective cheik, and which they pay, at their option, either in kind or money.—The public market is afterwards opened at Baruth, where the French merchants, established at Sidon, either go or send brokers to execute their commissions.

“ The produce of silk is amply sufficient to pay the miri to the Grand Signior ; to purchase rice and linens from Egypt, which are absolute necessities ; and to procure to the happy inhabitants, of these mountains, the several articles of pleasure and convenience with which they are supplied by the French.

“ When the harvest of silk is over, the women employ themselves in spinning cotton and raw silk, the last is sent into Egypt, the former serves to make coarse linens and dimities for common use.—This is also a branch of industry which contributes to the enjoyments of the inhabitants of these mountains.

“ The Druses are a very numerous people ; the tranquillity which they enjoy, joined to the beauty and temperature of their climate, attract, in crowds, the Christians of Syria, who fly from the tyranny of the pachas.—This nation can with ease raise 50,000 men, tolerably capable of undertaking the defence of their mountains and defiles.—But this militia, assembled in haste, and without any kind of discipline, never achieved any thing glorious whenever they left their mountains to descend into the plains, where the little order they observe gives too great an advantage to the cavalry of their enemies.

“ These armies are never any expence to the emir ; either the hope of pillage engages them to follow their leaders, or critical circumstances, such as the danger of the state, induce them to take up arms for the defence of their country. They then convoke the general assembly of the state : every cheik, whether Druse or Christian, is obliged to repair to  
the



the rendezvous, at the head of the young men of their respective villages. The Chiefs only are on horseback. Every one comes armed with a musket, a battle axe, a sabre, and a pair of pistols, and it is understood that he is to furnish himself with powder, ball, and provisions.—They encamp in the defiles through which the enemy may penetrate, and have a great advantage by the agility with which they climb the mountains, and their knowledge of the paths and remote passes.—Their provisions are but little incumbrance; they consist of bread and cheese, only, which every soldier carries in a small leathern bag hung to his side.—These numerous armies keep the field only a few days, as they are never called together till the near approach of the enemy.

“The manner of assembling them is sufficiently singular to merit being related.—The emir sends heralds to all the villages, in which they cry—“Honour calls you!” He who hastens not at the sound of his voice is a man without honour.—At this proclamation all the women of the village assemble in the market-place, and, to encourage the young men to fly to the defence of their country, they demand arms for the same purpose.

“The right of asylum is sacred amongst the Druses.—A man pursued by the vengeance of government, if he can reach the mountains, is sure of his life; neither promises nor threats can force a culprit from the hands of an emir, or cheik, who has promised him his protection.

“Hospitality is greatly honoured by this people, though they treat their guests with great parsimony.—Temperance is one of their virtues. It is customary with every family

to lay in such a stock of provisions as is necessary for the current year; and, when an unexpected guest arrives to share with them, after his departure they take care to diminish their daily consumption, till by oeconomy, they have recovered what they had expended.

“Their provisions consist, in general, of burgoo, wheat boiled, and afterwards dried in the sun, with which they make soup; a fat sheep, which they cut in very small pieces and preserve in butter, after having roasted it quite brown and crisp.—They make much use of pillaw (rice baked with butter or fat), but above all of eggs, which they dress whole, between two plates, or dishes, and which they call maklabaid. The utensil they make use of is very singular: it is a dish made of cows-dung kneaded with earth. The more it has been used the more it is held in estimation.—Amongst the furniture, which composes the marriage fortune of the girls, a dish of this kind is never wanting.

“To these essential provisions they add rice, greens, honey, and dried fruits.—They seldom eat fresh meat, as their country does not abound in pasturage for the nourishment of their flocks.

“In those villages where firewood is scarce, it is customary to supply the want of it by the dung of their domestic animals, and the truddles of their goats, which they knead up with their straw.

“Every house makes its own bread; the oven is a great earthen vessel, in which they light a fire. When it is hot, they apply to its inner edge, with a little leathern bag, a very thin cake of dough, which is baked in an instant; but this bread is good only when fresh.

“The marriage of the Druses, like



like that of the Turks, is merely civil; they contract in the same manner and under the same conditions. The cadi, or judge of the place draws up a deed, in which is specified, first, the dower which the husband gives his wife, then the sum he is to receive in case of her death or repudiation.

“ The Druses carry their precautions and jealousies to greater lengths than the other people of the East.—Their wives live very retired: even their nearest relations are excluded from their society.—They cannot legally be seen but by their fathers, brothers, and children:—Even a brother is not permitted frequently to visit his brother's wife. And, should it be proved that a girl had been inefficient in her duty, she would find no mercy: she must be sacrificed to the honour of her family.

“ The Druses apparently profess, but in their hearts detest, Mahometanism. — Interest obliges them to keep well with the Turkish government and the established religion; this forces them to have recourse to dissimulation, which may prove advantageous to them, and which their principles do not consider as illegal.

“ To judge of them by their conduct with respect to the Chris-

tians, we might be induced to believe they were not averse to Christianity; but in their hearts they abhor its dogmas and doctrines. The apparent respect they show them proceeds from their indifference for all religions, which they equally reprobate; without endeavouring to accelerate the time fixed by destiny for their total destruction.

“ The Christians enjoy amongst them the most perfect tranquillity; and there are more Christians, at present, in their principality, than Druses.—They are both governed by the same laws, and enjoy the same privileges.

“ The emirs have more confidence in the Christians than in the Druses themselves; it is from among them they chuse their stewards, their guards, and their domestic servants.—To them they entrust the education of their children.—For these reasons, the greatest part of the emirs, in secret, profess Christianity. The reigning emir Jussef is said to be a Christian.—The Druses have more than once shewn their discontent at the ascendance which the Christians have obtained in their mountains; but, being no longer the strongest, they are obliged to suppress their resentment.



# CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

## HISTORY and CHARACTER of ANCIENT COMEDY.

[From the First Vol. of GILLIES'S HISTORY of GREECE.]

“ **T**RAGEDY, the song of the goat, and Comedy, the song of the village, sufficiently indicate, by the meanness of their ancient name, the humility of their first original. They arose amidst the sacrifices and joyous festivity of the vintage, in a country which seldom adopted the amusements, any more than the arts and institutions, of others, but which was destined to communicate her own to all the civilised portion of mankind. During the entertainments of a season peculiarly dedicated to recreation and pleasure, the susceptible minds of the Greeks naturally yielded to two propensities congenial to men in such circumstances, a disposition to exercise their sensibility, and a desire to amuse their fancy. Availing himself of the former, the sublime genius of Æschylus improved the song of the goat into a regular dramatic poem, agreeing with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in those unalterable rules of design and execution which are essential to the perfection of every literary performance, yet differing from those immortal archetypes of art, in a circumstance naturally suggested by the occasion for which tragedies were composed. It had been usual with the Athenians, when they celebrated in the spring and autumn the great festivals of *Bacchus*, to personate the exploits and

fables handed down by immemorial tradition concerning that bountiful divinity; this imitation was considered as a mark of gratitude due to the beneficence of the God, to whose honours they associated the kindred worship of *Pan*, *Silenus*, and their attendant fawns and satyrs. When Æschylus represented, therefore, instead of simply reciting, the real history, or agreeable fictions of antiquity, he only adopted a mode of imitation already practised in the religious ceremonies of his country; a mode of imitation more powerful than the epic, since, instead of barely describing the deeds of gods and heroes, it shews those distinguished personages on the scene, makes them speak and act for themselves, and thus approaching nearer to reality, is still more forcible and affecting.

“ As tragedy was introduced in imitation of the more serious spectacles of the *Dionysian* festival, so comedy, which soon followed it, was owing to the more light and ludicrous parts of that solemnity. Tragedy, in the imitation of an important and serious action, adapted to effect the sensibility of the spectators, and to gratify their natural propensity to fear, to weep, and to wonder. Comedy is the imitation of a light and ludicrous action, adapted to amuse the fancy, and to gratify the natural disposition

of



of men to laughter and merriment. Terror and pity have in all ages been regarded as the main springs of tragedy, because the laws of sensibility, founded solely in nature, are always the same. Comedy has been infinitely varied by the innumerable modes of wit, humour, and ridicule, which prevail in different ages and countries, and which agree scarcely in any one particular, unless it may be reckoned an agreement, that men have seldom indulged them, except at the expence of their good-nature, and often of their virtue. The Grecian comedy was uncommonly licentious; the profligate characters of Aristophanes and his contemporaries, *Winefiochus*, *Callias*, *Eupolis*, and *Cratenus*, contributed, doubtless, to this deformity; yet these poets could not easily have rendered their new entertainment agreeable to the taste and prejudices of the public, without incorporating in them the substance of the phallic songs, which constituted an ancient and essential part of the amusements of the vintage. The fond admirers of antiquity have defended the abominable strains of these licentious poets, by pretending, that their intention was to reform vice, not to recommend it; an apology which, if admitted, might tend to exculpate the writers, but could never justify their performances, since it is known by experience, that lewd descriptions prove a poison rather than a remedy; and instead of correcting manners, tend only to corrupt them.

“ Besides the general licentiousness of the ancient comedy, its more particular characteristics resulted from the peculiar circumstances of the Athenians, during the time of its introduction and

continuance. The people of all ranks at Athens were then too deeply engaged in the military and political transactions of their country, to enjoy any amusement which did not either directly flatter their passions, or bear an immediate relation to the great and important interests of the republic. It was during the confusion and calamities of the Peloponnesian war, that all the comic pieces which remain were originally represented; a period too disorderly and tumultuous to relish comedies, such as are now written, or such as were composed in Greece by *Menander*, in an age of greater moderation and tranquillity. The elegant and ingenious, the moral and instructive strains of *Moliere* or *Menander*, may amuse the idleness of wealth, and the security of peace. But amidst the fermentation of war and danger, amidst civil dissensions and foreign invasions, the minds of men are too little at ease to enjoy such refined and delicate beauties which then appear lifeless and insipid. In such turbulent circumstances, the reluctant attention must be excited by real, instead of imaginary characters; by a true instead of a fictitious event; by direct and particular advice concerning the actual state of their affairs, instead of vague or abstract lessons of wisdom and virtue. Coarse buffoonery may often force them to laugh; delicate ridicule will seldom engage them to smile; they may be affected by the sharpness of personal invective, but will remain impenetrable to the shafts of general satire.

“ By combining the different parts of this description, we may form a tolerably exact notion of the writings of *Aristophanes*, which commonly conceal, under a thin alle-



allegorical veil, the recent history of some public transaction, or the principal features of some distinguished character, represented in such a ludicrous light as reflects on those concerned, unexpected, and often unmerited, but not therefore the less striking, flashes of insolent ridicule. Such was the nature, and such the materials of the ancient comedy, which, in its form, agreed entirely with tragedy, having borrowed from this entertainment (which was already in possession of the theatre) the distribution of the whole, as well as the arrangement of the several parts; the music, the chorus, the dresses, decorations, and machinery; all of which were so modified and burlesqued as suited the purposes of the comic writer, and often rendered his pieces little else than parodies of the more fashionable tragedies of the times.

“ This singular species of drama, which, in its less perfect state, had long strolled the villages of Attica, was simply tolerated at Athens, until the profusion of Pericles, and his complaisance for the populace,

first supplied from the exchequer the necessary expences for the representation of comedies, and proposed prizes for the comic as well as for the tragic poets and actors. But, by this injudicious encouragement, he unwarily cherished a serpent in his bosom. Aristophanes and his licentious contemporaries having previously ridiculed virtue and genius, in the persons of Socrates and Euripides, boldly proceeded to avail themselves of the natural malignity of the vulgar, and their envy against whatever is elevated and illustrious, to traduce and calumniate Pericles himself; and though his successors in the administration justly merited (as we shall have occasion to relate) the severest lashes of their invective, yet, had their characters been more pure, they would have been equally exposed to the unprovoked satire of those insolent buffoons, who gratified the gross appetites of the vulgar, by an undistinguished mass of ridicule, involving vice and virtue, things prophane and sacred, men and gods.”

## PARALLEL of the GREEK and ROMAN HISTORIANS.

[From YOUNG's HISTORY of ATHENS.]

“ QUINTILIAN hath lightly sketched a comparison between the Greek and Roman historians: he mentions Herodotus and Livy, as having equal pretensions; but surely the tales in the first book of Herodotus are not of a merit to contest the prize of history with those books of Livy which afforded a text for the famous comment of Machiavel; nor do I think

that the Greeks account of the Persian wars, is equal to the famous Decad of the Punic invasion: Polybius would, in my opinion, afford a more apposite parallel; his having written on Roman subjects no ways vitiates the propriety of comparing them, and in doing so, those who are not led away by the quaint phrase of ‘*lactea ubertas*’ applied to Livy, will admit his pretensions



to energy as well as eloquence: their style is undoubtedly different, and in this the Latin hath the better of the comparison; in other respects, to use a phrase of Quintilian, they are *'pares magis quam similes.'* Quintilian doubts not to oppose the merits of Sallust, to those of Thucydides; on this head I have my doubts; independent of his emphatic style and air of accuracy throughout, the introductory book of Thucydides is a masterpiece of recapitulation, and may be placed in parallel with the first book of Machiavel's History of Florence, the best epitome (I think) of the kind; but the preambles of Sallust, though eloquent and ingenious, are somewhat forced and inapplicable. The histories of Xenophon I read with pleasure, but cannot admit them to vie with the above authors, either of his own country, or of the Romans: I am rather inclined to allow to the latter the general palm of history. What doubts I may have, the annals and histories, and particularly the detached pieces of Tacitus are calculated to remove;—if language and sentiment suitable to each action, and concisely explanatory of motive and event, if in the words of Sallust, *'factis dicta exæquanda,'* constitute the merit in this branch of literature, who is the writer that hath given policy, facts, and character more force, and in fewer, and in better words, than Tacitus? To a proper and able reader, Tacitus explains whilst he appears simply to relate a mystery; and developes the recesses of policy and character, whilst he professes to recite merely effects and conduct.

“The military memoirs of Cæsar and of Xenophon may be considered as a distinct and new branch of literature, and may afford fresh

subject for contest and criticism: the pretensions of the Roman and Greek are respectively strong, and their different merits may afford scope to the advocate of either language or writer.

“I mean not to enter into a minute enquiry, but rather as a key to such disquisition, observe, that in the Latin work, we have the commentaries of a general, vested with a legitimate command: in the Greek, the journal of an officer in subordinate authority, though of high estimation; the speeches of the one are replete with imperatorial dignity; of the other, delivered with the conciliatory arts of argument and condescension: the oratory put into the mouth of others, is by either author happily introduced, and suited to party and to circumstance; with exception, however, to a speech of Cyrus, in the Memoirs of Xenophon, who, though in quest of the despotic crown of Persia, is made to harangue for Greece and liberty. Accounts of the face of the country, of the characters of the inhabitants, and even of very families, were collected and transmitted to the great leader in chief; and thence from Cæsar we have a curious and well authenticated detail relative to the Gauls, the Britons, and every other enemy: Xenophon is superficial with respect to any peculiarities of the nations he passed through, his mind was absorbed in the care of those under his command; but thence we are better acquainted with the Greek army than with that of Cæsar's; Cæsar's attention was ever directed to those he was to attack, to counteract, or to oppose; Xenophon's, to those he was to conduct: Cæsar is often circumstantial, but never diffuse; Xenophon, were he less eloquent, I should call



prolix, without being particular. Cæsar gives the characters of men in a display of their actions and of their speeches; it became not the dignity of the great Roman general to minutely discriminate the private merits and demerits of an individual; but Xenophon might properly descant thereon, with the nice observation of a by-stander, following the bent of philosophic enquiry: the character of Cyrus was indeed worthy the pen of Cæsar, but a detail of the virtues of Proxenus and vices of Menon, were a more proper subject for the more private writer: in his portraiture of these men, and of that of Clearchus, Xenophon has displayed the most nervous and pointed eloquence; the energy of which is a fine contrast to the easy rhetoric of the speeches, and elegant simplicity of diction in the narrative, which so singularly characterise these most beautiful

Memoirs. It may be observed, that Xenophon hath in this work artfully interspersed every circumstance which might conduce to the giving a favourable idea of his own character; —one Phalinus is introduced, deriding him for his virtue and philosophy; his happy temper and moderation are hinted at in the observation, “that he never had a dispute with any other captain but once, and that a trivial one, with Cherisophus:” the general idea of his bravery, his religion, and his eloquence, is strongly marked throughout; every speech himself makes (if I rightly remember) is evincive and effectual: the certain Athenian called Xenophon, is thus in succession vested with every accomplishment, and, through the well-wrought veil of modest phrase, is at length discoverable the arrogance of a brave and virtuous, but vain man.”

## Of the ENGLISH CONJUNCTIONS.

[FROM HORNE TOOKE'S *ENEA PTEROINTA*.]

“ B.

“ **I**N English, then, it seems those two words (IF and AN) which have been called *conditional conjunctions* (and whose *force* and *manner* of signification, as well as of all the others, we are directed by Mr. Locke to search after in “the several views, postures, stands, terms, limitations, and exceptions, and several other thoughts of the mind, for which we have *either none, or very deficient names*”) are according to you, merely the original imperatives of the *verbs* to *Give* or to *Grant*.

“ Now let me understand you.

I do not mean to divert you into an etymological explanation of each particular word of other languages, or even of the English, and so to change our conversation from a philosophical inquiry concerning the nature of language in general, into the particular business of a polyglot lexicon. But, as you have said that your principles will apply universally, I desire to know whether you mean that the *conditional conjunctions* of all other languages are likewise to be found, like *if* and *an*, in the original imperatives of some of their own or derived *verbs*, meaning to *Give*?

“ H.



“H.

“No. If that was my opinion, I know you are ready instantly to confute it by the conditionals of the Greek and Latin and Irish, the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and many other languages. But I mean that those words which are called *conditional conjunctions*, are to be accounted for in all languages in the same manner as I have accounted for *if* and *an*. Not indeed that they must all mean precisely as these two do,—*Give* and *Grant*; but some word equivalent: such as,—*Be it*, *Suppose*, *Allow*, *Permit*, *Put*, *Suffer*, &c. which meaning is to be sought for from the particular etymology of each respective language, not from some *un-named* and *unknown* “Terms, Stands, Postures, &c. of the mind.” In short, to put this matter out of doubt, I mean to discard all supposed mystery, not only about these *conditionals*, but about all those words also which Mr. Harris and others distinguish from prepositions, and call *conjunctions* of sentences. I deny them to be a separate sort of words or part of speech by themselves. For they have not a separate *manner of signification*: although they are not *devoid* of signification. And the particular signification of each must be sought for from amongst the other parts of speech, by the help of the particular etymology of each respective language. By such means alone can we clear away the obscurity and errors in which grammarians and philosophers have been involved by the corruption of some common words, and the useful abbreviations of construction. And at the same time we shall get rid of that farago of useless distinctions into *Conjunctive*, *Adjunctive*, *Disjunctive*, *Subdisjunctive*, *Copulative*, *Continuative*, *Sub-*

*continuative*, *Positive*, *Suppositive*, *Causal*, *Collective*, *Effective*, *Approbative*, *Discretive*, *Ablative*, *Presumptive*, *Abnegative*, *Completive*, *Augmentative*, *Alternative*, *Hypothetical*, *Extensive*, *Periodical*, *Motiv-  
val*, *Conclusive*, *Explicative*, *Transitive*, *Interrogative*, *Comparative*, *Diminutive*, *Preventive*, *Adequate Preventive*, *Adversative*, *Conditional*, *Suspensive*, *Conclusive*, *Illative*, *Conductive*, *Declarative*, &c. &c. &c. which explain nothing; and (as most other technical terms are abused) serve only to throw a veil over the ignorance of those who employ them.

“B.

“You mean, then, by what you have said, flatly to contradict Mr. Harris’s definition of a *Conjunction*; which he says, is—“a part of speech devoid of signification itself, but so formed as to help signification, by making two or more significant sentences to be one significant sentence.”

“H.

“I have the less scruple to do that, because Mr. Harris makes no scruple to contradict himself. For he afterwards acknowledges that *some* of them—“have a kind of obscure signification when taken alone; and appear in grammar, like zoophytes in nature, a kind of middle beings of amphibious character; which, by sharing the attributes of the higher and the lower, conduce to link the whole together.”

“Now I suppose it is impossible to convey a *Nothing* in a more ingenious manner. How much superior is this to the oracular saw of another learned author in Language (typified by Shakspeare in *Sir Topaz*) who, amongst much other intelligence of equal importance, tells us with a very solemn face, and ascribes it to Plato; that—“Every



man that opines, must opine something: the subject of opinion therefore, is not nothing." But the fairest way to Lord Monboddo is to give you the whole passage.

"It was not, therefore, without reason that Plato said that the subject of opinion was neither the *το ὄν*, or the thing itself, nor was it the *το μὴ ὄν*, or nothing; but something betwixt these two. This may appear, at first sight a little mysterious, and difficult to be understood; but, like other things of that kind in Plato, when examined to the bottom, it has a very clear meaning, and explains the nature of opinion very well: FOR, as he says, every man that opines, must opine something; the subject of opinion therefore, is not nothing. At the same time it is not the thing itself, but something betwixt the two." His lordship, you see, has explained it very clearly; and no doubt must have sweated much to get thus to the bottom.

"But Mr. Harris has the advantage of a similitude over this gentleman: and though similitudes appear with most beauty and propriety in works of imagination, they are frequently found most useful to the authors of philosophical treatises: and have often helped them out at many a dead lift, by giving them an appearance of saying something, when indeed they had nothing to say: for similitudes are in truth the bladders upon which they float; and the grammarian sinks at once if he attempts to swim without them.

"As a proof of which, let us only examine the present instance; and, dismissing the *zoophytes*, see what intelligence we can draw from Mr. Harris concerning the nature of *Conjunctions*.

"First he defines a word to be a

"*sound significant*." Then he defines *Conjunctions* to be words (i. e. *sounds significant*) "*devoid of signification*."—Afterwards he allows that they have—"a kind of signification."

"But this kind of signification is—"obscure," (i. e. a signification unknown): something I suppose (as Chillingworth couples them) like a *secret tradition*, or a *silent thunder*: for it amounts to the same thing as a *signification* which does not signify: an obscure or unknown signification being no signification at all. But, not contented with these inconsistencies, which to a less learned man would seem sufficient of all conscience, Mr. Harris goes farther, and adds, that they are a—"kind of middle beings"—(he must mean between signification and no signification)—"*sharing the attributes of both*"—(i. e. of signification and no signification) and—"conduce to link them both"—(i. e. signification and no signification) "*together*."

"It would have helped us a little, if Mr. Harris had here told us what that *middle state* is, between signification and no signification! What are the *attributes* of no signification! And how signification and no signification can be *linked together*!

"Now all this may, for ought I know, be "read and admired as long as there is any taste for *fine writing* in Britain. But with such unlearned and vulgar philosophers as Mr. Locke and his disciples, who seek not *taste* and *elegance*, but truth and common sense in philosophical subjects, I believe it will never pass as a *perfect example of analysis*;" nor bear away the palm for "*acuteness of investigation and perspicuity of explication*." For, separated from the *fine writing*, (which however



however I can no where find in the book) thus is the *Conjunction* explained by Mr. Harris. — A sound significant devoid of signification, having at the same time a kind of obscure signification; and yet having neither signification nor no signification; but a middle something between signification and no signification, sharing the attributes both of signification and no signification; and linking signification and no signification together.

“ If others, of a more elegant taste for *fine writing*, are able to receive either pleasure or instruction from such *truly philosophical language*, I shall neither dispute with them nor envy them: but can only deplore the dullness of my own apprehension, who, notwithstanding the great authors quoted in Mr. Harris’s treatise, and the great authors who recommend it, cannot help considering this “ perfect example of analysis,” as—an approved compilation of almost all the errors which grammarians have been accumulating from the time of Aristotle down to our present days, of technical and learned affectation.

“ B.

“ I am afraid, my good friend, you still carry with you your old humour in politics, though your subject is now different. You speak too sharply for philosophy. Come, confess the truth. Are not you against *authority*, because authority is against you? And does not your spleen to Mr. Harris arise principally from his having taken care to fortify his opinions in a manner in which, from your singularity, you cannot?

“ H.

“ I hope you know my disposition better. And I am persuaded that I owe your long and steady friendship to me, to the conviction which an early experience in private life afforded you, that—*neminem liben-*

*ter nominem, nisi ut laudem; sed nec peccata reprehenderem, nisi ut aliis prodessem.*—Indeed you have borne your testimony for me in very trying situations, where few besides yourself would have ventured so much honesty. At the same time, I confess, I should disdain to handle any useful truth daintily, as if I feared lest it should sting me; and to employ a philosophical inquiry as a vehicle for interested or cowardly adulation.

“ I protest to you, my notions of language were formed before I could account etymologically for any one of the words in question, and before I was in the least acquainted with the opinions of others. I addressed myself to an inquiry into their opinions with all the diffidence of conscious ignorance; and, so far from spurning authority, was disposed to admit of half an argument from a great name. So that it is not my fault, if I am forced to carry instead of following the lanthorn: but at all events it is better than walking in total darkness.

“ And yet, though I believe I differ from all the accounts which have hitherto been given of language, I am not so much without authority as you may imagine. Mr. Harris himself and all the grammarians whom he has, and whom (though using their words) he has not quoted, are my authorities. Their own doubts, their difficulties, their dissatisfaction, their contradictions, their obscurity on all these points are my authorities against them; for their system and their difficulties vanish together. Indeed unless, with Mr. Harris, I had been repeating what others have written, it is impossible I should quote any direct authorities for my own manner of explanation. But let us hear Wilkins, whose in-



dustry deserved to have been better employed, and his perseverance better rewarded with discovery ; let us hear what he says.

“ According to the true philosophy of speech, I cannot conceive this kind of words” (he speaks of Adverbs and Conjunctions) “ to be properly a distinct part of speech, as they are commonly called. But until they can be distributed into their proper places, I have so far complied with the Grammars of instituted languages, as to place them here together.”—And again,

“ For the accurate effecting of this [*i. e. a real character*] it would be necessary that the theory itself [*i. e. of language* upon which such a design were to be founded, should be exactly suited to the nature of things. But upon supposal that this theory [*viz. of language*] is defective, either as to the fulness or the order of it ; this must needs add much perplexity to any such attempt, and render it imperfect. And that this is the case with that common theory already received, need not much be doubted.

“ It appears evidently therefore that Wilkins (to whom Mr. Locke was much indebted) was well convinced that all the accounts hitherto given of language were erroneous. And in fact, the languages which are commonly used throughout the world, are much more simple and easy, convenient and philosophical, than Wilkins’s scheme for a *real character* ; or than any other scheme that has been at any other time imagined or proposed for the purpose. Mr. Locke’s dissatisfaction with all the accounts which he had seen, is too well known to need repetition.

“ Sanctius rescued *QUOD* particularly from the number of these

mysterious Conjunctions, though he left *UT* amongst them.

“ And Servius Scioppius, G. J. Vossius, Perizonius, and others, have explained and displaced many other supposed Adverbs and Conjunctions.

“ *Skinner* (though I knew it not previously) had accounted for *IF* before me, and in the same manner ; which though so palpable, *Lye* confirms and compliments. Even *S. Johnson*, though mistakenly, has attempted *AND* ; and would find no difficulty with *THEREFORE*.

“ In short, there is not such a thing as a *Conjunction* in any language, which may not, by a skilful herald, be traced home to its own family and origin ; without having recourse to contradiction and mystery with Mr. Harris : or with Mr. Locke, cleaving open the head of man to give it such a birth as *Minerva’s* from the brain of Jupiter.

“ B.

“ Call you this authority in your favour ? When the full stream and current sets the other way, and only some little brook or rivulet runs with you ? You know very well that all the authorities which you have alleged, except Wilkins, are upon the whole against you. For though they have explained the meaning, and traced the derivation of many Adverbs and Conjunctions ; yet (except Sanctius in the particular instance of *QUOD*,—whose conjunctive use in Latin he too strenuously denies) they all acknowledge them still to be *Adverbs* or *Conjunctions*. It is true, they distinguished them by the title of *reperta* or *usurpata* : but they at the same time acknowledged (indeed the very distinction itself is an acknowledgment) that there are others



others which are *real, primigenia, nativa, pura.*

“H.

“True. Because there are some, of whose origin they were totally ignorant. But has any philosopher or grammarian ever yet told us what a *real, original, native, pure* Adverb or Conjunction is? Or which of these Conjunctions of sentences are so? Whenever that is done, in *any language*, I may venture to promise you that I will shew those likewise to be *repertas* and *usurpatas*, as well as the rest: And till then I shall take no more trouble about them. I shall only add, that though *abbreviation and corruption are always busiest with the words which are most frequently in use; yet the words most frequently used are least liable to be totally laid aside.* And therefore they are often retained,—(I mean that branch of them which is most frequently used)—when most of the other words—(and even the other branches of these retained words)—are, by various changes and accident, quite lost to a language. Hence the difficulty of accounting for them. And hence (because only one branch of each of these declinable words is retained in a language) arises the notion of their being indeclinable; and a separate sort of words, or part of speech by themselves. But that they are not *indeclinable*, is sufficiently evident by what I have already said. For *IF, AN, &c.* certainly could not be called *indeclinable*, when all the other branches of those *verbs*, of which they are the regular imperatives, were likewise in use. And that the words *IF, AN, &c.* (which still retain their original signification, and are used in the very same manner and for the same purpose as formerly) should now be

called *indeclinable* proceeds merely from the ignorance of those who could not account for them; and, who therefore, with Mr. Harris, were driven to say that they have neither *meaning* nor *inflection*: whilst notwithstanding they were still forced to acknowledge (either directly, or by giving them different titles of *conditional, adversative, &c.*) that they have a “*kind of obscure meaning.*”

“How much more candid and ingenuous would it have been, to have owned fairly that they did not understand the nature of these *Conjunctions*; and, instead of wrapping it up in mystery, to have exhorted and encouraged others to a farther search.

“B.

“You are not the first person who has been misled by a fanciful etymology. Take heed that your derivations be not of the same ridiculous cast with theirs who deduced *Constantinople* from *Constantine the noble*,—*Breeches* from *bear-riches*,—*Donna* from *Dono*—and King Pepin from *δοσιπες*.

“H.

“If I have been misled, it most certainly is not by etymology: of which I confess myself to have been shamefully ignorant at the time when these my notions of language were first formed. Though even that previous ignorance is now a circumstance which confirms me much in my opinion concerning these *Conjunctions*: for I knew not even the *character* of the language from which my particular proofs of the *English* *Conjunctions* were to be drawn. And (notwithstanding lord Monboddos discouraging sneer), it was general reasoning *a priori*, that led me to the particular instances; not particular instances to the general reasoning. This etymology,



mology, against whose fascination you would have me guard myself, did not occur to me till many years after my system was settled; and it occurred to me suddenly, in this manner;—"If my reasoning concerning these Conjunctions is well founded, there must then be in the original language from which the English (and so of all other languages) is derived, literally such and such words bearing precisely such and such significations."—I was the more pleased with this suggestion, because I was entirely ignorant even of the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic characters: and the experiment presented to me a mean, either of disabusing myself from error (which I greatly feared;) or of obtaining a confirmation sufficiently strong to encourage me to believe (what every man knowing any thing of human nature will always be very backward in believing of himself) that I had really made a discovery. For if upon trial I should find in an unknown language precisely those very words both in sound, and signification, and application, which in my perfect ignorance I had foretold; what must I conclude, but either that some demon had maliciously

inspired me with the spirit of true prophecy in order the more deeply to deceive me; or that my reasoning on the nature of language was not fantastical. The event was beyond my expectation: for I instantly found upon trial, all my predictions verified. This has made me presumptuous enough to assert it universally. Besides that I have since traced these supposed unmeaning indeclinable Conjunctions with the same success in many other languages besides the English. And because I know that the generality of minds receive conviction more easily from a number of particular instances, than from the surer but more abstracted arguments of general proof; if a multiplicity of uncommon avocations and engagements (arising from a very peculiar situation) had not prevented me, I should long before this have found time enough from my other pursuits and from my enjoyments (amongst which idleness is not the smallest) to have shewn clearly and satisfactorily, the origin and precise meaning of each of these pretended unmeaning, indeclinable Conjunctions, at least in all the dead and living languages of Europe."

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### The FIRST REQUISITE of the DRAMA.

[From the INTRODUCTION to REMARKS on some of the CHARACTERS of SHAKESPEARE.]

"THE writers upon dramatic composition have, for the most part, confined their observations to the fable; and the maxims received amongst them, for the conduct of it, are therefore emphatically called, the Rules of the

Drama. It has been found easy to give and to apply them; they are obvious, they are certain, they are general: and poets without genius have, by observing them, pretended to fame; while critics without discernment have assumed



importance from knowing them. But the regularity thereby established, though highly proper, is by no means the first requisite in a dramatic composition. Even waving all consideration of those finer feelings which a poet's imagination or sensibility imparts, there is, within the colder provinces of judgment and of knowledge, a subject for criticism, more worthy of attention than the common topics of discussion: I mean the distinction and preservation of character, without which the piece is at best a tale, not an action; for the actors in it are not produced upon the scene. They were distinguished by character; all men are; by that we know them, by that we are interested in their fortunes; by that their conduct, their sentiments, their very language is formed: and whenever, therefore, the proper marks of it are missing, we immediately perceive that the person before our eyes is but supposititious. Experience has shewn, that however rigidly, and however rightly, the unities of action, time, and place have been insisted on, they may be dispensed with, and the magic of the scene may make the absurdity invisible. Most of Shakspeare's plays abound with instances of such a fascination. It is certain, too, that it is not always necessary strongly to affect, in order warmly to interest, the spectators: for many tragedies, which are not pathetic, are yet very engaging; and many comedies are amusing, though almost destitute of humour; and as to the beauties of poetry and of fancy, in some very fit subjects for a theatrical exhibition, they cannot be properly admitted; and very few absolutely require them. But variety and truth of character are indispensably necessary to all,

both to comedy and to tragedy; and none of them deserve their name any farther than this merit belongs to them. Incidents, images, passions, language, and numbers, are common to dramatic and to other compositions; they might all be introduced into the relation of an affecting story; but characters can never be perfectly exhibited, except in a drama. When they, therefore, are wanting, the want cannot be supplied, nor can it be concealed; the delusion fails, and the interest ceases; the performers can only recite, they have nothing to act: for the performance is but a dialogue, not a representation; and must be received by the disappointed spectators, at the best, with indifference.

“ By the feeble attempts which every dramatic writer makes to characterize his personages, and by the rude sketches which some critics have drawn of a few dramatic characters, the truth of these principles is acknowledged, but the extent of them is not illustrated: for general marks of distinction do not denote the individual, but only shew the class he belongs to. Men differ as much in their minds as in their faces; and to each man belong some general marks of distinction in both: his complexion is brown, or it is fair; his features are hard or soft; and there is an expression of vivacity of sensibility or of vacancy, in the construction and motion of his eyes. But faces, agreeing in many such circumstances, are not therefore, upon the whole, like to each other: nor would a picture be the portrait of any individual, to whom, in all these, and in many more particulars, it were similar, unless the painter had also caught those peculiarities of countenance, which distinguish



distinguish that person from all others who have the same cast of features, and the same tint of complexion. In like manner do the minds of men differ from each other. There are in these also general marks of distinction; quickness, or clearness, or want of apprehension; a severity or a mildness of temper; tenderness or violence in the passions. But no assemblage of these will together form the character of any individual: for he has some predominant principle; there is a certain proportion in which his qualities are mixed; and each affects the other. Those qualities check that principle; though at the same time they are themselves controuled by it: for nothing is absolutely pure and simple in his composition; and, therefore, if his peculiarities do not appear, no resemblance of him can be seen.

“The force of character is so strong, that the most violent passions do not prevail over it; on the contrary, it directs them, and gives a particular turn to all their operations. The most pathetic expressions, therefore, of the passions are not true, if they are not accommodated to the character of the person supposed to feel them; and the effect upon the spectators will be weak, when so much of the reality is wanting in the imitation. Such general expressions of the passions are, in poetry, like those which in painting are called Studies; and which, unless they are adapted to the features, circumstances, and dispositions of the several personages, to whose figures they are applied, remain mere studies still, and do not connect with the portrait or history-piece into which they are introduced.

“Yet the generality of dramatic writers, and more especially of

those who have chosen tragedy for their subject, have contented themselves with the distant resemblance, which indiscriminate expressions of passion, and imperfect, because general marks of character, can give. Elevated ideas become the hero; a professed contempt of all principles denotes a villain; frequent gusts of rage betray violence, and tender sentiments shew a mildness, of disposition. But a villain differs not more from a saint, than he does in some particulars from another as bad as himself: and the same degrees of anger, excited by the same occasions, break forth in as many several shapes, as there are various tempers. But these distinguishing peculiarities between man and man, have too often escaped the observation of tragic writers. The comic writers have, indeed, frequently caught them; but then they are apt to fall into an excess the other way, and overcharge their imitations: they do not suffer a character to shew itself, but are continually pointing it out to observation; and by thus bidding the spectator take notice of the likeness, tell him all the while that it is but a representation. The former is commonly the defect of the French tragedies, which are therefore intipid, even when they abound with poetry and passion: and the latter is a fault common in the English comedies, which makes them disgusting, though they are full of wit, good sense, and humour. The one falls short of character, the other runs into caricature; that wants resemblance, and this is mere mimickry.

“Shakespeare has generally avoided both extremes; and, however faulty in some respects, is in this, the most essential part of the drama, considered as a representation,



sentation, excellent beyond comparison. No other dramatic writer could ever pretend to so deep and so extensive a knowledge of the human heart; and he had a genius to express all that his penetration could discover. The characters, therefore, which he has drawn, are masterly copies from nature; differing each from the other, and animated as the originals, though correct to a scrupulous precision. The truth and force of the imitation

recommend it as a subject worthy of criticism: and though it admits not of such general rules as the conduct of the fable, yet every several character furnishing a variety of remarks, the mind, by attending to them, acquires a turn to such observations; than which nothing is more agreeable or more useful in forming the judgment, whether on real characters in life, or dramatic representations of them."

## Distinct CHARACTERS of MACBETH and RICHARD III.

[From the same Work.]

"A Mind so framed and so tortured as that of Macbeth, when the hour of extremity presses upon him, can find no refuge but in despair; and the expression of that despair by Shakespeare, is perhaps one of the finest pictures that ever was exhibited. It is wildness, inconsistency, and disorder, to such a degree, and so apparent, that

"Some say he's mad; others who lesser hate him,  
Do call it valiant fury: but for certain,  
He cannot buckle his distempered cause  
Within the belt of rule."

It is presumption without hope, and confidence without courage: that confidence rests upon his superstition; he buoys himself up with it against all the dangers that threaten him, and yet sinks upon every fresh alarm:

"Bring me no more reports; let them fly all:

Till Birnam wood remove to Dunfinane,  
I cannot taint with fear. What's the boy Malcolm?

Was he not born of woman? Spirits that know,

All mortal consequences, have pronounced it,

*Fear not, Macbeth! No man that's born of woman*

*Shall e'er have power upon thee.—Fly false Thanes,*

*And mingle with the English Epicures!  
The mind I sway by, and the heart I bear,*

*Shall never sag with doubt, nor shake with fear!"*

His faith in these assurances is implicit; he really is persuaded that he may defy the forces of his enemies, and the treachery of his friends: but immediately after, only on seeing a man who, not having the same support, is frightened at the numbers approaching against them, he catches his apprehension; tells him

—Those linen cheeks of thine  
Are counsellors to fear;—

and then, though nothing had happened to impeach the credit of those assurances on which he relied, he gives way to the depression of his spirits, and desponds in the midst of security:

"Take thy face hence.—Seyton! I'm sick at heart,

When



When I behold—Seyton! I say, this  
 push  
 Will cheer me ever, or disease me now.  
 I have lived long enough; my way of  
 life  
 Is fall'n into the fear, the yellow leaf."

By these reflexions, by those which follow on his uncomfortable prospect of old age, and by those which he afterwards makes on the vanity of life, when he hears that Lady Macbeth is no more, he appears to be preparing for his fate. But his seeming composure is not resignation; it is passion still; it is one of the irregularities of despair, which sometimes overwhelms him, at other times starts into rage, and is at all times intemperate and extravagant. The resolution with which he bore up against the desertion of the Thanes, fails him, upon meeting the messenger who comes to tell him the numbers of the enemy: when he receives the confirmation of that news, his dejection turns into fury, and he declares,

"I'll fight, till from my bones my flesh  
 is hack'd"

He then impetuously gives his orders to

Send out more horses; skirr the country round;

Hang those that talk of fear."—

He repeats them afterwards with impatience. Though the enemy is still at a distance, he calls for his armour; notwithstanding Seyton's remonstrance that *it is not needed yet*, he persists in putting it on; he calls for it eagerly afterwards; he bids the person who is assisting him, *dispatch*; then the moment it is on, he pulls it off again, and directs his attendants to *bring it after him*. In the midst of all this violence and hurry, the melancholy which preys upon him shews itself, by the sympathy he expresses so feelingly, when the diseased mind of Lady Macbeth is mentioned; and yet

neither the troubles of his conscience, nor his concern for her, can divert his attention from the distress of his situation. He tells her physician that *the Thanes fly from him*; and betrays to him, whose assistance he could not want, and in whom he did not mean to place any particular confidence, his apprehensions of the English forces. After he has forbid those about him to bring him any more reports, he anxiously enquires for news; he dreads every danger which he supposes he scorns; at least he recurs to his superstition, as to the only relief from his agony; and concludes the agitated scene, as he had begun it, with declaring that he

"—will not be afraid of death or bane,  
 Till Birnam forest come to Dunfinane."

At his next appearance he gives his orders, and considers his situation more calmly; but still there is no spirit in him. If he is for a short time sedate, it is because

"—he has surfeited with horrors;  
 Direness, familiar to his slaughterous  
 thoughts,  
 Cannot now start him."—

He appears composed, only because he is become almost indifferent to every thing: he is hardly affected by the death of the Queen, whom he tenderly loved: he checks himself for wishing she had lived longer; for he is weary himself of life, which in his estimation now

"Is but a walking shadow; a poor  
 player,  
 That struts and frets his hour upon the  
 stage,  
 And then is heard no more: it is a tale  
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and  
 fury,  
 Signifying nothing."—

Yet though he grows more careless about his fate, he cannot reconcile himself to it; he still flatters himself that he shall escape, even after  
 he



he has found *the equivocation of the fiend*. When Birnam wood appeared to come towards Dunfinane, he trusts to the other assurance; and believes that he

“Bears a charmed life, which must not yield  
To one of woman born.”——

His confidence however, begins to fail him; he raves as soon as he perceives that he has reason to doubt of the promises which had been made to him, and says,

“If this which he avouches does appear,  
There is no flying hence, nor tarrying here,  
I ’gin to be a weary of the sun,  
And wish the state o’ th’ world were now undone.——  
Ring the alarm bell:—Blow, wind! come, wrack!  
At least we’ll die with harness on our back.”

But sensible, at last, that he is driven to extremity, and that

“They’ve tied him to a stake; he cannot fly,  
But, bear-like, he must fight the course,”

he summons all his fortitude; and, agreeably to the manliness of character to which he had always formed himself, behaves with more temper and spirit during the battle than he had before. He is so well recovered from the disorder he had been in, that the natural sensibility of his disposition finds even in the field an opportunity to work; where he declines to fight with Macduff, not from fear, but from a consciousness of the wrongs he had done to him: he therefore answers his provoking challenge, only by saying

“Of all men else I have avoided thee:  
But get thee back; my soul is too much charg’d  
With blood of thine already.”

and then patiently endeavours to persuade this injured adversary to desist from so unequal a combat; for he is confident that it must be fatal to Macduff, and therefore tells him,

———“Thou lovest labour;  
As easy mayest thou the intrenchant air  
With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed:  
Let fall thy blade on vulnerable crests;  
I bear a charmed life.”——

But his reliance on this charm being taken away by the explanation given by Macduff, and every hope now failing him, though he wishes not to fight, yet his sense of honour being touched by the threat, to be made *the shew and gaze of the time*, and all his passions being now lost in despair, his habits recur to govern him; he disdains the thought of disgrace, and dies as becomes a soldier. His last words are

———“I will not yield,  
To kiss the ground before young Malcolm’s feet,  
And to be baited by the rabble’s curse.  
Tho’ Birnam wood be come to Dunfinane,  
And thou oppos’d being of no woman born,  
Yet will I try the last: before my body  
I throw my warlike shield: lay on, Macduff!  
And damn’d be he that first cries *Hold, enough*.”

If this behaviour of Macbeth required, it would receive illustration, by comparing it with that of Richard in circumstances not very different. When he is to fight for his crown and for his life, he prepares for the crisis with the most perfect evenness of temper; and rises as the danger thickens, into ardour, without once starting out into intemperance, or ever sinking into dejection. Though he is so far from being supported, that he



is depressed, as much as a brave spirit can be depressed, by supernatural means, and instead of having a superstitious confidence, he is threatened by all the ghosts of all whom he has murdered, that they will *fit heavy on his soul to-morrow*, yet he soon shakes off the impression they had made, and is again as gallant as ever. Before their appearance he feels a presentiment of his fate; he observes that he

—— “has not that alacrity of spirit,  
Nor cheer of mind, that he was wont to  
have:”

and upon signifying his intention of lying in Bosworth field that night, the reflexion of *where to-morrow?* occurs to him; but he pushes it aside by answering, *Well, all's one for that*: and he struggles against the lowness of spirits which he feels, but cannot account for, by calling for a bowl of wine, and applying to business. Instead of giving way to it in himself, he attends to every symptom of dejection in others, and endeavours to dispel them. He asks,

“My lord of Surry, why look you so  
sad?”

He enquires,

“Saw'st thou the melancholy lord  
Northumberland?”

and is satisfied upon being told, that he and Surry were busied in *cheering up the soldiers*. He adverts to every circumstance which can dishearten or encourage his attendants or his troops, and observes upon them accordingly. When he perceives the gloominess of the morning, and that the sun might probably not be seen that day, his observation is,

“Not shine to day? why, what is that  
to me

More than to Richmond? for the self-  
same heaven,  
That frowns on me, looks sadly upon  
him.”

He takes notice of the superiority of his numbers, he points out the circumstance that,

—“The king's name is a tower of  
strength,  
Which they upon the adverse faction  
want.”

He represents the enemy as a troop only of banditti; he urges the inexperience of Richmond; and he animates his soldiers with their

“Ancient word of courage, fair St.  
George,”

the effect of which he had before intimated to the Duke of Norfolk; when, having explained to him the disposition he intended, he asks him,

“This, and St. George to boot! what  
think'st thou, Norfolk?”

He deliberately, and after having *survey'd the vantage of the ground*, forms that disposition by himself; for which purpose he calls for ink and paper, and being informed that it is ready, directs his guard to watch, and his attendants to leave him; but, before he retires, he issues the necessary orders. They are not, like those of Macbeth, general and violent, but temperate and particular; delivered coolly, and distinctly given to different persons. To the Duke of Norfolk he trusts the mounting of the guard during the night, and bids him be ready himself early in the morning. He directs Catesby to

“Send out a pursuivant at arms  
To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring  
his power  
Before sun-rising.”

He bids his menial servants

“Saddle



“Saddle white Surry for the field to-morrow;  
Look that my staves be sound, and not too heavy.”

And instead of hastily putting on, and as hastily pulling off his armour, he quietly asks,

“What, is my beaver easier than it was?

And all my armour laid into my tent?”

directing them to come about midnight to help to arm him. He is attentive to every circumstance preparatory to the battle; and preserves throughout a calmness and presence of mind which denote his intrepidity. He does not lose it upon being told, that *the foe* vaunts in the field; but recollecting the orders he had given over night, now calls for the execution of them, by directing Lord Stanley to be sent for, and his own horse to be caparisoned. He tells the Duke of Norfolk, who is next in command to himself, the disposition he had formed; and every thing being in readiness, he then makes a speech to encourage his soldiers: but on hearing the enemy's drum, he concludes with,

“Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!

Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!

Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood;

Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!”

But even in this sally of ardour he is not hurried away by a blind impetuosity, but still gives orders and distinguishes the persons to whom he addresses them. From this moment he is all on fire; and possessed entirely with the great objects around him, others of lesser note are below his attention. Swelling himself with courage, and inspiring his troops with confidence

of victory, he rushes on the enemy. It is not a formed sense of honour, nor a cold fear of disgrace, which impels him to fight; but a natural high spirit, and bravery exulting in danger: and being sensible that the competition is only personal between him and Richmond, he directs all his efforts to the destruction of his rival; endeavours himself to single him out, and *seeking him in the throat of death, he sets his own life upon the cast*. Five times foiled in his aim, unhorsed, and surrounded with foes, he still persists to stand the hazard of the die; and having enacted more wonders than a man, loses his life in an attempt so worthy of himself.

“Thus, from the beginning of their history to their last moments, are the characters of Macbeth and Richard preserved entire and distinct: and though probably Shakespeare, when he was drawing the one, had no attention to the other; yet, as he conceived them to be widely different, expressed his conceptions exactly, and copied both from nature, they necessarily became contrasts to each other; and, by seeing them together, that contrast is more apparent, especially where the comparison is not between opposite qualities, but arises from the different degrees, or from a particular display, or total omission, of the same quality. This last must often happen, as the character of Macbeth is much more complicated than that of Richard; and, therefore, when they, are set in opposition, the judgment of the poet shews itself as much in what he has left out of the latter, as in what he has inserted. The picture of Macbeth is also, for the same reason, much the more highly finished of the two; for it required a greater variety, and a greater delicacy



delicacy of painting, to express and to blend with consistency all the several properties which are ascribed to him. That of Richard is marked by more careless strokes, but they are, notwithstanding, perfectly just. Much bad composition may indeed be found in the part; it is a fault from which the best of Shakespeare's plays are not exempt, and with which this play particular abounds; and the taste of the age in which he wrote, though it may afford some excuse, yet cannot entirely vindicate the exceptionable

passages. After every reasonable allowance, they must still remain blemishes ever to be lamented; but happily, for the most part, they only obscure, they do not disfigure his draughts from nature. Through whole speeches and scenes, character is often wanting; but in the worst instances of this kind, Shakespeare is but insipid; he is not inconsistent, and in his peculiar excellence of drawing characters, though he often neglects to exert his talents, he is very rarely guilty of perverting them."

## OF LOGIC, or the ART of REASONING.

[From SYLVA, or the Wood; being a Collection of Anecdotes, Dissertations, &c.]

"**L**OGIC, or (as it may truly be called) the art of disputing sophistically, makes a considerable part of our academical education: yet Gassendus, who was a very great *reasoner*, has attempted to prove, that it is, in truth, neither necessary nor useful. He thinks, that reason, or innate force and energy of understanding, is sufficient of itself; that its own *natural* movements, without any discipline from *art*, are equal to the investigation and settling of truth; that it no more wants the assistance of Logic to conduct to this, than the eye wants a lanthorn to enable it to see the sun: and, however he might admit as curious, he would doubtless have rejected as useless, all such productions, as Quillet's *Callipædia*, Thevenot on the *Art of Swimming*, or Borelli de *Motu Animalium*; upon the firmest persuasion that the innate force and energy of nature, when

instinct honestly does her best, is sure to attain those several objects, without any didactic rules or precepts.

"If Logic therefore be not necessary, it is probably of no great use: and indeed it has been deemed not only an impertinent but a pernicious science. "Logic," says Lord Bacon, "is usually taught too early in life. That minds, raw and unfurnished with matter, should begin their cultivation from such a science, is just like learning to weigh or measure the wind. Hence, what in young men should be manly reasoning, often degenerates into ridiculous affectations and childish sophistry." Certainly, where materials are wanting, the dispute must turn altogether upon words; and the whole will be conducted with the sleight and legerdemain of sophistry.

"Many appearances may tempt one to suspect, that the understanding,



standing, disciplined with Logic, is not so competent for the investigation of truth, as if left to its natural operations.

“A man of wit,” says Bayle, “who applies himself long and closely to logic, seldom fails of becoming a caviller; and by his sophistical subtleties perplexes and embroils the very theses he hath defended. He chuses to destroy his own works rather than forbear disputing; and he starts such objections against his own opinions, that his whole art cannot solve them. Such is the fate of those who apply themselves too much to the subtleties of dialectics.” This is the opinion of Bayle, who probably knew from feeling and experience the truth of what he said; or he was as very great logician, as well as a very great sceptic.

“Our memorable Chillingworth is another instance to prove, that Logic, instead of assisting, may possibly obstruct and hurt the understanding. Chillingworth, says Lord Clarendon, who knew him well, “was a man of great subtlety

of understanding, and had spent all his younger time in disputation; of which he arrived to so great a mastery, as not to be inferior to any man, in those skirmishes: but he had, with his notable perfection in this exercise, contracted such an irresolution and habit of doubting, that by degrees he grew confident in nothing, and a sceptic at least in the greatest mysteries of faith. All his doubts grew out of himself, when he assisted his scruples with the strength of his own reason, and was then too hard for himself.”

“To conclude—What was the meaning of that stricture upon Seneca, *Verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera*, which, according to lord Bacon, may thus be applied to the schoolmen, *Quæstionum minutiis scientiarum frangunt soliditatem*? Why, that by their *litigiosa subtilitas*, as he calls it, by their logical refinements and distinctions, they had *chopped* truth so down into mince-meat, as to leave it not only without proportion or form, but almost without substance.”

## ADVANTAGES attending QUOTATIONS.

[From the same Work.]

IN quotations, as in all other things, men have run into extremes. Some writers have quoted most abundantly, in order (as would seem) to make an ostentation of learning; with one of whom Mothe le Vayer, though himself a great quoter, appears to have been much fatigued: “God grant us,” cries he, “to become less learned,”—*Dieu vous fasse la grace de devenir moins sçavant*. Others

have scarcely quoted at all, as Locke and Hoadley, with some of an inferior kind, who perhaps have hence affected to pass for original writers, that needed no extraneous helps: and indeed, in books of mere reasoning, all quotation to many may seem impertinent.

“La Bruyere has animadverted upon the former extreme: he complains of books being crowded so with quotations, as to be hardly  
any



any thing else; of citing Ovid and Tibullus at the bar, Horace and Lucretius in the pulpit: where, says, he, "Latin and sometimes Greek are the languages chosen to entertain the women and churchwardens with." And doubtless, nothing can be more absurd and ridiculous than this; by this an author's sense, if peradventure he had any, is almost suppressed and smothered under his learning; and, as Ovid said of a girl overloaded with dress and ornament, he is so garnished out with foreign materials, as to be, in truth, the least part of himself. Mean while, as Bayle observes upon Bruyere, "it is to be feared, that the very opposite custom of not citing at all, into which we are fallen, will make learning too much despised, as a piece of furniture entirely useless." And he has elsewhere mentioned, as one principal cause of neglect in the study of the Belles Lettres, that a great many wits, real or pretended, have, with an air of disdain, run down the custom of citing Greek authors, and making learned remarks, as so much pedantry, and fit only for a college.

"It is however certain, that many pleasing as well as useful purposes may be served by quotations, judiciously made and aptly applied. It is pleasing to know, while contemplating any subject, what other writers, men of name and abilities, have thought and said upon it: and then the variety, which the frequent introduction of new personages (as I may call them) creates, will greatly contribute to enliven attention, and thereby keep off weariness and disgust. With the Greek and Latin authors the classical reader is always entertained: "Mr. Clarke's book of coins is much above my

my pitch," said the learned Markland to his friends; "but I read it with pleasure as his, and *because of the quotations from the ancients, which are numerous.*"

"But quotation is useful, as well as pleasing, to confirm and illustrate the sentiments of a writer; and especially in works like this of ours: where the great object is, not so much to teach men things of which they are ignorant, by descending in detail and at large, as to remind them of what they know; not so much to *make men read*, to borrow Montesquieu's expression, as to *make them think*. For this, the citing of authorities, and dealing in personal anecdotes and apophthegms, seem perfectly well calculated: for, however it be, men frequently pause and dwell upon *names*, who would hastily, and inadvertently skim over *things*. Nay, let the reasoning be ever so close and sound, it shall often pass for little more than declamation; while the name of some admired author, especially if he be dead, shall arrest the imagination, and make all the impression which is necessary to produce conviction.

"Again, the practice of quoting from other writers, and especially from the Greek and Roman authors of antiquity, is useful, in as much (as above hinted) it must give some countenance and sanction even to *letters themselves: letters!* neglected, declining *letters!* and with *them* declining all that is wise, and excellent, and beautiful, and polished. How would an astonished *macaroni* stare, to be assured, that the civilization of kingdoms is founded upon *letters*; and that, in proportion as these are cultivated, so is nearly the progress of mankind from their most rude and savage state, up to that perfection of elegance



gance and refinement, which beam-eth forth from his all-finished and refulgent person! I speak according to the gentleman's own idea of himself.

“ Lastly, were the practice of quoting once received and established, this great advantage would farther accrue to letters, viz. That it would reduce the bulk of scribblers, with which they are disgraced. Nothing is more common in these days, than for men to begin to write, and affect to be authors, not only before they understand Greek and Latin, but before they have any real or accurate knowledge of English. It is enough for them, if they can spell with tolerable exactness: for this accomplishment joined with such materials as Magazines, Reviews and other public prints supply, is usually the stock in trade with which authors now, as well as critics, set up. In short, writing is become a mere manual operation; and books are made every day by men without genius, without letters, who are but barely sufficient to transcribe, at the most to compile. Upon which account it might well be wished, that every one who presumes to write, especially upon matters of religion and government (for in romance and moral painting it is not necessary), should be obliged to support his

meaning, once at least with some Greek, and once with some Latin, citation; and should produce at the same time a true and well authenticated testimonial, that these citations were not furnished by another, but *bona fide* his own act and deed. A test of this sort would give a mighty check to scribbling; and save reams of paper, which are every moment going to perish—*periturae parcere chartæ*.

“ Upon the whole, therefore, let us not condemn, and affectedly avoid, the citation of authors; falsely delicate, falsely fastidious. Let us recollect, that the greatest and most respectable writers have done this: that *Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, Bacon, Montaigne, and Montesquieu*, left nothing unborrowed from others, which might serve to embellish their own writings; and that the things thus borrowed may, if skilfully applied, have not only all the energy of their old situation, but all the graces of invention in their new one. And why should they not? *there being no less wit in justly applying the thought of another, than in being the first author of that thought*. At least, so says Mr. Bayle; whom I have quoted the more freely upon this topic, because he was a very great wit, as well as a very great scholar.”

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## Of the ECCENTRICITIES of IMAGINATION.

[From the same Work.]

“ **A** Certain writer, apologizing for the irregularities of great geni, delivers himself thus: “ The gifts of imagination bring the heaviest task upon the vigilance of reason; and to bear those faculties with unerring rectitude or

invariable propriety, requires a degree of firmness and of cool attention, which doth not always attend the higher gifts of the mind. Yet, difficult as nature herself seems to have reduced the task of regularity to genius, it is the supreme



consolation of dulness to seize upon those excesses, which are the overflowings of faculties they never enjoyed.—Are not the *gifts of imagination* here mistaken for the strength of passions? Doubtless, where strong passions accompany great parts, as perhaps they often do, there imagination may increase their force and activity: but where passions are calm and gentle, imagination of itself should seem to have no conflict but speculatively with reason. There indeed it wages an eternal war; and, if not controuled and strictly regulated, will carry the patient into endless extravagancies. I use with propriety the term *patient*; because men, under the influence of imagination, are most truly distempered. The degree of this distemper will be in proportion to the prevalence of imagination over reason, and, according to this proportion, amount to more or less of the whimsical; but when reason shall become as it were extinct, and imagination govern alone, then the distemper will be madness under the wildest and most fantastic modes. Thus one of these invalids, perhaps, shall be all sorrow for having been most unjustly deprived of the crown; though his vocation, poor man! be that of a school-master. Another is all joy, like Horace's madman; and it may seem even cruelty to cure him. A third all fear; and dares not make water, lest he should cause a deluge.

“The operations and caprices of imagination are various and endless; and, as they cannot be reduced to regularity or system, so it is highly improbable that any certain method of cure should ever be found out for them. It hath generally been thought, that matter of fact

might most successfully be opposed to the delusions of imagination, as being proof to the senses, and carrying conviction unavoidably to the understanding: but I suspect, that the understanding, or reasoning faculty, hath little to do in all these cases: at least so it should seem from the two following, which are very remarkable, and well attested.

“Fienus, in his curious little book *De Viribus Imaginationis*, records from Donatus the case of a man, who fancied his body increased to such a size, that he durst not attempt to pass through the door of his chamber. The physician, believing that nothing could more effectually cure this error of imagination than to shew that the thing could actually be done, caused the patient to be thrust forcibly through it: who, struck with horror, and falling suddenly into agonies, complained of being crushed to pieces, and expired soon after.—Reason, certainly, was not concerned here.

“The other case, as related by Van Swieten, in his Commentaries upon Boerhaave, is that of a learned man, who had studied till he fancied his legs to be of glass; in consequence of which he durst not attempt to stir, but was constantly under anxiety about them. His maid, bringing some wood to the fire, threw it carelessly down; and was severely reprimanded by her master, who was terrified not a little for his legs of glass. The surly wench, out of all patience with his megrims, as she called them, gave him a blow with a log upon the parts affected: which so enraged him, that he instantly rose up, and from that moment recovered the use of his legs.—Was reason concerned any more here? or, was it not rather one blind impulse acting against another?”

ESTIMATE



## ESTIMATE of Dr. JOHNSON'S CRITICAL ABILITIES.

[From an ESSAY on his LIFE, CHARACTER, and WRITINGS.]

“MR Tyers says of Dr. Johnson, that he was fitted by nature for a critic.” That he had great powers of discrimination, and often displayed great critical abilities, must be acknowledged: but it is at the same time true, that his criticisms were very far from being always just. It may, perhaps, be doubted, whether his various personal and systematical prejudices did not, in a considerable degree, disqualify him, at least in many instances, for properly discharging the office of a judicious and impartial critic. His decisions seem to have been received with too implicit a reverence by his friends and admirers. Whatever the conceptions of Johnson were, he could express them with acuteness and with vigour; and his criticisms were often rendered important, not by the justness of the remarks which they contained, but by the strength of the language in which they were delivered. In his Lives of the Poets, he has not done justice to the productions of Hammond, Gay, or Akenfide; and his rude and arrogant criticisms on the sublime odes of Gray, can be pardoned by a reader of true poetical taste only with disgust. Nor do Johnson's remarks on Milton's Lycidas do any honour to his critical abilities. Few men of real taste have been insensible of its beauties; and Dr. Joseph Warton observes, that as “Addison says, that he who desires to know whether he has a true taste for history or not, should consider whether he is pleased with Livy's manner of telling a

story; so, perhaps it may be said, that he who wishes to know whether he has a true taste for poetry or not, should consider, whether he is highly delighted or not with the perusal of Milton's Lycidas.” But Dr. Johnson is of so different an opinion, that, after a variety of ill-grounded strictures on this piece, he says, “Surely no man could have fancied that he read Lycidas with pleasure had he not known its author.

“He appears to have had a very unreasonable and ill-founded aversion to blank verse, and a great dislike to pastoral poetry. He had, indeed, little taste for rural scenes: and when he travelled through France with Mr. Thrale, would not even look out of the windows of the carriage, to view the face of the country; and seemed to think the most pleasing prospects unworthy of his attention. Such a man, therefore, could not be expected to have a very high relish for those poetical compositions, in which the beauties of nature are described; nor could it reasonably be expected that of such compositions he would be a judicious and impartial critic.

“His life of Dr. Watts is written with great candour; and, perhaps, he might be the more inclined to do justice to that ingenious divine, though a Dissenter, not only from respect for his piety, but also from some grateful remembrance of the assistance which he had received from his works, in the compilation of his Dictionary. He has many quotations from Watts; and has incorporated into his Dic-



tionary not a few of the definitions which occur in the *Logic* of that writer. Mr. Courtenay, in the notes to his "Poetical Review of the literary and moral Character of Dr. Johnson," has given eight lines from Watts's poems as a sufficient specimen to enable the reader to judge of his poetical merit. But surely to select a few of the worst lines of an author, who wrote so much as Dr. Watts did, is not a very candid method of estimating his merit. If Mr. Courtenay, instead of the lines which he has selected, had given Dr. Watts's Ode to Lady Sunderland, its elegance and beauty would have been acknowledged by every reader of taste.

"The Life of Dr. Young, which is inserted among Dr. Johnson's biographical Prefaces, but of which he was avowedly not the author, is not favourably written. There is in it much zeal for the honour of Dr. Young's son, who appears, indeed, to have been injuriously treated; but too little regard for the honour of the father. Young had great weaknesses; but he had also considerable virtues, and great literary merit. In the life, however, which is given of him in this collection, his foibles are much more laboriously displayed than his excellencies; and if the son of Dr. Young be as dutiful as he is represented, which I am willing to believe, he cannot be much pleased at the account which is given of his father in the *Lives of the Poets*. Young is, indeed, justly censured for the many instances of adulation which occur in his writings; and his anxiety for preferment was unworthy of his character. But, in other respects, he is treated with too much severity;

and his great work, the *Night Thoughts*, surely deserved to be spoken of in better terms than those of "the mournful, angry, gloomy *Night Thoughts*." In justice to the writer of the life of Young, it should, however, be observed, that in other places he styles the *Night Thoughts* "extraordinary poems," and "ornaments to our language;" and that in some parts of this life the style and manner of Johnson are very happily imitated.

"The principal fault of Johnson, as a biographical writer, seems to have been, too great a propensity to introduce injurious reflections against men of respectable character, and to state facts unfavourable to their memory, on slight and insufficient grounds. Biographical writers in general, are charged with the contrary fault, too great a partiality in favour of the persons whose lives they undertake to relate. Impartiality should certainly be aimed at; and the truth should be given, when it can be obtained. But truth, at least the whole truth, is often not attainable; and, in doubtful cases, candour and equity seem to dictate that it is best to err on the favourable side. No benefit can be derived to the interests either of virtue, or of learning, by injurious representations of men eminent for genius and literature."

"Notwithstanding the errors, and instances of partiality and misrepresentation, which occasionally occur in the *Lives of the Poets*, they contain so many accurate and just observations on human nature, such original and curious remarks on various literary subjects, and abound with so many beauties of style, that they cannot be perused by any reader of taste without a great degree of pleasure. Be-

sides



sides their general merit as compositions, they also contain many particular passages of distinguished excellence. The character of Gilbert Walmley, in the life of Edmund Smith, is finely drawn; the account in the life of Addison, of the rise and progress of the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, and of the effects produced by those admirable essays on the manners of the nation, is just and curious; and there are many excellent observations on the modes of study, and on literary composition.

“His Review of Dr. Blackwell's *Memoirs of the court of Augustus*, which is printed in Davies's collection, is written with great asperity. Blackwell's style was indeed, in some respects, liable to just exceptions; but it seems sufficiently evident, that the high sentiments of liberty, which are displayed in Blackwell's book, was a principal cause of the extreme severity with which Dr. Johnson treated him. The Dissertation on the Epitaphs of Pope, contains many just observations: but few compositions of this kind will stand the test of so rigorous a mode of criticism.

“He could not endure even a tolerable degree of moderation in a writer, when political characters or topics were the subject of discussion. He spoke of Mr. Granger in abusive terms to Mr. Boswell, as being a Whig; though the fact was, that if Mr. Granger had any political prejudices, they were rather on the Tory side. But Mr. Granger was a very amiable man, and possessed much candour and ingenuousness of disposition. He was, therefore inclined to do justice to those who differed from him either in politics or religion; and this moderation led him to speak well

of respectable characters of different sects and parties. It was this impartiality which gave offence to Dr. Johnson.

“The style of Johnson appeared suited to his peculiar character, and mode of thinking. It seems too learned for common readers; and, on the first publication of his *Ramblers*, many complaints were made of the frequent recurrence of hard words in those essays. It was with a view to this accusation against him, that he wrote that essay in the *Idler*, which contains a defence of the use of hard words, and in which he remarks, that “every author does not write for every reader.” He was not ambitious of illiterate readers, and was willing to resign them to those writers whose productions were better adapted to their capacities. “Difference of thoughts,” says he, “will produce difference of language. He that thinks with larger extent than another, will want words of larger meaning. He that thinks more subtilty will seek for terms of more nice discrimination.” It is certain, that passages sometimes occur in his writings, which are not very intelligible to ordinary readers. Thus, in the preface to his Dictionary, he puts the following question.”

“When the radical idea branches out into parallel ramifications, how can a consecutive series be formed of senses in their nature collateral?”

“He was occasionally fond of antithesis and alliteration; and his periods are sometimes too artificial, and his phrase too remote from the ordinary idiom of our language. But, notwithstanding the peculiarity of his style, he has seldom made use of words not to be found in preceding writers. “When com-



mon words," says he, "were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I have familiarized the terms of philosophy by applying them to known objects and popular ideas; but rarely admitted any word not authorized by former writers." He considered himself as having contributed to the improvement of the English language. He says in his last Rambler, "I have laboured to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial

barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations. Something perhaps, I have added to the elegance of its construction, and something to the harmony of its cadence." Whatever may be the faults of his style, it has certainly great strength and great dignity, and his periods are often highly polished; and, perhaps, it would be difficult to point out any of his contemporaries, by whom the English language was written with equal energy."



## PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

OBSERVATIONS on the SULPHUR WELLS at HARROGATE, made in July and August, 17<sup>25</sup>. By the Right Rev. RICHARD, Lord Bishop of LANDAFF, F. R. S.

[From the LXXVI. Volume of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.]

“IN 1733, when Dr. Short first published his treatise on Mineral Waters, there were only three sulphur wells at Harrogate; there are now four. I made some enquiry respecting the time and occasion of making the fourth well, and received the following account from an old man, who was himself principally concerned in the transaction. About forty years ago, a person, who, by lease from the earl of Burlington, had acquired a right of searching for minerals in the forest of Knaresborough, made a shew as if he had a real intention of digging for coal, on the very spot where the three sulphur wells were situated. This attempt alarmed the apprehensions of the innkeepers and others at Harrogate, who were interested in the preservation of the wells: they gave him what legal opposition they could, and all the illegal that they durst. At length, for the sum of one hundred pounds, which they raised among themselves, the dispute was compromised, and the design, real or pretended, of digging for coal was abandoned. Sulphur water, however, had risen up where he had begun to dig. They inclosed the place with a little stone edifice, and putting down a basin, made a fourth well. By a clause in the act of Parliament for inclosing Knaresborough forest, passed in 1770,

it is rendered unlawful for any person whatever, to sink any pit, or dig any quarry or mine, whereby the medicinal springs or waters at Harrogate may be damaged or polluted; so that no attempts of the kind above mentioned need be apprehended in future.

“This fourth well is that which is nearest to one of the barns of the Crown Inn, being about ten yards distant from it. In digging a few years since, the foundation of that barn, they met with sulphur water in several places. At a very little distance from the four wells there are two others of the same kind; one in the yard of the Half-moon Inn, discovered in digging for common water in 1783, and another which breaks out on the side of the rivulet below that Inn. On the banks of that rivulet I saw several other sulphureous springs: they are easily distinguished by the blackness of the earth over which they flow.

“On the declivity of a hill, about a quarter of a mile to the west of the sulphur wells at Harrogate, there is a bog which has been formed by the rotting of wood: the earth of the rotten wood is in some places four feet in thickness, and there is a stratum consisting of clay and small loose decaying sand-stones, every where under it. The hill above is of grit-stone. In this bog there



there are four more sulphur-wells ; one at the top near the rails which separate the bog from the common ; and three at the bottom, though one of these, strictly speaking, is not in the bog, but at the side of it, in the stratum on which the bog is situated, and at the distance of a yard or two from a rivulet of fresh water, which runs from thence to Low Harrogate, passing close to the side, but above the level of the sulphur wells of that place. On the other side of the hill, above the bog, and to the west of it, there is another sulphur well on the side of a brook ; and it has been thought that the wells both at Harrogate and the bog are supplied from this well. In a low ground, between High Harrogate and Knaresborough, there is a sulphur well ; another to the north of it in Bilton Park, at about the distance of a mile ; and another to the south of it, at a less distance, was discovered this year in digging for common water, by a person of the name of Richardson ; and lastly there is another at a place called Hookstone Crag ; none of these last mentioned wells are above two miles distant from High Harrogate ; and by an accurate search a great many more might, probably, be discovered in the neighbourhood.

“ It is not unusual to dig within a few yards of any of these sulphur wells, and to meet with water which is not sulphureous. I ordered a well to be dug in the fore-mentioned bog, sixteen yards to the south of the sulphur well which is near the rail, and to the same depth with it ; the water with which it was presently filled was chalybeate, but in no degree sulphureous. I had another well dug, at about thirty yards distance from the three sulphur wells which are situated at the lower extremity of the

bog ; this well, by the declivity of the ground, was ten or twelve feet below their level, but its water was not sulphureous. From the first well which I dug, it is evident, that every part of the bog does not yield sulphur water ; and from the second, which was sunk in the clay, it is clear that every part of the stratum on which the bog is placed does not yield it, though one of the wells is situated in it.

“ The sulphur wells at Harrogate are a great many feet below the level of those in the bog ; but they communicate with them, if we may rely on what Dr. Short has told us.—“ That about the beginning of this century, when the concourse of people was very great to the spaw at Harrogate, one Robert Ward, an old man, made a basin in the clay under the moss of a bog where the strongest and briskest of these sulphur springs rise, and gathered half an hoghead of water at a time for the use of the poor ; but when he laded this, he almost dried the three sulphur wells at the village, whence it is evident, that all have the same origin and communicate with one another.” By conversing with some of the oldest and most intelligent people at Harrogate, I could not find that they entertained any opinion of the water at the bog having a communication with that at the spaw. This circumstance might easily be ascertained ; and if the fact should be contrary to what Doctor Short supposed, the wells at the bog ought to be covered from the weather as those at the village are ; they would by this mean yield great plenty of water for the baths, which are wanted by invalids, and which are often very scantily supplied by the wells at Harrogate, notwithstanding the attention which is used in pre-  
serving



serving the water which springs at the four wells, by emptying them as often as they become full, during both the day and night time. And indeed, it is surprising, that the well on the side of the rivulet below the Half-moon-Inn, which is so well situated for the purpose, has never been inclosed for the furnishing sulphureous water for the baths. The present mode of carrying the water in casks to the several houses where the persons lodge who want to bathe in it, is very troublesome, and the water thereby loses of its virtue. Some of the wells about the village, that for instance which has been discovered at the Half-moon-Inn, the water of which, I believe, springs from a different source from that which supplies the four sulphur wells, should be either enlarged to a greater horizontal breadth, or sunk to a greater depth, in order to try, by one or both of these ways, whether the quantity and strength of the water might not be increased; and if that it should, as it probably would be the case, one or more baths might be erected after the manner of those at Buxton and other places; or, by proper additional buildings, warm bathing in sulphureous water might be practised as is done in common water in the bagnios in London. The saltiness of the sulphureous water, if that should be thought useful, might easily be made even greater than that of sea water, by adding a quarter of a pound of common salt to every gallon of the water, used in forming a bath. The waters at Harrogate, though they have long been very beneficial, have not yet been rendered so useful to mankind as an intelligent and enterprising person might make them. The alternate strata of stone and sand, stone, and shale, which com-

pose the lower hills near the wells at Harrogate, dip very much, as may be seen in a stone quarry about two hundred yards from the wells; and the same circumstance may be observed in dry weather, in following the bottom of the brook from the village up to the bog; and hence, if there be a communication between the waters of the bog and of the village, as Dr. Short asserts, it is probable, that the same stratum of shale which is seen at the bottom of the wells at the village, breaks out again at the bog above the village, and that the water finds its way from the bog to the village through the crevices of that stratum.

“ After having observed as carefully as I could, the number and situation of the sulphur wells about Harrogate, I took notice of the temperature of the four at the village. In the month of June, 1780, when the thermometer in the shade was  $72^{\circ}$ , and the pump water at the Granby Inn, the well of which is fifty feet deep, was  $48^{\circ}$ , the strongest of the sulphur wells, being that of which invalids usually drink, was  $50^{\circ}$ . On the 29th of July, in this year, after the earth had been parched with drought for many months, the heat of the strongest well was  $54^{\circ}$ ; the water of the Granby pump was on the same day  $48^{\circ}$ , and the heat of the air in the shade  $76^{\circ}$ . Doctor Walker, who has lately written a treatise on Harrogate water, says that the heat of this spring was  $48^{\circ}$ , when that of an adjoining rivulet was  $53^{\circ}$ . And I have little doubt in believing, that if the experiment was made in cold weather, the temperature of the same well would be found to be several degrees below  $48^{\circ}$ . This variation of temperature in the sulphur water indicates its springing.



springing from no great depth below the surface of the earth; or at least it indicates its having run for a considerable distance in a channel so near to the surface of the earth, as to participate of the changes of temperature, to which that is liable from the action of the sun. But the heat of the sulphur water is not only variable in the same well, at different times, but it is not the same in all the wells at the same time. If we call the strongest well the first, and reckon the rest in order, going to the right, the third well, which is reckoned the next strongest, was  $57^{\circ}$  hot when the first was only  $54^{\circ}$ . In support of the conjecture, that the sulphur water of the strongest would in a cold season make the thermometer sink below 48, which is the constant temperature of springs situated at a great depth in the earth in this country, it may be observed, that though the first and the third well are never frozen, yet the second and the fourth well are frozen in severe weather. When the second and the fourth well are covered with ice, it is probable, that the first and the third have a temperature far below 48; but that the sea salt, which is more abundant in them than in the other two wells, and which of all salts resists most powerfully the congelation of the water in which it is dissolved, preserves them from being frozen in the coldest seasons incident to our climate.

“As the temperature of these four wells is not the same in all of them at the same time, nor invariable in any of them, so neither does there seem to be any uniformity or constancy in them, with respect to the quantity of salt which they contain. The salt with which they are all impregnated is of the same kind in all, and it is almost

wholly common salt; and though the quantity contained in a definite portion of any one of the wells is not, I think, precisely the same at all seasons of the year, yet the limits within which it varies are not, I apprehend, very great. A method is mentioned in the LXth volume of the Philosophical Transactions of estimating the quantity of common salt dissolved in water, by taking the specific gravity of the water: this method is not to be relied on, when any considerable portion of any other kind of salt is dissolved along with the sea salt; but it is accurate enough to give a good notion of the quantity contained in the different wells at Harrogate. On the 13th of August, after several days of rainy weather, I took the specific gravities of the four sulphur wells at the village, the drinking well being the first.—Rain water 1.000; first well 1.009; second well 1.002; third well 1.007; fourth well 1.002. By comparing these specific gravities with the table which is given in the LXth volume of Transactions, it may be gathered that the water of the first well contained  $\frac{1}{72}$  of its weight of common salt; that of the second and fourth  $\frac{1}{256}$ ; and that of the third  $\frac{1}{32}$ . After four days more heavy rain I tried the strongest well again, and found its specific gravity to be 1.008. It is worthy of observation, that the water, as it springs into the first and third well, is quite transparent, but usually of a pearl colour in the second and fourth, similar in appearance to the water of the first or third well after it has been exposed a few hours to the air; hence it is probable, that the external air has access to the water of the second and fourth well before it springs up into the basin. A great many authors have published accounts of the quantity



of common salt contained in a gallon of the water of the strongest well; they differ somewhat from each other, some making it more, others less than two ounces. These diversities proceed either from the different care and skill used in conducting the experiment; or from a real difference in the quantity of salt with which the water is impregnated at different seasons of the year. The medium quantity of salt contained in a gallon falls short of, I think, rather than exceeds two ounces. The sea water at Scarborough contains about twice as much salt as is found in the strongest sulphur well at Harrogate. The sulphur wells at the bog are commonly said to be sulphureous, but not saline. This, however, is a mistake; they contain salt, and salt of the same kind as the wells at the village. I could not distinguish the kind of salt by the method in which I had estimated the quantity contained in the sulphur wells; I therefore evaporated a gallon of the water of the well in the bog which is near the rails, and obtained a full ounce of common salt, of a brownish colour: the colour would have gone off by calcination. In what degree the medicinal powers of Harrogate water depends on its sulphureous, and in what degree on its saline impregnation, are questions which I meddle not with: I could only just observe on this head, that any strong sulphureous water, such as that of Keddlestone in Derbyshire, or of Shep in Westmoreland, which naturally contains little or no sea salt, may be rendered similar to Harrogate water, by dissolving in it a proper proportion of common salt. The four sulphur wells at Harrogate are very near to each other; they might be included within the circum-

ference of a circle of seven or eight yards in diameter; yet from what has been said it is evident that they have not all either the same temperature, or the same quantity of saline impregnation. This diversity of quality, in wells which have a proximity of situation, is no uncommon phenomenon; and though at the first view it seems to be surprising, yet it ceases to be so on reflexion; for the waters which feed wells so circumstanced, may flow through strata of different qualities, situated at different depths, though in the same direction; or through strata placed both at different depths, and in different directions; and that this is the case at Harrogate is probable enough, there being hills on every side of the hollow in which the village is placed.

“With respect to the sulphureous impregnation of these waters, I made the following observations.

“The inside of the basin, into which the water of the strongest well rises, is covered with a whitish pellicle, which may be easily scraped off from the grit-stone of which the basin is made. I observed, in the year 1780, that this pellicle on a hot iron burned with the flame and smell of sulphur. I this year repeated the experiment with the same success; the substance should be gently dried before it is put on the iron. I would farther observe, that the sulphur is but a small part of the substance which is scraped off. That I might be certain of the possibility of obtaining true palpable sulphur from what is scraped off from the basin, and at the same time give some guess at the quantity of sulphur contained in it, I took three or four ounces of it, and having washed it well, and dried it thoroughly by a gentle heat, I put two ounces into a clean glass retort, and



and sublimed from it about two or three grains of yellow sulphur. This sulphur, which stuck to the neck of the retort, when opened, had an oily appearance; and the retort, when opened, had not only the smell of the volatile sulphureous acid, which usually accompanies the sublimation of sulphur, but it had also the strong empyreumatic smell which peculiarly appertains to burnt oils; and it retained the smell for several days. It has been remarked before, that the salt separable from the sulphur water was of a brownish colour; and others, who have analysed this water, have met with a brown substance, which they knew not what to make of; both which appearances may be attributed to the oil, the existence of which was rendered so manifest by the sublimation here mentioned. I will not trouble the Society with any conjectures concerning the origin of this oil, or the medium of its combination with water; the discovery of it gave me some pleasure, as it seemed to add a degree of probability to what I had said concerning the nature of the air with which, in one of my Chemical Essays, I had supposed Harrogate water to be impregnated. I will again take the liberty of repeating the query which I there proposed. "Does this air, and the inflammable air separable from some metallic substances, consist of *oleaginous* particles in an elastic state?" When I ventured to conjecture, in the essay alluded to, that sulphureous waters received their impregnation from air of a particular kind, I did not know that professor Bergman had advanced the same opinion, and denominated that species of air, Hepatic-air. I have since then seen his works, and very readily give up to him not

only the priority of the discovery, but the merit of prosecuting it. And though what he has said concerning the manner of precipitating sulphur from these waters can leave no doubt in the mind of any chemist concerning the actual existence of sulphur in them; yet I will proceed to mention some other obvious experiments on the Harrogate water, in support of the same doctrine.

"Knowing that, in the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, sulphur is found sticking to the sides and top of the channel in which the sulphureous water is conveyed, I examined with great attention the sides of the little stone building which is raised over the basin of the strongest well, and saw them in some places of a yellowish colour: this I thought proceeded from a species of yellow moss, commonly found on grit-stone: I collected, however, what I could of it by brushing the sides of the building, at the distance of three or four feet from the water in the basin: on putting what I had brushed off on a hot iron, I found that it consisted principally of particles of grit-stone, evidently however mixed with particles of sulphur.

"Much of the sulphureous water is used for baths at Harrogate; and for that purpose all the four wells are frequently emptied into large tubs containing many gallons apiece; these constantly stand at the wells; and the casks, in which the water is carried to the several houses, are filled from them. On examining the insides of these tubs, I found them covered, as if painted, with a whitish pellicle. I scraped off a part of this pellicle: it was no longer soluble in water; but, being put on a hot iron, it appeared to consist almost wholly of



of sulphur. Some of these tubs have been in use many years, and the adhering crust is thick in proportion to the time they have been applied to the purpose; but the sulphur pellicle was sufficiently observable on one which was new in the beginning of this season. The water when it is first put into these tubs is transparent; when it has been exposed to the air for a few hours, it becomes milky; and, where the quantity is large, a white cloud may be seen slowly precipitating itself to the bottom: this white precipitate consists partly, I am not certain that it consists wholly, of sulphur; and the sulphur is as really contained in the waters ~~denominated~~ sulphureous, as iron is contained in certain sorts of chalybeate waters; in the one case the iron is rendered soluble in water by its being united to fixed air, or some other volatile principle; and in the other sulphur is rendered soluble in water by its being united to fixed air, or some other volatile principle: neither iron nor sulphur are of themselves soluble in water, but each of them, being reduced into the form of a salt by an union with some other substances, becomes soluble in water, and remains dissolved in it, till that other substance either escapes into the air, or becomes combined with some other body.

“About forty years ago, they took up the basin of the third well, and a credible person, who was himself present at the operation informed me, that in all the crevices of the stone on which the basin rested, there were layers of pure yellow sulphur. This I can well believe, for I ordered a piece of shale to be broken off from the bottom of the fourth well; it was split, as shale generally is into several

thin pieces, and was covered with a whitish crust. But laid on a hot iron, in a dark room, it crackled very much, and exhibited a blue flame and sulphureous smell.

“If the water happens to stand a few days in any of the wells, without being disturbed, there is found at the bottom a black sediment; this black sediment also marks the course of the water which flows from the well, and it may be esteemed characteristic of a sulphur water. The surface of the water also, when it is not stirred for some time, is covered with a whitish scum. Dr. Short had long ago observed, that both the black sediment, and the white scum, gave clear indications on a hot iron, of their containing sulphur: I know not whence it has come that his accuracy has been questioned in this point; certain I am, that on the repetition of his experiments I found them true. The white scum also, which is found sticking on the grass over which the water flows, being gently dried, burns with the flame and smell of sulphur. From what has been said it is clear, that sulphur is found at Harrogate, sticking to the basin into which the water springs; sublimed upon the stones which compose the edifice surrounding the well; adhering to the sides of the tubs in which the water stands; subsiding to the bottom of the channel in which the water runs; and covering the surface of the earth, and of the blades of grass, over which it flows. It is unnecessary to add another word on this subject; it remains that I risk a conjecture or two, on the primary cause of the sulphureous impregnation observable in these waters.

“In the Chemical Essay before referred to, I have shewn, that the  
the



air separable from the lead ore of Derbyshire, or from Black-Jack, by solution in the acid of vitriol, impregnates common water with the sulphureous smell of Harrogate water; and I have also shewn that the bladder fucus or sea-wrack, by being calcined to a certain point, and put into water, not only gives the water a brackish taste, but communicates to it, without injuring its transparency, the smell, taste, and other properties of Harrogate water. Professor Bergman impregnated water with a sulphureous taste and smell, by means of air separated by the vitriolic acid from *hepar sulphuris*, made by fusion of equal weights of sulphur and pot-ashes, and from a mass made of three parts of iron filings melted with two of sulphur; and he found also, that Black-Jack and native Siberian iron yielded hepatic air, by solution in acids. This, I believe, is the main of what is known by chemists on this subject; what I have to suggest, relative to the Harrogate waters in particular, may perhaps be of use to future enquirers.

“ I have been told, that on breaking into an old coal-work, in which a considerable quantity of wood had been left rotting for a long time, there issued out a great quantity of water smelling like Harrogate water, and leaving, as that water does, a white scum on the earth over which it passed. On opening a well of common water, in which there was found a log of rotten wood, an observant physician assured me, that he had perceived a strong and distinct smell of Harrogate water. Dr. Darwin, in his ingenious account of an Artificial Spring of Water, published in the first part of the LXXVth. Volume of the Philosophical Trans-

actions, mentions his having perceived a slight sulphureous smell and taste in the water of a well which had been sunk in a black, loose, moist earth; which appeared to have been very lately a morass, but which is now covered with houses built upon piles. In the bog or morass above mentioned there is great plenty of sulphureous water which seems to spring from the earth of the rotten wood of which that bog consists. These facts are not sufficient to make us certain, that rotten wood is efficacious in impregnating water with a sulphureous smell; because there are many bogs in every part of the world, in which no sulphureous water has ever been discovered. Nor, on the other hand, are they to be rejected as of no use in the inquiry; because wood, at a particular period of its putrefaction, or when situated at a particular depth, or when incumbent on a soil of a particular kind, may give an impregnation to water, which the same wood, under different circumstances, would not give.

“ The bilge water, usually found at the bottom of ships which are foul, is said to smell like Harrogate water; I at first supposed, that it had acquired this smell in consequence of becoming putrid in contact with the timber on which it rested, and this circumstance I considered as a notable support to the conjecture I had formed of rotten wood, being under certain circumstances, instrumental in generating the smell of Harrogate water. But this notion is not well founded; for the bilge water is, I suppose, salt water; and Dr. Short says that sea water, which had been kept in a stone bottle six weeks “ stunk not much short of Harrogate sulphur water.” It has been remarked



remarked above, that calcined sea wrack, which contains a great deal of sea salt, exhales an odour similar in all respects to that of Harrogate water; and in confirmation of the truth of this remark, I find that an author, quoted by Dr. Short, says, that "Bay salt thrice calcined, dissolved in water, gives exactly the odour of the sulphur well at Harrogate." From these experiments considered together, it may, perhaps, be inferred, that common salt communicates a sulphureous smell to water both by putrefaction and calcination. Hence some may think, that there is some probability in the supposition, that either a calcined stratum of common salt, or a putrescent salt spring may contribute to the production of the sulphureous smell of Harrogate water; especially as these waters are largely impregnated with common salt. However, as neither the salt in sea-water, nor that of calcined sea-wrack, nor calcined bay salt, are any of them absolutely free from the admixture of bodies containing the vitriolic acid, a doubt still remains, whether the sulphureous exhalation, here spoken of, can be generated from substances in which the vitriolic acid does not exist.

"The shale from which alum is made, when it is first dug out of the earth, gives no impregnation to water; but by exposure to air and moisture its principles are loosened, it shivers into pieces, and finally moulders into a kind of clay, which has an aluminous taste. Alum is an earthy salt, resulting from an union of the acid of sulphur with pure clay; and hence we are sure, that shale, when decomposed by the air, contains the acid of sulphur; and from its oily black appearance, and especially from its being in-

flammable, we are equally certain that it contains phlogiston, the other constituent part of sulphur. And indeed, pyritous substances, or combinations of sulphur and iron, enter into the composition of many, probably of all sorts of shale, though the particles of the pyrites may not be large enough to be seen in some of them; and if this be admitted, then we need be at no loss to account for the bits of sulphur, which are sublimed to the top of the heaps of shale, when they calcine large quantities of it for the purpose of making alum: nor need we have any difficulty in admitting, that a phlogistic vapour must be discharged from shale, when it is decomposed by the air. Dr. Short says, that he burned a piece of aluminous shale for half an hour in an open fire; he then powdered and infused it in common water, and the water sent forth a most intolerable sulphureous smell, the very same with Harrogate water. He burned several other pieces of shale, but none of them stunk so strong as the first. This difference may be attributed either to the different qualities of the different pieces of shale which he tried, or to the calcination of the first being pushed to a certain definite degree; for the combination of the principles on which the smell depends may be produced by one degree of heat, and destroyed by another. I have mentioned, briefly, these properties of shale, because there is a stratum of shale extended over all the country in the neighbourhood of Harrogate; several beds of it may be seen in the stone quarry above the sulphur wells; many of the brooks about Harrogate run upon shale, and the sulphur wells spring out of it. They have bored to the depth of twenty yards into this shale, in different



places, in search of coal, but have never penetrated through it. Its hardness is not the same at all depths. Some of it will strike fire, as a pyrites does with steel; and other beds of it are soft, and in a state of decomposition, and the sulphur water is thought to rise out of that shale which is in the softest state. But whatever impregnation shale when calcined, or otherwise decomposed to a particular degree, may give to the water which passes over it, it must not be concluded, that shale in general gives water a sulphureous impregnation; since there are many springs, in various parts of England, arising out of shale, in which no such impregnation is observed.

“ I forgot to mention in its proper place, that having visited the bog, so often spoken of, after a long series of very dry weather, I found its surface, where there was no grass, quite candied over with a yellowish crust, of tolerable consistency, which had a strong aluminous taste, and the smell of honey.

Bergman speaks of a turf found at Helsingberg, in Scania, consisting of the roots of vegetables, which was often covered with a pyritous cuticle, which, when elixated, yielded alum; and I make no doubt, that the Harrogate morass is of the same kind.

“ Whether nature uses any of the methods which I have mentioned of producing the air by which sulphureous waters are impregnated, may be much questioned; it is of use, however, to record the experiments by which her productions may be imitated; for though the line of human understanding will never fathom the depths of divine wisdom, displayed in the formation of this little globe which we inhabit; yet the impulse of attempting an investigation of the works of God is irresistible; and every physical truth which we discover, every little approach which we make towards a comprehension of the mode of his operation, gives to a mind of any piety the most pure and sublime satisfaction.”

The Present State of MOUNT VESUVIUS; with the Account of a Voyage to the Island of PONZA. In a Letter from Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, K. B. F. R. S. to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. P. R. S.

[ From the same Publication. ]

“ THE eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which began in the month of November, 1784, nearly at the moment of my return from England to this capital, and which continued in some degree till about the 20th of last month has afforded much amusement to travellers unacquainted with this won-

derful operation of nature, but no new circumstance that could justify my troubling you with a letter on the subject. The lava either overflowed the rim of the crater, or issued from small fissures on its borders, on that side which faces the mountain of Somma, and ran more or less in one, and at times



times in three or four channels, regularly formed, down the flanks of the conical part of the volcano; sometimes descending and spreading itself in the valley between the two mountains; and once, when the eruption was in its greatest force, in the month of November last, the lava descended still lower, and did some damage to the vineyards, and cultivated parts at the foot of Vesuvius, towards the village of St. Sebastiano; but generally the lava, not being abundant, stopped and cooled before it was able to reach the valley. By the accumulation of these lavas on the flanks of Vesuvius, its form has been greatly altered; and by the frequent explosion of scorix and ashes, a considerable mountain has been formed within the crater, which now rising much above its rim has likewise given that part of the mountain a new appearance. Just before I left Naples, in May 1783, I was at the top of Vesuvius. The crater was certainly then more than 250 feet deep, and was impracticable, its sides being nearly perpendicular. This eruption, however, has been as satisfactory as could be desired by the inhabitants of this city, a prodigious quantity of lava having been disgorged; which matter, confined within the bowels of the earth, would probably have occasioned tremors; and even slight ones might prove fatal to Naples, whose houses are, in general, very high, ill built, and a great number in almost every street already supported by props, having either suffered by former earthquakes, or from the loose volcanic soil's having been washed from under their foundations by the torrents of rain water from the high grounds which surround Naples,

and on which a great part of the town itself is built.

“ From the time of the last formidable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in August 1779 (described in one of my former communications to the Royal Society) to this day, I have, with the assistance of the Father Antonio Piaggi, kept an exact diary of the operations of Vesuvius, with drawings, shewing, by the quantity of smoke, the degrees of fermentation of the volcano; also the course of the lavas during this last eruption, and the changes that have been made in the form of the mountain itself by the lavas and scorix that have been ejected. This journal is becoming very curious and interesting; it is remarkably so with respect to the pointing out a variety of singular effects that different currents of air have upon the smoke that issues from the crater of Vesuvius, elevated more than 3600 feet above the level of the sea; but, except the smoke increasing considerably and constantly when the sea is agitated, and the wind blows from that quarter, the operations of Vesuvius appear to be very capricious and uncertain. One day there will be the appearance of a violent fermentation, and the next all is calmed again: but whenever the smoke has been attended with considerable ejections of scorix and cinders, I have constantly observed, that the lava has soon after made its appearance, either by boiling over the crater, or forcing its passage through crevices in the conical part of the volcano. As long as I remain in this country, and have the necessary assistance of the above-mentioned ingenious monk (who is as excellent a draughtsman as he is an accurate and diligent



observer) the Vefuvian diary shall be continued ; and I hope one day to have the honour of presenting these curious manuscripts (which begin now to be voluminous) to the Royal Society, if it should think them worthy of a place in the library of the Society.

“ Having never had an opportunity of examining the islands of Ponza, Palmarole, Zannone, and other small islands, or rather rocks, situated between the island of Ventotiene and Monte Circello, near Teracina, on the continent ; and thinking that by a tour of those islands I should be enabled to render my former observations more complete, and to communicate some account of the only volcanic parts of this neighbourhood hitherto undescribed, I determined to take advantage of the absence of their Sicilian majesties (who were then making the tour of Italy) and visit these islands. But before I put this plan in execution, I made a long excursion in the province of Abruzzo, as far as the lake of Celano, anciently called Fucinus, and where the famous emissary of the emperor Claudius (a most stupendous work for draining that lake) remains nearly entire, though filled up with rubbish and earth in many parts, and of course useless. The water of this lake, which is more than 30 miles in circumference, increases daily, and is destroying the rich and cultivated plains on its borders. It is surrounded by very high mountains, many of them covered with snow, and at the foot of them are many villages, and rich and well cultivated farms. Upon the whole, it is the most beautiful lake I ever saw, and would be complete, if the neighbouring mountains were better wooded. This

lake furnishes abundance of fish, but not of the best quality : a few large trout, but mostly tench, barbel, and dace. In the shallow water on the borders of the lake, I saw thousands of water snakes, pursuing and preying upon little fish like our thornbacks, but much better armed, though their defensive weapons seemed to avail them but little against such ravenous foes.

“ I went with torches into the emissary of Claudius as far as I could. It is a covered underground canal, three miles long, and great part of it cut through a hard rock ; the other part supported by masonry, with wells sunk to give air and light. According to Suetonius, Claudius employed 30 thousand men eleven years on this great work, intended to convey the superfluous water of the lake into the bed of the river Liris, now called Garigliano ; and I make no doubt, but that if it was cleared and repaired, it would again answer that purpose.

“ In its present state it is a most magnificent monument of antiquity.

“ The whole country from Arpino, the native place of Marius, by Isola, Sora, Civitella, and Capistrello, to the lake of Celano, is, in my opinion, infinitely more beautiful and picturesque than any spot I have yet seen on the Alps, in Savoy, Switzerland, or the Tyrol. The road is not passable for carriages, and indeed is scarcely so, even in summer, for horses or mules, and is often infested with banditti ; a party of which, consisting of twenty-two, had quartered themselves in a village which I passed through, and left it but a week before my arrival. There are many wolves, and some bears



in the adjacent mountains, which also commit their depredations in the winter. The tyger-cat, gatto-pardo, or lynx, is sometimes found in the woods of this part of Abruzzo.

“ The road follows the windings of the Garigliano, which is here a beautiful clear trout stream, with a great variety of cascades and water-falls, particularly a double one at Isola, near which place Cicero had a villa, and there are still some remains of it, though converted to a chapel. The valley is extensive, and rich with fruit trees, corn, vines, and olives. Large tracts of land are here and there covered with woods of oak and chestnut, all timber trees of the largest size. The mountains nearest the valley rise gently, and are adorned with either modern castles, towns, and villages, or the ruins of ancient ones. The next range of mountains, rising behind these, are covered with pines, larches, and such trees and shrubs as usually abound in a like situation: and above them a third range of mountains and rocks, being the most elevated part of the Apennine, rise much higher, and, being covered with eternal snow, make a beautiful contrast with the rich valley above mentioned; and the snow is at so great a distance, as not to give that uncomfortable chill to the air, which I have always found in the narrow vallies of the Alps and the Tyrol.

“ On the 15th of August last I went in a felucca to the island of Ischia. I have nothing to add to my former observations on this island, already communicated to the Royal Society, except that about sixty yards from the shore, at a place called St. Angelo, situated between the towns of Ischia and

Furia, a column of boiling water bubbles upon the surface of the sea with great force, and communicates its heat to the water of the sea near it; but as the wind was very high, and the surf considerable, I was not able then to examine this curious spot as I could have wished, but will return there on purpose some other time. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood told me, that it always boiled up in the same manner, winter and summer; and that it was of great use to them in bending their planks for ship-building; and that the fishermen also frequently made use of this natural cauldron to boil their fish. Though I have passed at different times many weeks in the island of Ischia, I never before heard of this phenomenon; but in my description of this island mention is made of several spots where, near the shore, I had found, when bathing in the sea, the sand under my feet so hot as to oblige me to retire hastily. This boiling spring reminds me of one near Viterbo in the Roman State, which I have seen, and is called the Bulicame. It is a circular pool of about sixty feet in diameter, and exceedingly deep, the water of which is constantly boiling. It is situated in a plain surrounded by volcanic mountains. A stony concretion floats on the surface of the pool, which being carried off by the superfluous water is deposited, and is constantly forming a labes or tuffa, of which all the soil around the pool is composed.

“ The 18th of August I arrived at the island of Ventotiene, about twenty-five miles from Ischia. It is greatly improved since my former visit, seven or eight years ago, when his Sicilian majesty first planted a little colony there. It



then produced neither corn nor wine; now it furnishes annually at least seventy butts of wine and two thousand tomoli of corn. The soil is remarkably fertile, from whence it probably took its ancient Greek name of Pandataria. This island contains at present more than three hundred inhabitants. I will mention a curious circumstance in the natural history of birds, of which I was informed by an officer of the garrison of Ventotiene who is a great sportsman, and shoots often in the island of St. Stefano, inhabited only by hawks, and a large kind of sea-gulls; but is occasionally visited, as a resting place by divers sorts of birds of passage. In the month of May great flights of quails arrive there from Africa, spent with fatigue; and many of them fall an easy prey for the hawks and sea-gulls; but, as their arrival depends upon one prevailing wind, there is often an interval of many days between one flight and another. My informer assured me, that the hawks constantly, during the flights, make a provision of each day's prey, laying them up in separate heaps of six or seven near their haunts, always feeding first upon those of the oldest date. The sea-gulls have not the same foresight, but greedily fall upon their unhappy victims in their languid state before they reach the shore, and, having beat them down into the sea, swallow numbers of them whole. Extraordinary as this may appear, yet as facts related by persons of credibility in any branch of natural history are always pleasing, I thought you would excuse this digression. Give me leave likewise to add, for the information of the curious in antiquities, that, during my stay in the island of Ventotiene,

I got out of the ruins of an elegant ancient bath (supposed to have been built for the use of Julia, daughter of Augustus, whilst she was in exile here) a fragment of a tile, on which are stamped the following characters in basso relievo,

HACINI

IVLIAI

AVGVS. F

which, according to the interpretation of a celebrated antiquary at Naples, mean *Opus Hacini ad commodum Balnei Juliae Augustae factum*. I was informed, that several entire tiles, with a like inscription, had been dug up on the same spot, and had been made use of in building the church and barracks newly erected in this island. Another fragment of a tile was likewise found here, and given to me, with the following inscription;

SAB. API,

which the same antiquary explains, *Sabinae Augustae, Pia Imperatrici dicatum Balneum*; but, I believe, there is no mention, in ancient authors of Sabina having been at Pandataria: of Julia's banishment to this island there can be no doubt.

“Between Ventotiene and the island of Ponza, and from the latter at the distance of about twelve miles, a group of rocks rise several feet above the surface of the sea. They are called the Botte, and are composed of a compact lava; probably they are the small remains of another volcanic island, the softer parts of which may have been carried off and levelled by the action of the sea, which is open and violent here.

“The 20th of August I arrived at the island of Ponza, about thirty miles from Ventotiene, and the next day I went round it in my



my boat. It is near five miles long: its greatest breadth not more than half a mile, and in some parts not more than five hundred feet. It is surrounded by innumerable detached rocks, some of them very high, and most of which are of lava; in many are regularly formed basaltes, but none in large columns. In some parts the basaltes have a reddish tint of iron ochre, are very small, and irregularly laid one over another. Some masses of them are in a perpendicular, others in an horizontal, and others again in an inclined position: and the rocks themselves, in which these masses are found, are lava of the same nature as the basaltes. At first sight these rocks have very much the appearance of the ruins of ancient Roman brick or rather tile buildings. One rock is composed of large spherical basaltes; and in many parts of the island I found the lava had inclined to take the like spherical form, though on a much smaller scale, some of the first mentioned round basaltes being near two feet in diameter. All these rocks have certainly been detached by the action of the sea from the island, which is entirely composed of volcanic matter, lava's, and tuffa's, of various qualities and tints, green, yellow, black, and white. Some of the tuffa's, as well as the lava's, are of a texture more compact than others; and in some parts of the island great tracts seem to have undergone the same operation as is in full force at a spot called the Pisciarelli; on the outside of the Solfaterra, near Puzzole, and where a hot sulphureous vitriolic acid vapour converts all which it penetrates, whether lava's, tuffa's, volcanic ashes, or pumice stones, into a pure clay,

mostly white, or with a light tint of red, blue, green, or yellow.

" In one part of the island there is a sort of tuffa, remarkably good for the purpose of building. It is as hard as our Bath stone, and nearly of the same colour, without any mixture of fragments of lava or pumice stone, which usually abound in the tuffa's in the neighbourhood of Naples, Baia, and Puzzole.

" When I was last in England, I enquired of many of the manufacturers of glass, whether it had ever happened, that the glass, cooling in their furnaces had taken any distinct forms like prisms or crystallizations; but I got no satisfactory answer until I applied to the ingenious Mr. Parker, of Fleetstreet, who not only informed me, that, some years ago, a quantity of his flint glass had been rendered unserviceable by taking such a form in cooling; but also gave me several curious specimens of the glass itself; some of them are in laminæ, which may be easily separated; and others resemble basaltic columns in miniature, having regular faces. I was much pleased with this discovery, proving to me beyond a doubt, the volcanic origin of most basaltes. Many of the rocks of lava of the island of Ponza are, with respect to their configurations, strikingly like the specimens of Mr. Parker's above mentioned glass, none being very regularly formed basaltes, but all having a tendency towards it. Mr. Parker could not account for the accident that occasioned his glass to take the basaltic forms; but I have remarked both in Sicily and at Naples, that such lavas as have run into the sea, are either formed into regular basaltes, or have a



great tendency towards such a form. The lava's of Mount Etna, which ran into the sea near Iacci, as appears in my account of them in the Campi Phlegræi, are perfect basaltés; and a lava that ran into the sea from Mount Vesuvius, near Torre del Greco, in 1631, has an evident tendency to the basaltic forms. On Mount Vesuvius, I never found any thing like columns of basaltés, except the above mentioned at Torre del Greco, and some fragments of very complete ones, which I picked up near the crater, after the eruption of 1779, and which had been thrown out of the mouth of the volcano.

“The island of Palmarole, which is about four miles from Ponza, is not much more than a mile in circumference, is composed of the same volcanic matter, and probably was once a part of Ponza; and indeed it appears as if the island of Zannone, which lies at about the same distance from the island of Ponza, was once likewise a part of the same island of Ponza; for many rocks of lava rise above water in a line between the two last mentioned islands, and the water is much shallower there than in the other parts of the gulf of Terracina.

“The island of Zannone is larger and much higher than Palmarole, and the half of the island nearest the continent is composed of a lime stone, exactly similar to that of the Apennines, on the continent near it; the other half is composed of lava's and tuffa's, resembling in every respect the soil of the other islands just described. Neither Palmarole, nor Zannone are inhabited; but the latter furnishes brushwood in abundance for the use of the inhabitants of Ponza, whose number, including the

garrison, amounts to near seven-teen hundred. The uninhabited island of St. Stefano furnishes fuel in the like manner for the inhabitants of Ventotiene.

“It is probable, that these islands and rocks may in time be levelled by the action of the sea. Ponza, in its present state, is the mere skeleton of a volcanic island, as little more than its harder vitrified parts remain, and they seem to be slowly and gradually mouldering away. Other new volcanic islands may likewise be produced in these parts.

“The gulfs of Gaeta and Terracina may, in the course of time, become another Campo Felice; for, as has been mentioned in one of my former communications on this subject, their rich and fertile plain so called, which extends from the bay of Naples to the Apennines, behind Caserta and Capua, has evidently been entirely formed by a succession of such volcanic eruptions. Vesuvius, the Solfaterra, and the high volcanic ground on which great part of this city is built, were once probably islands; and we may conceive the islands of Procita, Ischia, Ventotiene, Palmarole, Ponza, and Zannone, to be the outline of a new portion of land, intended by nature to be added to the neighbouring continent; and the Lipari islands (all of which are volcanic) may be looked upon in the same light with respect to a future intended addition of territory to the island of Sicily.

“The more opportunities I have of examining this volcanic country, the more I am convinced of the truth of what I have already ventured to advance, which is, that volcanos should be considered in a creative rather than in a destructive light. Many new discoveries



veries have been made of late years, particularly in the South Seas, of islands which owe their birth to volcanic explosions; and some, indeed, where the volcanic fire still operates. I am led to believe, that upon further examination, most of the elevated islands at a considerable distance from continents would be found to have a volcanic origin; as the low and flat islands appear in general to have been formed of the spoils of sea productions, such as corals, madrepores, &c. But I will stop here, and not deviate from the plan which I have hitherto strictly followed, of reporting faithfully to my learned brethren of the Royal Society such facts only as come immediately under my own observation, and as I think may be worthy of their notice, and leave them at full liberty to reason upon them.

“We may flatter ourselves, as a very great progress has been made of late years in the knowledge of volcanoes, that by combining such observations as we are already in possession of, with those which may be made hereafter, in the four quarters of the world (in all of which nature seems to have operated in a like manner), a much better theory of the earth may be established than the miserable ones that have hitherto appeared.

“Those who have not had an opportunity of examining a volcanic country, as I have for more than twenty years, would little suspect, that many curious productions and combinations of lava's and tuffa's were of a volcanic origin; especially when they have undergone various chemical operations of nature, some of which, as I have mentioned in a former communication as well as in this, have been capa-

ble of converting tuffa's, lava's, and pumice stone, into the purest clay.

“I have remarked, that young observers in this branch of natural history are but too apt to fall into the dangerous error of limiting the order of nature to their confined ideas: for example, should they suspect a mountain to have been a volcano, they immediately climb to its summit to seek for the crater, and if they neither find one, or any signs of lava or pumice stone, directly conclude such a mountain not to be volcanic: whereas, only suppose Mount Etna to have ceased erupting for many ages, and that half of its conical part should have mouldered away by time (which would naturally be the consequence) and the harder parts remain in points, forming an immense circuit of mountains (Etna extending at its basis more than one hundred and fifty miles); such an observer as I have just mentioned would certainly not find a crater on the top of any of these mountains, and his ideas would be too limited to conceive, that this whole range of mountains were only part of what once constituted a complete cone and crater of a volcano. It cannot be too strongly recommended to observers in this, as well as in every other branch of natural history, not to be over hasty in their decisions, nor to attribute every production they meet with to a single operation of nature, when perhaps it has undergone various, of which I have given examples in the island which has been the principal subject of this letter. That which was one day in a calcareous state and formed by an insect in the sea, becomes vitrified in another, by the action of the volcanic fire, and the addition of some natural ingredients,



ents, such as sea salts and weeds, and is again transformed to a pure clay by another curious process of nature. The naturalist may indeed decide as to the present quality of any natural production; but it would be presumption in him to decide as to its former states. As far as I can judge in this curious country, active nature seems to be constantly employed in composing, decomposing, and recomposing; but surely for all-wise and benevolent purposes, though on a scale perhaps, much too great and extensive for our weak and limited comprehension.

“ Postscript.

“ The earth is not yet so perfectly quiet in Calabria and at Messina, as to encourage the inhabitants to begin to rebuild their houses, and they continue to live in wooden barracks. There has, however, been no earthquake of consequence

during these last three months. My conjecture, that the volcanic matter (which was supposed to have occasioned the late earthquakes) had vented itself at the bottom of the sea between Calabria and Sicily, seems to have been verified; for the pilot of one of his Sicilian Majesty's sciabecques, having some time after the earthquakes cast anchor off the point of Palizzi, where he had often anchored in twenty-five fathom water, found no bottom till he came to sixty-five fathom, and having sounded for two miles out at sea towards the point of Spartivento, in Calabria, he still found the same considerable alteration in the depth of the sea. The inhabitants of Palizzi likewise declare, that during the great earthquake of the 5th of February, 1783, the sea had frothed and boiled up tremendously off their point.”

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ACCOUNT of a New ELECTRICAL FISH, in a Letter from Lieutenant WILLIAM PATERSON, to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. P. R. S.

[From the same Publication.]

“ WHILE at the island of Johanna, one of the Comora islands, in my way to the East Indies, with the 98th regiment, I met with an electrical fish, which has hitherto escaped the observation of naturalists, and seems in many respects to differ from the electrical fishes already described; which induces me to send you the following account of it, with a very imperfect drawing, and to beg that, if you think it deserves attention, you will do me the honour of presenting it to the Royal Society. The situation of a subaltern officer, in

an army upon foreign service, will, I hope, sufficiently apologize for my sending you so very imperfect a sketch of the fish, which was made in the field, in a hot climate, under every disadvantage.

“ The fish is seven inches long, two inches and a half broad, has a long projecting mouth, and seems to be of the genus *Tetrodon*. The back of the fish is a dark brown colour, the belly part of sea-green, the sides yellow, and the fins and tail of a sandy green. The body is interspersed with red, green, and white spots, the white ones particularly



particularly bright; the eyes large, the iris red, its outer edge tinged with yellow.

“The island of Johanna is situated in latitude  $12^{\circ} 13'$  south. The coast is wholly composed of coral rocks, which are in many places hollowed by the sea. In these cavities I found several of the electrical fishes. The water is about  $56^{\circ}$  or  $60^{\circ}$  of heat of Fahrenheit's thermometer. I caught two of them in a linen bag, closed up at one end, and open at the other. In attempting to take one of them in my hand, it gave me so severe an electrical shock, that I was obliged to quit my hold. I however secured them both in the linen bag, and carried them to the camp, which was about two miles distant. Upon my arrival there, one of them was found to be dead, and the other in a very weak state, which

made me anxious to prove by the evidence of others, that it possessed the powers of electricity, while it was yet alive. I had it put into a tub of water, and desired the surgeon of the regiment to lay hold of it between his hands; upon doing which he received an evident electrical stroke. Afterwards the adjutant touched it with his finger upon the back, and felt a very slight shock, but sufficiently strong to ascertain the fact.

After so very imperfect an account, I will not trouble you with any observations of my own upon this singular fish; but beg you will consider this only as a direction to others, who may hereafter visit that island, and from their situation, and knowledge in natural history, may be better able to describe the fish, and give an account of its electrical organs.”

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ADVERTISEMENT of the expected RETURN of the COMET of 1532 and 1661, in the Year 1788. By the Rev. NEVIL MASKELYNE, D. D. F. R. S. and Astronomer Royal.

[ From the same Publication. ]

THE comet of 1531, 1607, and 1682, having returned in the year 1759, according to Dr. Halley's prediction in his *Synopsis Astronomiæ Cometicæ*, first published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1705, and re-published with his *Astronomical Tables* in 1749, there is no reason to doubt that all the other comets will return after their proper periods, according to the remark of the same author.

“In the first edition of the *Synopsis* he supposed the comets of 1532 and 1661, from the similarity

of the elements of their orbits, to be one and the same; but in the second edition he has seemed to lessen the weight of his first conjecture by not repeating it. Probably he thought it best to establish this new point in astronomy, the doctrine of the revolution of comets in elliptic orbits, as all philosophical matters in the beginning should be, on the most certain grounds; and feared that the vague observations of the comet, made by Appian in 1532, might rather detract from, than add to, the evidence arising from more certain data.



data. Astronomers, however, have generally acquiesced in his first conjecture of the comets of 1532 and 1661 being one and the same, and to expect its return to its perihelium accordingly in 1789.

“ The interval between the passages of the comet by the perihelium in 1532 and 1661 is 128 years, 89 days, 1 hour, 29 minutes (32 of the years being biffextile), which added to the time of the perihelium in 1661, together with 11 days to reduce it from the Julian to the Gregorian style, which we now use, brings out the expected time of the next perihelium to be April 27th, 1 h. 10' in the year 1789.

“ The periodic times of the comet, which appeared in 1531, 1607, and 1682, having been of 76 and 75 years alternately, Dr. Halley supposed that the subsequent period would be of 76 years, and that it would return in the year 1758; but upon considering its near approach to Jupiter, in its descent towards the sun in the summer of 1681, he found, that the action of Jupiter upon the comet was, for several months together, equal to one-fiftieth part of the sun upon it, tending to increase the inclination of the orbit to the plane of the ecliptic, and lengthen the periodic time. Accordingly, the inclination of the orbit was found by the observations made in the following year 1682 to be 22' greater than in the year 1607. The effect of the augmentation of the periodic time could not be seen till the next return, which he supposed would be protracted by Jupiter's action to the latter end of the year 1758, or the beginning of 1759. M. Clairaut, previous to its return, took the pains to calculate the actions both of Jupiter

and Saturn on it during the whole periods from 1607 to 1682, and from 1682 to 1759, and thence predicted its return to its perihelium by the middle of April; it came about the middle of March, only a month sooner, which was a sufficient approximation to the truth in so delicate a matter, and did honour to this great mathematician, and his laborious calculations.

“ The comet in question is also, from the position of its orbit, liable to be much disturbed both by Jupiter and Saturn, particularly in its ascent from the sun after passing its perihelium, if they should happen to be near it, when it approaches to or crosses their orbits; because it is very near the plane of them at that time. When it passed the orbit of Jupiter in the beginning of February 1682, O. S. it was  $50^{\circ}$  in consequentia of that planet; and when it passed the orbit of Saturn in the beginning of October 1663, it was  $17^{\circ}$  in consequentia of it. Hence its motion would be accelerated while it was approaching towards the orbit of either planet by its separate action, and retarded when it had passed its orbit; but, as it would be subjected to the effect of retardation through a greater part of its orbit than to that of acceleration, the former would exceed the latter, and consequently the periodic time would be shortened; but probably not much, on account of the considerable distance of the comet from the planets when it passed by them; and therefore we may still expect it to return to its perihelium in the beginning of the year 1789, or the latter end of the year 1788, and certainly some time before the 27th of April 1789. But of this we shall be better informed after



er the end of this year, from the answers to the prize question proposed by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, to compute the perturbances of the comet of 1532 and 1661, and thence to predict its turn.

“ If it should come to its perihelium on the 1st of January 1789, might probably be visible, with good acromatic telescope, in its ascent to the sun, the middle of September 1788, and sooner or later according as its perihelium could be sooner or later. It will approach us from the southern parts of its orbit, and therefore will first appear with considerable south latitude and south declination; so that persons residing nearer the equator than we do, or in south latitude, will have an opportunity of discovering it before us. It is to be wished that it may be first seen by some astronomer in such a situation, and furnished with proper instruments for settling its place in the heavens, the earliest good observations being most valuable for determining its elliptic orbit, and proving its identity with the comets of 1532 and 1661. The Cape of Good Hope would be an excellent situation for this purpose.

“ In order to assist astronomers looking out for this comet, I have here given its heliocentric

and geocentric longitudes and latitudes and correspondent distances from the sun and earth, on supposition that it shall come to its perihelium on January 1st, 1789. But if that should happen sooner or later, the heliocentric longitudes and latitudes and distances from the sun will stand good, if applied to days, as much earlier or later as the time of the perihelium may happen sooner or later; and the geocentric longitudes and latitudes and distances from the earth must be recomputed accordingly. The calculations are made for a parabolic orbit from the elements determined by Dr. Halley from Hevelius's observations in 1661, only allowing for the precession of the equinoxes. The elements made use of were as follows:

Time of perihelium January 1, 1789, at noon.

Perihelium distance, 0,44851.

Place of ascending node  $2^{\circ} 24' 18''$ .

Inclination of orbit to the ecliptic  $32^{\circ} 36'$ .

Perihelium forwarder in orbit than the ascending node  $33^{\circ} 28'$ .

Its motion is direct.

In the following table are set down the computed places of the comet, on supposition that it shall return to its perihelium January 1, 1789, at noon.



[110] PRIMARY NOTIONS of the MATTER of FIRE.

Times.	Dist. from ☉	Dist. from the earth.	Heliocen- tric lon- gitude.	Helio- centric latitude.	Geocen- tric lon- gitude.	Geocen- tric latitude.	Product of distances from ☉ and earth.
1788.			S. D. M.	D. M.	S. D. M.	D. M.	
Apr. 23, 7	4, 0	4,52	11 3 54	30 56S	11 16 30	27 58	18,07
June 4, 1	3, 5	3,54	11 7 6	31 25	11 26 31	31 4	12,38
July 14, 5	3,	2,57	11 11 16	31 55	0 3 21	38 11	7,70
Aug. 2, 46	2,75	2,15	11 13 47	32 10	0 4 8	42 59	5,90
— 20, 43	2, 5	1,79	11 16 39	32 22	0 2 0	48 16	4,48
Sept. 7, 3	2,25	1,51	11 20 9	32 32	11 25 6	53 28	3,39
— 24, 0	2,	1,29	11 24 16	32 36	11 13 12	56 45	2,58
Oct 10, 26	1,75	1,13	11 29 24	32 30	10 28 22	56 36	1,75
— 26, 64	1,50	1,01	0 5 51	32 4	10 15 50	52 6	1,51
Nov. 9, 34	1,25	0,88	0 14 19	31 0	10 8 36	46 47	1,10
— 23, 39	1, 0	0,76	0 26 4	28 32	10 4 10	39 0	0,76
Dec. 7, 21	0,75	0,62	1 13 58	22 29	9 29 18	27 45	0,46
— 23, 32	0,50	0,50	2 20 58	2 8	9 14 31	2 7S	0,25
— 24, 35	0,49	0,51	2 24 18	0 0	9 12 58	0 0	0,25
1789.							
Jan. 1, 0	0,45	0,50	3 23 25	17 17N	9 2 50	13 8N	0,26

“The last observation made by Hevelius on the comet in 1661 was when its distance from the earth was 0,986, and from the sun 1,37, with what he calls a very long and good telescope; at which time it appeared faint and small with it, though still sufficiently visible. Let us suppose this to have been a telescope of 9 feet focal length, with an aperture of 1,65 inch; then, because the diameter of the aperture of a telescope sufficient to render

the comet equally visible should be as the product of its distances from the sun and earth, and the product of the numbers above mentioned 0,986 and 1,37 is 1,35, we shall have the following analogy to find the aperture of a refracting telescope sufficient to show the comet as it appeared to Hevelius. As 1,35 : 1,65 inch :: 9 : 11 inches, so is the product of distances from the sun and earth to the diameter of the aperture required in inches.”

PRIMARY NOTIONS of the MATTER of FIRE.

[From Dr. HIGGINS'S EXPERIMENTS and OBSERVATIONS on Subjects of CHEMICAL PHILOSOPHY.]

“1. *THE kind of matter which impresses us with a sense of heat, and which is capable of expanding and pervading all known bodies, is subject to laws of attraction, which fixes and disguises a certain quantity of it in divers substances; and this matter produces the effects which we call heat, and acts as fire, only when it is extricated from other kinds of matter.*

This notion needs no illustration or support; for the phenomena

which conspire to impress it, are very numerous; and Black, Bergman, Cavendish, Crawford, Priestley, Kirvan, Lavoisier, and other distinguished philosophers have adopted it.

“2. *The homogeneous parts of the matter of fire repel each other.*

“This repellent property is apparent in all the processes in which the matter of fire is extricated from the grosser and gravitating parts of bodies. The chief of these processes



esses are the mixtures producing heat, the absorptions of divers cold elastic fluids causing heat, vitriolizations, incalascence of pyrophori, expiration, putrefaction, fermentation, and combustion. In all these, the matter of fire, so soon as it is liberated, is found by its peculiar effects, and the mensurable decrease of heat at increased distances from the source of emission, to move excentrically from that source, and to decrease in density. But as this happens, whether the extrication of it be attended with illumination or not, it indicates nothing that is consistent with the tenor of nature, or that may be suggested by analogy, except that the parts of the matter of fire repel each other, although they certainly are attracted by other kinds of matter. This repellant property is equally apparent in every instance of the formation of elastic fluids from aggregate bodies; and especially when this is done by mere ignition. But as these instances afford another inference of equal use, I shall subjoin them to the following notion.

“ 3. *The matter of fire, by virtue of the repulsion subsisting between its homogeneal parts, and of their attractions to the parts of other matter, is the cause of the elasticity of aeriform fluids.*

“ This notion is necessary to the solution of the phenomena, and supported by direct evidence, of which the following part will be sufficient.

“ Oils, resins, vegetable acids, charcoal, and divers other bodies, are almost totally convertible into fixable air and inflammable air by fire. Nitrous acid may be decomposed and converted, in part, into empyreal air, in the remainder into phlogistic or nitrous air, by the agency of fire. The whole substance

of solid nitrous ammoniac is convertible into fluids permanently elastic, by the mere action of fire. From the solid aggregation in manganese and other metallic calxes, and in divers salts, the gross matter of empyreal air may be propelled, to form an elastic fluid by fire; so may that of dense inflammable air from coak and divers hard bodies; that of fixable air from stony concretes; that of alkaline air from ivory, Prussian blue, and microcosmic salt; that of vitriolic, or of marine, or of hepatic air, from divers solid, saline, or sulphureous compounds. All this is done by fire; and being best effected in vessels that are impervious to every other known matter, amounts to a satisfactory proof that the matter of fire is the only necessary and agent in the conversion of solid bodies into elastic fluids, and in the maintenance of their elasticity.

“ The electric matter is not to be mentioned in objection, until it is proved that it does not itself consist of the matter of fire, in a certain modification of it, depending on the repulsive property, and the relations to gross matter, which we are now describing.

“ Seeing this extensive agency of the fiery matter; that we can not only trace it into the subjects which thus become permanently elastic, but that it gives a temporary elasticity to vapours and sublimates; seeing that these resume their aggregation as fast as it escapes from them; that its union in the fluids, to which it gives permanent elasticity, may be further proved by the extrication of it from every one of them; and that, in these liberations of it which are daily experienced, in the absorptions of elastic fluids, in combinations, and in combustions of them, the emission is



is so copious as to remove all doubt of their having held it in great quantity, united with their respective separated parts, and restrained during that union from acting like liberated fire; observing also, that as fast as the fire is liberated or excluded, the distant grosser parts of elastic fluids rush together or into other bodies; as when empyreal and nitrous air makes nitrous acid, or empyreal and light inflammable air make water which cools to solid ice, or marine and alkaline air make sal ammoniac; or as when acid or alkaline airs rush into water, or empyreal air into phosphorus; we cannot now hesitate in admitting that the grosser parts of elastic fluids, as well as those of vapour, are made to recede from each other contrary to their inherent and incessant attractive powers, by virtue of their respective charges of the repellent matter of fire, and consequently by the repulsion of the parts of fire to each other.

“4. *The charges of repellent matter, by which attractive and gravitating particles form elastic fluids, are distinct atmospheres of fiery matter, in which the densities are reciprocally as the distances from the central particles, in a duplicate or higher ratio.*

“This is an evident consequence of the former notions, and the prevalence of the repulsive over the attractive forces; and the terrestrial atmosphere, in which the density is inversely as the squares of the distances from the earth, shews that it is the natural and necessary effect of such forces, to form the charges of fiery matter which the particles engage, into the described atmospheres. The further evidence of the truth of this notion arises from phenomena, which I am presently to consider and ex-

plain, and which are not inexplicable by any other condition or agency of the matter of fire, that has been hitherto suggested.

“5. *The repulsion of the homogeneous parts of the matter of fire, limits the quantity that can be engaged by bodies, and tends to diffuse the remainder equably in space.*

“This notion needs no illustration.

“6. *The matter of fire limits the quantities, in which aeriform fluids, and bodies containing it, can combine chemically.*

“In the conversion of solid bodies into elastic fluids, we perceive the repulsive forces of the matter of fire resisting and overpowering the reciprocal attractions of the grosser parts; and in mixtures of empyreal and inflammable air, and in divers other mixed airs, we see this matter resisting the attractions which tend strongly to the chemical combination of the heterogeneous gravitating particles.

“In such instances it is manifest that the sum of the repulsive forces, exceeds that of the attractive.

“When aeriform fluids condense each other, or are concentrated and aggregated by bodies, it is equally evident that the attractive forces, although resisted by the repulsive, are prevalent.

“These, and divers other phenomena shew, that the natural power, whether attractive or repulsive, of each part of matter, is limited; and therefore the sum of these powers which any body can exert in regard to another, is by a law of nature as the number of its active parts, or in other words, as its quantity of matter.

“In consequence of this law, the sum of the repulsive forces, which resist the approximation of the gravitating parts of an elastic fluid, and their union with those of a body



dy which also holds some of the matter of fire, is as the quantity of that fluid; and no more than a determinate portion of it can be aggregated and combined in the body whose quantity of matter and attractive powers are limited.

“By the same law it is determined that elastic fluids shall unite with each other in limited proportions only, to form denser fluids or solid bodies, and that the superfluous quantities shall remain elastic and unaltered.

“As the matter of fire is manifestly the agent which resists the coalescence and union of attractive particles in these cases; and as the same matter demonstrably exists in all bodies that unite only in limited proportions, we must ascribe to this only competent and manifest agent, all those limitations which we experience, in regard to the proportions in which bodies can be chemically united, and which we briefly express by the word saturation.

## APPLICATIONS of the FOREGOING NOTIONS.

[From the same Work.]

“AS the limits of this essay do not permit me to make extensive applications of the foregoing notions, I shall endeavour, in the expression of a few, in this and the following section to suggest every thing that seems necessary towards explaining the most intricate phenomena of the matter of fire.

“In regard to the apyrous bodies, such as the pure earthy substances, I would infer from these notions that they chiefly consist of parts which do not attract the matter of fire with forces sufficient to cause a disunion of them, and an interposition of this matter in such quantity as to induce softness or fluidity.

“Concerning fusible bodies which concrete in cooling, I would in the next place infer, that they consist chiefly of parts which attract the matter of fire with forces somewhat greater than those last mentioned, and sufficient to effect the solution of them in the fiery fluid, but not for the permanent retention of it: That bodies of this class exclude the solvent by virtue of the preva-

lent attractions which tend to reunite their gross parts; but that they receive and transmit the matter which causes heat, more freely, and they retain it longer, than the former can in similar circumstances, by reason of the stronger attractions.

“The bodies, which, like oils or water, form elastic vapour, when duly charged with the matter of fire, consist chiefly of parts which attract it with forces still greater, and sufficient to compel atmospheres around the distant molecules; but yet not sufficient to retain these atmospheres after the influx of fire ceases, and in opposition to the mutual attractions of their central molecules, and the tendency of the fiery matter to diffuse itself equably in the neighbouring spaces. As the thermometer shews no more than the relative quantities of free matter of fire in bodies, these lately mentioned require a greater quantity of the fiery matter than the former, before they exhibit an equal temperature by the thermometer, for the reason already mentioned.



“ It is also by virtue of this superior attraction to the fiery matter, that ice, resin, fats, and other vapourable bodies, become fluid by moderate incalcescence, but not before they have received a great quantity of fire; and that they respectively evaporate with less ignition or incalcescence, in vessels which avert the pressure of the aerial atmosphere, than where that, or any equivalent compression, conspires with their aggregate attractions, to resist the influx of fire, and the disjunction of their parts.—Thus water, or spirit, moderately heated, and placed in the receiver of an air-pump, boils when a part of the air which compresses it is drawn out, and ceases as often as the pressure is restored.

“ Still stronger attractions of the matter of fire, comparatively with the forces which tend to the exclusion of it, are seen in ethereal oils and ethers: for their vapours cannot be condensed without the aid of compression; and when they are thus condensed and aggregated, their molecules, by attracting fiery matter and compelling it into atmospheres, with forces superior to those with which they attract each other, are made to recede, and form aeriform fluids, in the lowest temperatures, so soon as the pressure of the atmosphere is averted.

“ That the expansion of such ethereal fluids into the aerial form, in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump, is owing to the tendency of their molecules, to attract the matter of fire and to form atmospheres of it around them severally, and that it is not effected by any other agency, is apparent from the concomitant phenomenon of cold: for as fast as they assume the aerial form, they engage and fix the free fiery matter which belong-

ed to the spaces into which they expand; and this privation or deficiency of disengaged fiery matter, is what we call cold.

“ The bodies which by ignition may be partially or totally converted, even under the atmospheric pressure, into fluids permanently elastic, shew the kinds of matter by which that of fire is attracted in the supreme degree.

“ For the elasticity which subsists under immense pressure, argues a stronger attraction of the particles to their respective repellent atmospheres, than that which we last noticed; but that this stronger attraction compels denser and deeper atmospheres, may not only be argued a priori, but is experimentally demonstrable by the bulk, which in elastic fluids is the measure of the atmospheres, compared with the gravity, which is the measure of the gross particles; and it is also apparent in the extraordinary quantity of the fiery matter that escapes in the instant of the aggregation of these elastic fluids, or rather of their particles, to form consistent bodies; as when empyreal air is rapidly imbibed by phosphorus, pyrophorus, hepar sulphuris, or iron filings and sulphur; when alkaline air, and divers acid airs, are absorbed by water, or when they condense each other; or when the rare inflammable air and empyreal air make water, and exclude their matter of fire.

“ From all this it may be inferred, that in any future table of the affinities of the matter of fire, *pure phlogiston* ought to rank above every other kind of matter; instead of being omitted, as it is in Bergmann's tables, or supposed to have repugnance or apathy to the matter of fire, as Dr. Crawford formerly conjectured. But when this precedence



precedence is given to phlogiston, by reason of the extreme levity of the purer inflammable air of metallic solutions, and of the quantity of fiery matter which it emits in the instant of its union with empyreal air, the gravitating matter of this last air must not be placed beneath any other that is now known; because no air that is free from phlogiston, is lighter specifically than empyreal air, or emits more fire in the instant of aggregation.

“ I consider the specific gravity as a safe guide in our investigations of these affinities and of their order, in regard only to the elastic fluids which seem to consist of no more than one kind of gravitating matter engaged in the repellent atmospheres: and of fixable air, dense inflammable air, acid airs, the phlogistic alkaline air; and others, I would observe, that the atmospheres include molecules instead of solitary ultimate parts; for without this chemical union of heterogeneous parts, and the formation of molecules, an elastic fluid of the kind that I now speak of, could not differ, as it does, from either kind of matter of which it is composed.

“ From this consideration of the attractive forces which tend to form molecules, and of the atmospheres, which, in compound elastic fluids, encompass the molecules, but not the ultimate parts severally, we derive an easy explanation of the phenomenon so often noticed in the preceding pages; I mean the conversion of a substance, not into one but into two or three different elastic fluids, by mere ignition.

“ When elastic fluids are formed in solutions and other processes, in which the subjects are not ig-

nited it is to be observed that the gravitating parts of the emitted elastic fluid, were distant from each other, by reason of the interposed matter, at the instant of their extrication, and that at this distance there is a great diminution of the powers which restrain them in their tendency to engage all the matter of fire that the menstruum or solvent could extricate during their union. Thus it happens, as Dr. Black originally suggested, and as Bergman has observed in his excellent Dissertation of Elective Attractions, that caustic alkali, in the union with an acid, excites great heat, that is to say, in their union they exclude a part of the matter of fire which they severally held in a fixed state; but mild alkali, in uniting with an acid, gives little or no heat, and for this reason; that the gravitating parts of the fixable air, engage all the liberated matter of fire in forming atmospheres around its molecules. This exposition is applicable to every other elastic fluid that is extricated in solutions or combinations attended with little or no incalcescence.

“ Since the particles which attract the matter of fire, exclude a part of their respective charges in the instant of their close approximation or contact, there is no difficulty in accounting for the cold produced in solutions, expansions, and evaporations; in every one of which, the particles which resume the matter of fire, and in fixing it produce the cold, are previously removed to some distance from each other, either by the interposition of the parts of a menstruum, as when ice is dissolved by nitrous acid, or by the prevalent powers of their proper fixed fire, of which we have an instance in ether placed



in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump.

“As the mere acetous acid consists of the gravitating parts of empyreal air, of phlogiston, and the acid principle of vegetables, and by the accession of the matter of fire only makes two different elastic fluids, namely fixable air, and dense inflammable air, it follows from these notions, that the gravitating parts of these two airs would make acetous acid again with water, if the matter of fire could be withdrawn from them; and I venture to prognosticate that this, or something equivalent, will be done by the first ingenious experimenter that attempts it, either by the means of a body which may absorb the gravitating matter of both, and exclude their atmospheres, or by breaking the atmospheres, in the manner which I am to describe in the next section.

“There is undoubtedly a natural limitation, as we formerly observed, of the forces with which the gross parts of divers elastic fluids compel, and are compelled by their respective atmospheres; but still these forces are so great, that we cannot form adequate ideas of them, without reflecting on the resistance which they give, even in small quantities of the elastic fluids, to

any pressure which tends to condense them, and cause an approximation of their parts; or without adverting to the operations which shew the ability of these forces to maintain the elasticity of divers aeriform fluids, in opposition to the greatest mechanical powers hitherto employed to subdue them. The air-gun, and other instruments exhibit these forces in atmospheric air, and chemical operations and explosive compositions too often shew them in the other elastic fluids.

“Although the force of chemical attraction reaches not far from the particles, with any sensible effect, we are not thence to conclude that the attractive virtue ceases at any distance. But from all the known phenomena we may infer, that the attractive forces, tending to the approximation and cohesion of gross particles, decrease in a duplicate, or some higher ratio of the distances, reciprocally: that the natural resistance to the interposition of the fiery matter, is lessened at the smallest, and totally overpowered at small distances which no eye can measure; and finally, that *where the sensible effect of attraction ceases, there repulsion succeeds.*”

## OBSERVATIONS on the COMPOSITION of WATER.

[From the Third Volume of Dr. PRIESTLEY'S EXPERIMENTS and OBSERVATIONS relating to various Branches of NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.]

“THAT dephlogisticated and inflammable air, at least with the element of *heat*, constitute *water*, seems to be clearly inferred

from the experiments in the preceding section. Some difficulties, however, have occurred respecting this theory, from my subsequent experiments,



experiments, which I shall propose with the same fidelity as I have done those which favour the hypothesis. But as I mean to throw into this section all the observations that I have made upon the subject, I shall first recite some experiments which perfectly agree with the former, and evidently lead to the same conclusion. Some of them are those of which only the general result was given before.

“ I have observed, that, when that iron which has been melted in the open air (or that which has been altered by the passing of steam over it red-hot) was heated by a burning lens in inflammable air, the air disappeared, and a considerable quantity of water was produced. I had the same result with *scales of copper*. These scales became of a genuine copper colour in this process; so that I had no doubt of their being copper revived. The water was so copious, that when only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ounce measures of air were absorbed, the water formed in drops on the inside of the vessel, and some of them ran down it.

“ I also procured water when I decomposed dephlogisticated and inflammable air from iron by the electric spark in a close vessel, which is an experiment similar to those that were made by Mr. Lavoisier, at Paris. I put 3,75 ounce measures of a mixture of air, of which one-third was dephlogisticated, and two-thirds inflammable from iron, in the close vessel; and after the explosion I found in it one grain of moisture. The dephlogisticated air in this mixture would have weighed a little more than 0,75 of a grain. But repeating this experiment with half as much dephlogisticated as inflammable air, I could not perceive any

water after the experiment. Neither was there any fixed air formed in it. Again, using inflammable air from wood, in the same proportion from 3,8 ounce measures of the mixture, I got 0,8 of a measure of fixed air, which was actually absorbed by lime-water. Some *water* also was evidently produced.

“ Using more precautions to exclude all water from either of these two kinds of air before the experiment (both the dephlogisticated air, which was from nitre, and the inflammable air which was from charcoal, being from the first received in mercury, and always confined by it) I still found a little water after the explosion.

“ I varied this experiment by producing the inflammable air in the dephlogisticated air as follows. Into a vessel containing dephlogisticated air confined by mercury, I introduced a piece of perfect charcoal, as hot from the fire as I could bear to handle it, and threw upon it the focus of the lens, so that a quantity of the air was imbibed; but I could not perceive that any moisture was formed. Afterwards, when I resumed the process, the air which the charcoal had imbibed was expelled again, and very little more was absorbed. From seven ounce measures there remained four, of which more than two was pure fixed air. No water could be expected after this process. For even had there been a small quantity of moisture in the vessel, it would have been absorbed by the charcoal, and have enabled it to yield inflammable air. The phlogiston the charcoal contained uniting with the dephlogisticated air, free from moisture, formed, I presume, the fixed air that was found after this process.

“ But the greatest difficulty that



occurred with respect to the preceding theory of the constitution of water, arose from my never having been able to procure any water when I revived mercury from red precipitate in inflammable air, or at least not more than may be supposed to have been contained in the inflammable air as an extraneous substance.

“ In order to make the experiments with the *scales of iron*, and that with the *red precipitate* as much alike as possible, and that I might compare them to the greatest advantage, I made them immediately one after the other, with every circumstance as nearly as I could the same. The inflammable air was the same in both the experiments, and both the scales of iron, and the red precipitate, were made as dry as possible. They were heated in vessels of the same size and form, and equally confined by dry mercury. And yet when I heated the former, water was formed as copiously as I have described it before, viz. actually running down the inside of the vessel in drops, though only four ounce measures of inflammable air were absorbed. But though I heated the red precipitate till eight ounce measures of the inflammable air was absorbed, and only three-fourths of an ounce measure of air remained, there was hardly any sensible quantity of water produced, certainly not one-tenth of what appeared in the experiment with the scales of iron.

“ There was this difference, however, in the two results. In what remained from the experiment with red precipitate, I at this time perceived a slight appearance of fixed air, whereas there was none in what remained from the scales of iron. The residuum also from the

red precipitate had in it a very small portion of dephlogisticated air. For being mixed with an equal measure of nitrous air, the standard of it was 1,8. I must also observe that the inflammable air disappeared much more rapidly in the process with red precipitate than in that with the scales of iron.

“ Fixed air, however, was no necessary result in this experiment. For I particularly observed, that when, upon another occasion, I reduced eight ounce measures of inflammable air to 0,22 of a measure, I found no more than what I judged to be much less than a grain of water, and without any appearance of fixed air whatever. Again, I reduced six ounce measures of inflammable air in this process to 0,42 of a measure, without producing any more water than before, or any fixed air at all. I also had the same result in using the black powder of lead and mercury, instead of red precipitate; reducing 6,5 ounce measures to 0,4 of a measure, without finding any very sensible quantity of water, or any fixed air.

“ In this experiment there can be no doubt but that the dephlogisticated air dislodged from the red precipitate, united with the inflammable air in the vessel; as no water equal to the weight of the two kinds of air was produced, they must have formed some more *solid substance*, which, in the small quantities I was obliged to use, could not be found.

“ It may be clearly inferred from this experiment, that red precipitate is a substance by no means similar to the scales of iron, as the latter appears to contain within itself all the elements of water; and, therefore, as the inflammable air enters into it, a quantity



city of water, equal in weight to the loss sustained by the scales in their revival in the form of iron, is found in the recipient. Whereas in the experiment with the red precipitate, there is certainly no more water found than may be supposed to have been contained in the inflammable air which disappeared, or to have been lodged without being perceived among the particles of the precipitate itself. Consequently the scales of iron must be considered as the calx of iron united to *water*, and red precipitate as *mercury*, united to *dephlogisticated air*, or rather, perhaps, as Mr. Kirwan supposes, to *fixed air*, the phlogiston belonging to which revives the mercury, while its other component part, the dephlogisticated air, is set at liberty, forming an union with the element of *heat*.

“ The difficulty with respect to what becomes of the two kinds of air, was not lessened by the attempts which I made to collect all that I could from repeated decompositions of inflammable and dephlogisticated air in a close vessel.

“ As I had produced water in this process when I made no more than a single explosion at a time, I thought that by continuing to make explosions in the same vessel, the water would not fail to accumulate, till I might collect what quantity I pleased; and I intended to have collected a considerable part of an ounce. And as I should know exactly what quantity of air I decomposed, I had no doubt of being able to ascertain the proportion that the *water* and *air* bore to each other.

“ With this view I made a mixture of a large quantity of air, one-third dephlogisticated, and two-thirds inflammable from iron and

oil of vitriol. But though I had a sensible quantity of water at the first explosion (in each of which was used between four and five ounce measures of the mixture of air) I was surprised to perceive no very sensible increase of the quantity of water on repeating the explosions. Having, therefore, expended 48 ounce measures of the mixture, I discontinued the process; and collecting the water with all the care that I could, I found no more than three grains, when there ought to have been eleven.

“ In this process the inside of the vessel was always very black after each explosion, and when I poured in the mercury after the explosion, though there was nothing visible in the air within the vessel, there issued from the mouth of it a *dense vapour*. This was even the case, though I waited so much as two minutes after any explosion before I proceeded to put in more mercury in order to make another; which if the vapour had been steam, would have been time more than sufficient to permit it to condense into water. I even perceived this vapour when I had a quantity of water in the vessel, and the explosion was consequently made over it, as well as in contact with the sides of the vessel which were wetted with it; so that as this vapour had passed through the whole body of water when the vessel was inverted, it is probable that it must have consisted of something else than mere *water*. But I was never able to collect any quantity of it, though it must have been something produced by the union of the two kinds of air.

“ In order to collect a quantity of the matter that formed this vapour, I contrived the following apparatus. In a cork with which



I could shut the orifice of the strong glass vessel in which the explosions were made, I had two perforations. Through one of these I poured the mercury, by means of a glass funnel; but into the other was introduced a glass tube, which, being bended, was inserted, by means of a cork, into a thin glass vessel, and went almost to the bottom of it. A small hole was also made in the cork, to permit the air to go out. Consequently, all the air that remained in the strong glass vessel, with whatever vapour it might contain, must, as I poured in the mercury, necessarily pass through the glass tube, and be diffused through the thin glass vessel; in which I imagined that all its contents, fluid or solid, must be deposited. However, though I repeated the experiment several times with this apparatus, making about twenty explosions in each, I could not find any deposit in the vessel, besides a small quantity of water; which, added to the water collected in the strong vessel, came far short of the weight of the air that was decomposed.

“ All the conjecture that I can advance, in order to explain this phenomenon, is that, since *foot* yields pure air, as will appear in the course of this volume, part of the foot is formed by the union of the dephlogisticated air in the atmosphere and the inflammable air of the fuel. But *smoke*, which contains much *foot*, is soon dispersed, and becomes invisible in the open air. Such, therefore, may be the case here. The foot formed by the union of the two kinds of air may be diffused through the air, in the vessel in which they are exploded, and be carried invisibly into the common atmosphere, which may account for my not being able

to collect any quantity of it in this apparatus.

“ Hoping to succeed better in collecting this volatile matter by means of a quantity of water incumbent upon the mercury, in the strong glass vessel in which the explosions were made (though I had found that part of it could escape through the water) I decomposed a great quantity of the two kinds of air in these circumstances; and presently found that the water became very cloudy, and was at length full of a blackish matter. This I collected, and found that it remained perfectly black upon the earthen vessel in which the water containing it was evaporated; which would not have been the case if the blackish matter in the water had been that *powder of mercury*, which is produced by agitating it in pure water. For that black mass always became white running mercury the moment the water was evaporated from it. Could I have collected a sufficient quantity of this black matter, I might have satisfied myself whether it was a proper *foot* or not.

“ Mr. Warltire first observed this cloudiness in a vessel in which he burned inflammable air; but it is remarkable that sometimes I got it repeatedly in these explosions, all the inside of the vessel becoming quite black after the explosion; and at other times I have not been able to get this appearance at all; so that I am not yet able to determine on what it depends. At one time, having the inside of the strong glass tube made very black with these explosions, I let it remain a day or two exposed to the common air, when the blackness disappeared, leaving the inside of the vessel covered with small globules of white mercury. It seems, therefore,



fore, that part of the phlogiston of the inflammable air sometimes attaches itself to the vapour of mercury, diffused invisibly through the space within the vessel, and that it quits it to unite to the air of the atmosphere.

“ That water in great quantities is sometimes produced from burning inflammable and dephlogisticated air is evident from the experiments of Mr. Cavendish and Mr. Lavoisier. I have also frequently collected considerable quantities of water in this way, though never quite so much as the weight of the two kinds of air decomposed. My apparatus for this purpose was the following. Into the mouth of a large glass balloon I introduced a tube from the orifice of which there continually issued inflammable air, from a vessel containing iron and oil of vitriol. This being lighted, continued to burn like a candle. Presently after the lighting of it, the inside of the balloon always became cloudy, and the moisture soon gathered in drops, and settled in the lower part of the balloon. To catch what might issue in the form of vapour, in the current of air through the balloon, I placed the glass tube in which I always found some water condensed. It is very possible, however, that in both these modes of experimenting, the water may be converted into a kind of vapour, which is very different from *steam*, and capable of being conveyed a great way through air, or even water, without condensation, along with the air with which it is mixed; and on this account it may not be possible, in either of these modes of experimenting, to collect *all* the water into which the two kinds of air may be converted. The nature of this kind of vapour into which

water may be changed, and which is not readily condensed by cold, is very little understood, but well deserves the particular attention of philosophers. Even mercury will evaporate, so as to lose weight, in a degree of heat below that of boiling water.

“ That the water collected in the balloon comes from the decomposition of the air, and not from the fresh air circulating through it, was evident from placing balls of hot iron in the place of the flame, and finding that, though the balloon was as much heated by them as by the flame of the burning of the inflammable air, and consequently there must have been the same current of the external air through it, no moisture was found in the balloon.

“ When in this manner, I burned inflammable air from pure iron, the water I collected was perfectly free from acid, and the inside of the balloon was quite clear, but when I used *sulphurated iron*, there was a dense white cloud that filled the inside of the balloon. There was also a strong smell of vitriolic acid air, and the water collected was sensibly acid to the taste.

“ Having found that water is an essential ingredient in the constitution of inflammable air, at least as produced from iron, it still remained to be determined whether, when a calx is revived, and the metal formed, the pure phlogiston only entered the calx, or, together with it, that *water* which was necessary to its form of inflammable air.

“ In order to ascertain this, I frequently revived dry calces of lead in dry inflammable air, and examined the appearances of moisture afterwards. But notwithstanding all the attention that I gave  
to



to the process, I could not be absolutely certain, whether more moisture was left in the vessel, than might have existed *extraneously* in the inflammable air, or whether, when the phlogiston was absorbed, it left behind it any water that had been essential to it, as inflammable air. Appearances were such as sometimes inclined me to think that every thing which constitutes inflammable air goes into a calx, in order to form the metal; so that if this, though a compound thing, be called *phlogiston*, it will still be true that phlogiston and inflammable air are the same thing; but, on the whole, I rather think that the water which was essential to the constitution of inflammable air was left behind.

“ That water, however, may exist in bodies in a *combined state*, without appearing to be water, we know in many cases; but it is in nothing more evident than in the *scales of iron*, than which no substance can have less the appearance of containing water.

“ But not to give a mere *opinion*, I shall recite the particulars of a few *experiments*, which I made with the view above-mentioned. In  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ounce measures of inflammable air from iron, I revived lead till it was reduced to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ounce measure, care having been taken to make every thing as dry as possible. Some moisture, however, did appear, perhaps more than half a grain; but as this air had been confined by water, it was no more than might have been contained in it as an extraneous substance. It ought also to be considered that it must be exceedingly difficult to expel all moisture by mere heat from such a powdery substance as the yellow calx of lead, without reviving the

metal. All chemists well know how firmly moisture adheres to many substances, with which it does not properly unite, and how much heat is necessary to separate them.

“ Again in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ounce measures of inflammable air from iron, I revived lead till there remained 0,9 of a measure, and there was hardly any more moisture than I had reason to think might have been in the vessel, independently of what was contained in the inflammable air; and in order to enable myself to judge of this, I melted an equal quantity of the same minium, under a dry glass vessel with common air; when a little moisture appeared, on the inside of the glass, about as much, I thought (for I could only judge by my eye) as when I had revived the lead from that minium in inflammable air. The quantity of lead revived was only 16 grains, but a good deal of the minium had been made black in the process.

“ Lastly, I exposed some calx of lead to the heat of the lens in inflammable air, received immediately from the vessel in which it was generated from iron and oil of vitriol, because this contains less water than that which has been received in water and confined by it; and when 6 or 7 ounce measures of the air were absorbed, I could not suppose, from the appearance, that the water could be more than a quarter of a grain. However, when I repeated the experiment once more, I thought there might be about half a grain of water, which is more than I can well account for, without supposing that the water which was necessary to the constitution of inflammable air, and which I suppose to be about half its weight, was left behind



behind when the pure phlogiston revived the calx. This, therefore, is the opinion to which I am inclined; so that I do not think that any water enters into the constitution of any of the metals."

## AN ESSAY ON PORTABLE FURNACES.

[From the IVth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

THE well known advantages that have accrued to experimental philosophy, and to the arts, particularly those that depend on chemical processes, from the use of portable furnaces, render it unnecessary to say any thing in commendation of the invention; but as by them gentlemen of rank and fortune (from whom experiments are chiefly to be expected) are enabled further to prosecute those studies, which have already been the origin of many of the benefits the public reap from the present improved state of our manufactures, it may not be unprofitable to give a short account of the invention, describe the several kinds most in use; and as all hitherto contrived have laboured under some objections, to shew a cheap and easy method, confirmed by considerable experience, by which those defects are remedied, and the use of such furnaces rendered more agreeable and commodious.

"It is not in this paper intended to describe the several forms, which sometimes the judgment and sometimes the caprice of the maker have adopted, but to shew that the materials of which they have been constructed, though fit for the purpose intended, have nevertheless been hardly ever properly applied; and then lay before the reader, the

method alluded to above, of obviating the objections hitherto made to them.

"To the celebrated John Joachim Becher we owe the invention of portable furnaces, contrived for performing the different kinds of chemical processes, of which he has given us a full history and explanation, with many plates, in his work entitled, *Scyphus Becherianus*. In the introduction to that work, the author says, That having observed some workmen melt iron in a small furnace, it occurred to him that something might be contrived by which the several chemical processes might be conveniently performed; and that having completed his ideas on this head, some of the first furnaces made were purchased by Dr. Dickenson, physician to the king, prince Rupert, and the honourable Mr. Boyle.

"He directs the furnace to be made of plate-iron, having rivets fastened at different places, with heads projecting sufficiently within the inside of the furnace: As the furnace was to be (to the thickness of an inch and half) lined with a lute composed of clay and sand; these rivets were intended to prevent its cracking, and falling from the sides.

"The use of such a contrivance as this appeared so commodious to the



the late Dr. Shaw, and Mr. Hawksbee (to whom the present taste for chemical experiments, is in a great degree owing), that in the year 1731 they published, with considerable additions to Becher's tract, a small volume entitled, "An Essay for introducing a Portable Laboratory", for which, as they ingenuously acknowledge, they were almost wholly indebted to Becher. The furnace described by Dr. Shaw and Mr. Hawksbee differs little from that of Becher, and, like it, is intended to be lined with a lute, which is to be secured to the iron plate by means of rivets.

"This has been hitherto almost the universal practice in forming portable furnaces for chemical experiments; and it is but justice to say, that to these authors are to be ascribed the invention and introduction of furnaces on this construction, however the shapes may have been varied since their time.

"Another kind of portable furnaces, if they may be said to deserve the title, were contrived by Johanne Francisco Vigani, and the description of them, with figures, published by him in a small treatise entitled, *Medulla Chymiae*; printed in London 1683, and dedicated to three English noblemen.

"As these furnaces consisted solely in having a number of bricks, so fitted together and marked, that they might easily be taken asunder, when an operation was finished, and commodiously set aside until they should be again wanted, the frequent mislaying, or loss of the loose bricks, soon brought this kind of furnace into disuse, in experimental laboratories; though it must be owned, it has in many cases some advantages, and is often used, to this day, by plumbers, and other workmen.

"About the year 1750, the late Dr. Lewis, whose name and memory will ever be respected by all votaries to chemistry, observing the inconveniencies that attended the use of both the foregoing kinds of furnaces, and taking the hint, as he candidly acknowledges, from an ingenious workman, and also reflecting on the durability of black lead crucibles, and the ease with which the openings for doors, chimneys, &c. are made in them, contrived those portable furnaces, so accurately, and so properly described by him, in the first part of his excellent work, entitled, *The Philosophical Commerce of Arts*; a work, which if he had met with due encouragement to prosecute, and had completed according to his ideas on the subject, would have done infinite honour to himself and to his country. Since that time, it does not appear that any one has made an essential alteration in the construction of these kinds of instruments, except the ingenious Messrs. Ruhl and Hempel, of Cheyne Row, Chelsea, who having, under the patronage of the Society, established a manufactory of black lead pots, and profiting by the thoughts of Dr. Lewis, have employed themselves in making furnaces, in a very neat and commodious manner, of the same materials their pots are formed of; and the only objection to them, is the price at which they must necessarily be sold, on account of the value of the materials, and the workmanship; in every other respect, they answer well the purposes they are intended for, being ingeniously contrived, and executed in a workman-like manner.

"It would be highly improper here to omit observing that the justly admired Boerhaave, mentions



two kinds of portable furnaces contrived by himself, the one formed of wood, lined with iron plate, in which only those operations that require a very gentle heat, hardly exceeding that of boiling water, could be performed. As in this furnace, a small equable fire may conveniently be kept up without much trouble or expence, he calls it, *Furnus Studiosorum*. His other furnace he directs, like those of Becher, to be made of plate-iron, but lined with brick set in mortar made of lime and sand; this furnace, however, as described by him, seems too large for experiments, and in strong heats, every one knows how improper it is to have lime come in contact with the bricks, which are liable to be greatly injured by it, and indeed, neither of these furnaces have these many years past been much used.

“ The celebrated Pott, in his treatise, entitled *Lithogeognosia*, also describes a portable furnace, of which a design is annexed to his work; in this furnace, he says every thing in nature, that is fusible, may be melted in an hour or two. He acknowledges this furnace to be very similar to that of Becher, and describes the lute he lined it with, as composed of equal parts of pipe-clay, burnt and unburnt, mixed together and moistened to the consistence of paste, with bullock’s blood: it is evident this will be subject to all the inconveniencies of the other furnaces lined with lute.

“ The principal objection that has arisen against the furnaces of Becher and Shaw, is that the lute, being a mixture of sand, clay, and water, must necessarily shrink, and consequently crack in drying; but this evil may in some degree be remedied by filling up the cracks,

when dry, but before a fire is lighted, with fresh lute, which will, if artfully managed, adhere pretty well to the first layer: but there still remains an insuperable obstacle, which is, the iron rivets that pass through the sides of the furnace, into lute, expanding in great heats, and contracting with cold, in a degree very different from that of the mixture of clay and sand that surrounds them, they are continually cracking the lute, and serve rather to separate and throw it off from the iron plate, than to retain and fix it.

“ The chief objection to the black lead furnaces of Dr. Lewis, is the thinness of the crucibles of which they are formed; this not only permits a large proportion of heat to escape; but when the furnace grows red-hot, tends very much to incommode the operator, and heat the room wherein any experiments are making.

“ It is with a view to remedy these inconveniencies, rather than to propose any new form of a furnace, that this paper is submitted to the consideration of the society; and this end is obtained by uniting, in some degree, the three above mentioned contrivances, by adopting the iron of the furnace of Becher, the bricks of Vigani, and the size of Dr. Lewis, which seems best adapted to experimental enquiries.

“ To form the body of the furnace, which is the only part intended to be here described, (as any person conversant with these machines, will readily fashion the dome and other parts as may best suit their intention;) procure a cylinder, about eleven inches in diameter, and twelve or fourteen in length, made of strong plate iron, rivetted together; or, as the thick-



ness of the lining, will prevent its ever becoming hot enough to melt hard folder, it will be much neater, if the joint be brazed: at one end, which is to be considered as the bottom of the cylinder, a piece must be cut out about four inches square, which is to be the opening to the ash-hole, to this an iron door is to be fitted; just above this opening, three iron pins, projecting half an inch or more within the cylinder, must be well rivvitted on, at equal distances from each other; four or five inches above these pins let another hole be cut in the iron cylinder, and a door fitted to it, this serves for putting in the fuel, when the furnace is used for distilling, and such operations as require only a gentle heat.

“ On the pins before mentioned, lay an iron grate, and let the whole of the cylinder, above this grate, be lined with fire-bricks, the joints well fitted, and laid in loam; by this means the objection to the lute of Becher and Shaw, is obviated; and as the bricks may be left an inch and half or more in thickness, the heat will be better retained than in the black lead furnaces of Dr. Lewis. To secure the iron door, whenever the furnace is to be used as a wind hole, or any strong fire raised therein, a piece of fire-brick is to be fitted to the opening, and the door shut, which will effectually preserve the iron from injury.

“ It has been customary to make portable furnaces in the form of a truncated cone, the smaller end being the lower part, that different sized grates, may fit at different heights; if this shape is still thought eligible, it may be easily obtained,

by leaving those bricks that are next the grate, thicker than those towards the upper part, and the diminution may either be regular, or projections left at the heights required, on which the different grates may rest.

“ Fire-bricks, fit for this purpose, are easily obtained in every part of this kingdom, and in London they are constantly to be met with, at a low price, being sent hither of two kinds, under the names of Wind-for bricks, and Nonfuch bricks; the first so called from being brought from the town of that name, and the other from their being made at Nonfuch Park, near Epfom, Surry: these bricks stand every degree of fire well, and are of so soft a texture, as readily to admit of cutting and grinding into any form required, so as to be easily adapted to the figure of the furnace; and as the loam or earth of which they are made, is also brought to town for setting them, that also may be readily obtained; and thus small portable furnaces, more durable, and better adapted to the making chemical experiments than any I have hitherto met with, are easily and at little expence constructed.

“ The very respectable authors I have already quoted, have given such precise and accurate descriptions of the forms best adapted to the uses intended, that no additions need be made to their works on that head; and the well known furnace of Dr. Black of Edinburgh, when lined with bricks, as now recommended, will be found greatly to exceed in utility, those which having been hitherto lined with lute, have been liable to the objections stated above.”



## NATURAL HISTORY of the GIANT'S CAUSEWAY.

[ From LETTERS concerning the Northern Coast of the County of ANTRIM, &c. By the Rev. WILLIAM HAMILTON. ]

“ THE vicinity of the little fishing village of Portrush to the Giant's Causeway, has afforded me, during my stay here, ample opportunity to visit that curious work of nature, and to examine, with a good deal of attention, the features of the adjoining country, which has hitherto been very imperfectly known.

“ The Causeway itself is generally described as a mole or quay, projecting from the base of a steep promontory, some hundred feet into the sea, and is formed of perpendicular pillars of basalt, which stand in contact with each other, exhibiting an appearance not much unlike a solid honeycomb. The pillars are irregular prisms, of various denominations, from four to eight sides; but the hexagonal columns are as numerous as all the others together.

“ On a minute inspection, each pillar is found to be separable into several joints, whose articulation is neat and compact beyond expression; the convex termination of one joint always meeting a concave socket in the next; besides which, the angles of one frequently meet over those of the other, so that they are completely locked together, and can rarely be separated without a fracture of some of their parts.

“ The sides of each column are unequal among themselves, but the contiguous sides of adjoining columns are always of equal dimensions, so as to touch in all their parts.

“ Though the angles be of various magnitudes, yet the sum of

the contiguous angles, of adjoining pillars, always makes up four right ones. Hence there are no void spaces among the basaltes, the surface of the causeway exhibiting to view a regular and compact pavement of polygon stones.

“ The outside covering is soft, and of a brown colour, being the earthy parts of the stone nearly deprived of its metallic principle by the action of the air, and of the marine acid which it receives from the sea.

“ These are the obvious external characters of this extraordinary pile of basalt, observed and described with wonder by every one who has seen it. But it is not here that our admiration should cease;—whatever the process was by which nature produced that beautiful and curious arrangement of pillars so conspicuous about the Giant's Causeway; the cause, far from being limited to that spot alone, appears to have extended through a large tract of country, in every direction, insomuch that many of the common quarries, for several miles around, seem to be only abortive attempts towards the production of a Giant's Causeway.

“ From want of attention to this circumstance, a vast deal of time and labour has been idly spent in minute examinations of the Causeway itself;—in tracing its course under the ocean, pursuing its columns into the ground—determining its length and breadth, and the number of its pillars—with numerous wild conjectures concerning its original; all of which cease to be



be of any importance, when this spot is considered only as a small corner of an immense basalt quarry, extending widely over all the neighbouring land.

“ The leading features of this whole coast are the two great promontories of Bengore and Fairhead, which stand at the distance of eight miles from each other : both formed on a great and extensive scale, both abrupt toward the sea, and abundantly exposed to observation, and each in its kind exhibiting noble arrangements of the different species of columnar basaltes.

“ The former of these lies about seven miles west of Ballycastle, and is generally described by seamen, who see it at a distance and in profile, as an extensive headland, running out from the coast a considerable length into the sea ; but, strictly speaking, it is made up of a number of lesser capes and bays, each with its own proper name, the *tout ensemble* of which forms what the seamen denominate the headland of Bengore.

“ These capes are composed of a variety of different ranges of pillars, and a great number of strata ; which, from the abruptness of the coast, are extremely conspicuous, and form an unrivalled pile of natural architecture, in which all the neat regularity and elegance of art is united to the wild magnificence of nature.

“ The most perfect of these capes is called Pleaskin, of which I shall attempt a description, and along with it hope to send a drawing which my draftsman has taken from the beach below at the risk of his neck ; for the approach from these promontories down to the sea is frightful beyond description, and requires not only a strong head,

but very considerable bodily activity to accomplish it.

“ The summit of Pleaskin is covered with a thin grassy sod, under which lies the natural rock, having generally an uniform hard surface, somewhat cracked and shivered. At the depth of ten or twelve feet from the summit, this rock begins to assume a columnar tendency, and forms a range of massy pillars of basaltes, which stand perpendicular to the horizon, presenting, in the sharp face of the promontory, the appearance of a magnificent gallery or colonade, upwards of sixty feet in height.

“ This colonade is supported on a solid base of coarse, black, irregular rock, near sixty feet thick, abounding in blebs and air holes ; but though comparatively irregular, it may be evidently observed to affect a peculiar figure, tending in many places to run into regular forms, resembling the shooting of salts and many other substances during a hasty crystallization.

“ Under this great bed of stone stands a second range of pillars, between forty and fifty feet in height, less gross, and more sharply defined than those of the upper story, many of them, on a close view, emulating even the neatness of the columns in the Giant's Causeway. This lower range is borne on a layer of red ochre stone, which serves as a relief to shew it to great advantage.

“ These two admirable natural galleries, together with the interjacent mass of irregular rock, form a perpendicular height of one hundred and seventy feet ; from the base of which, the promontory, covered over with rock and grass, slopes down to the sea for the space of two hundred feet more, making  
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in all a mass of near four hundred feet in height, which in beauty and variety of its colouring, in elegance and novelty of arrangement, and in the extraordinary magnitude of its objects, cannot readily be rivalled by any thing of the kind at present known.

“ Though there are but two complete ranges of pillars which appear in any of the promontories, yet it is not improbable that there may be many more in succession, at various depths under ground; and this opinion is confirmed by columnar marks which may be traced in several rocks that lie in the sea. The Causeway itself, which is situated at the base of one of those promontories, on the level of the beach, is one of those columnar beds that has been accidentally stripped and washed by length of time and storms.

“ The pillars of this whole headland appear naturally to effect a perpendicular situation, and in the few places where they lie in an inclined posture, it seems to be the effect of some external cause, which has deranged them from their original disposition. Indeed where the forms of crystallization are imperfect, they may be seen to shoot in various directions, and sometimes in irregular curves, but in most of these instances the columnar outline is very rude and unfinished.

“ It is worth remarking, that the ranges of pillars are more perfect in proportion as they lie deeper under ground; the second range in Pleaskin is evidently better finished than the upper one, and contains much fewer irregularities in the grain of its stone; while the pillars of the Causeway, which runs into the sea itself, have still a greater sharpness in their figure, and are

more close and uniform in their texture.

“ Such is the general outline of this great headland, which affords objects extremely interesting to every one who may wish to study nature in her bold and uncommon works.

“ At the distance of eight miles from hence (as I mentioned before) the promontory of Fairhead raises its lofty summit more than four hundred feet above the sea, forming the eastern termination of Ballycastle bay. It presents to view a vast compact mass of rude columnar stones, the forms of which are extremely gross, many of them being near one hundred and fifty feet in length, and the texture so coarse, as to resemble black schorle stone, rather than the close fine grain of the Giant's Causeway basalt. At the base of these gigantic columns lies a wild waste of natural ruins, of an enormous size, which in the course of successive ages have been tumbled down from their foundation by storms, or some more powerful operations of nature. These massive bodies have sometimes withstood the shock of their fall, and often lie in groups and clumps of pillars, resembling many of the varieties of artificial ruins, and forming a very novel and striking landscape.

“ A savage wildness characterizes this great promontory, at the foot of which the ocean rages with uncommon fury. Scarce a single mark of vegetation has yet crept over the hard rock to diversify its colouring, but one uniform greyness clothes the scene all around. Upon the whole, it makes a fine contrast with the beautiful capes of Bengore, where the varied brown shades of the pillars, enlivened by the red and green tints of ochre



and grass, casts a degree of life and cheerfulness over the different objects.

“ Though I have particularly described the basalt pillars of these two magnificent promontories, yet there are many other similar arrangements through this country, which, though less worthy of admiration as great objects, yet become extremely interesting when one wishes to search minutely into the natural causes which might have produced these extraordinary pillars.

“ The mountain of Dunmull, lying between Coleraine and the river Bush, abounds in this species of stone, particularly at the craigs of Islamore, where two different ranges of columns may be discovered; and at most of the quarries

which have occasionally been opened round the mountain.—They may be seen also at Dunluce-hill, near the castle of Dunluce:—in the bed of the river Bush, near the bridge of Bush-mills:—on the summit of the mountain of Croaghmore:—in many parts of the high land over Ballintoy:—in the island of Raghery; and various other places, through an extent of coast about fifteen miles in length, and two in breadth.

“ I shall not at present delay you with a minute description of each of these, but may, in the course of my letters, take an opportunity to mention the general character of the face of this country, and any singularities worthy notice, in the forms and situation of its basaltes.”

## DESCRIPTION of GORDALE.

[FROM HURTLEY'S Account of some Natural Curiosities in the Environs of MALHAM, in CRAVEN, YORKSHIRE.]

“ **D**ismounting at a neat little farm-house, at the entrance of an expansive vale, your attention immediately is arrested from the meanders of a rapid rivulet, filled with concretions and petrifications, to the proud and surly front of an inaccessible mass of solid rock, impending towards the winding of a gloomy cavern, and seeming to prohibit your advance.

“ The last time I paid my vows to the genius of this my native hermitage; wrapt in contemplation and lamenting the destruction of many a variegated blossom cropt by the indiscriminating hunger of the haggard goats, over my head among the cliffs one of them stood and

scratched an ear upon a shelf where I would not have stood stock still.

“ For all beneath the moon.”

“ The gloomy melancholy day suited well the savage aspect of the place; and although my mind, from the frequent adonations I have paid here, ought to have been proof against surprize, yet, just on turning the corner of the scar where the fissures hardly are asunder, and seem closing directly over you—Good heavens! what was my astonishment!—“ The Alps, the Pyrenees, Killarney, Loch Lomond, or any other wonder of the kind at no time, (says an eminent tourist and philosopher,) exhibit such a chasm:”



chasm:"—but at this instant, a dreadful peal of thunder, which if I had not been stupid beyond conception I ought to have been prepared for, burst upon me.

"Struck with indelible terror and astonishment, the natural apprehensions of instant destruction being over, a man must have been dead to rationality and reflection, whose mind was not elated with immediate gratitude to the supreme Architect and Preserver of the universe.

"In a brighter day, and without any hereditary veneration for the ground, to a mind capable of being impressed with the grand and sublime of nature, this is a scene which must inspire a pleasure chastised by astonishment and admiration. Personal safety also insinuates itself into the various feelings where the eye and ear are so tremendously assailed.

"As soon as you are turned within the canopy, the superincumbent crags, and a stupendous cataract gushing impetuously through a prodigious arch above 150 feet almost horizontally above you, proclaim again more sternly "*Huc ades sed non amplius.*"—The rock upon your left rises perpendicularly, variegated indeed with yews and evergreens starting from its interstices and shelves. But these are not the thing:—It is the rock upon your right, under which you stand to see the Fall, which forms the principal horror of the place.

"From its very base it begins to slope forwards over you in one black and awful canopy, and overshadows above half the area below its tremendous roof. When you stand five or six yards distant from its foot, the drops which are incessantly disilling from its brow fall upon your head, and in one part of its top more exposed to the weather, there are several loose stones which seem hanging in the air, and threaten you with immediate annihilation.

"It appears safer however to shelter yourself close under its base, and trust to the mercy of that enormous mass which nothing but an earthquake can remove.

"From the bottom of this right-hand cleft to its summit, which overhangs its base above twenty yards, is 240 feet; but above this point there are three other rows of receding rocks, confronting a similar range on the opposite side the chasm, from which, if a line was drawn across, the central height from the rivulet would be above 300 yards.

"If any thing can increase the natural solemnity of this vast and tremendous gulf, it is the mournful solitary screaming of the eagle tribe and the ill-boding croakings of the ravens, which if they are not beyond your sight appear soaring so high amid the clouds as if they were inhabitants of some loftier region, taking a survey of the world below them."



# ANTIQUITIES.

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## A SKETCH of the WELSH BARDS.

[From WARRINGTON'S HISTORY of WALES.]

“THE bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high estimation. Mankind have been early led to poetical compositions. Agreeable sounds would strike at first every ear, but poetry was necessary to give those sounds a lasting effect. Verse was made use of to preserve the memory of remarkable events and great actions. The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were also recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boast of a Homer, a Hesiod, and many other poets, several ages before an historian had written in prose. Among the Gauls also, and other Celtic nations, there were poems composed on various subjects from the earliest ages.

It is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdb*, unless derived from *bar*, which signifies *fury*; and, no doubt, has some analogy to that poetic fury, or enthusiasm, with which the poets fancied themselves, or might feign to be inspired. Diodorus Siculus is the first author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards, as composers of verses; which they sung to the harp, and other instruments of music; celebrating the praises of heroes, or chastising vicious characters with satirical in-

vectives. Ammianus Marcellinus says, it was the province of the bards to sing, in heroic verse set to musical notes of the harp, the achievements of illustrious men. There is a passage of Possidonius, cited by Athenæus, which describes the Celtic princes going to war, having bards in their train; who celebrated the praises of their chieftains in verse, which they sung to the people.

“Great respect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards, as they not only published their renown to the world, but consigned their fame to posterity. It is said, that this order of men were never guilty of flattery, and never lavished their praises on heroes, or even on kings themselves, unless deserved by their gallant exploits.

“Though the order of the bards was common to the Celtic nations, no vestige of them remains but among the Welsh, the Irish, and the ancient Caledonians.

“On the invasions of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the British empire, many poetical compositions were destroyed, with other ancient records; hence the writings of the bards, and those of the early historians are exceedingly scarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of prince

Merfyn,



Merfyn, is the first of our British historians, who mentions the bards. He says, that Talhaiarn was famous for poetry, that Aneurin, and Taliesin, Llywarch-hen and Cian, flourished at the same period. Of these bards, the works only of three are extant; those of Aneurin, of Taliesin, and Llywarch-hen. The writings of the other bards being lost, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praise, who asserts that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius. The poems which are extant contain many things deserving of notice, and throw a great light upon the historical events of that age. At the same time they are difficult to be understood, owing in part to the carelessness of transcribers, and in part to the language of itself, become obsolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable distinction of Mychdeirn-Beirddh, or monarch of the bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle against the Saxons. Taliesin, called likewise Pen-Beirddh, or the prince of the bards, resided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, and Urien Reged, prince of Cumberland. Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinsman to the last mentioned prince, was himself a sovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had passed his youthful days in the court of king Arthur. There are extant some manuscript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was driven by the Saxons into Powis, that he had twenty-four sons, all of whom were distinguished by golden torques, and that they all died in defence of their country. Besides those already mentioned, there were other bards who flourished during this period, the most eminent of

whom was Merddin Wyllt, who composed a poem called Afallenau, or the Orchard.

“ From the sixth to the tenth century, it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devastations of war, and to the civil dissensions among the Welsh.

“ Such was the respect in which the bards were held, that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dha, that whoever should strike any one of this order must compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was necessary to be paid to any other person of the same degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an assembly of the princes and chieftains of the country; in which they were assigned precedence, and emolument suitable to their merit; but the bard most highly distinguished for his talents was solemnly chaired, and had likewise a badge given him of a silver chair. This congress of the bards was most usually held at the three royal residences of the princes of Wales; the sovereign himself presiding in that assembly.

“ There were three different classes of this order in Wales. The first was called Beirddh, and were the composers of verses and odes in various measures; it was necessary that these should possess a genius for poetry, and that genius tinged with a high degree of enthusiasm. They were likewise the recorders of the arms of the Welsh gentry, and the grand repositories of the genealogies of families. This class was accounted the most honourable, and was high in the public estimation. The second class, called Minstrels, were performers upon instruments, chiefly the harp and the crwth. The third were they who



fung to those instruments, and were called *Datgeiniaid*.

“In the reign of *Gryffyth ap Cynan*, a law was enacted to ascertain the privileges of the bards and minstrels, and to restrain their licentious manners. This statute prescribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the persons on whom such emoluments were imposed. It was likewise enacted, that neither the bards nor the minstrels should lead the lives of vagabonds, nor sing verses in houses of public resort; that they should not be intoxicated with liquor, or be quarrelsome persons, or be addicted to women; and that they should neither be thieves themselves, nor be the companions of such; they were prohibited likewise from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person, without the licence of the parties concerned. If a bard or a minstrel should violate these restraints in their conduct, by a singular and unexampled severity, every man was made an officer of justice, and was authorised not only to arrest and to punish discretionally, but to seize on whatever property the offender had about him. This statute, the severity of which in some degree points out its necessity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the order.

“From this time under the auspicious protection of the Welsh princes, many excellent bards arose. *Meilir*, who was the bard of *Gryffyth ap Cynan*, was also employed in a military character, and was sent by that prince to transact a negotiation in England. *Gwalchmai* the son of *Meilir*, in a poem entitled *Gorhoffedd*, glories that he

had defended the marches of Wales against the English. *Cynddelw Brydydd-Mawr*, or *Cynddelw* the great bard, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of *Madoc ap Meredydh* the prince of *Powis*.

“From the time of *Owen Gwynedh*, to the death of that great prince the last *Llewelyn*, several bards flourished of distinguished talents; the most eminent of whom was *Llywarch Prydydh-y-Moch*, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of *Llewelyn the Great*; likewise *Dafydd Penrhas*, *Daniel ap Llofgurn Mew*, and *Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward*. Contemporaneous with these flourished *Philip Brydydh*, who was an eminent bard in *Cardigan*.

“Tyranny having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of *Edward*, in the massacre of the bards, that ancient seat of freedom and of poetry, was for a long time deprived of the exercise of their talents.

“During the spirited, and for a time the prosperous insurrection of *Owen Glendwrwy*, the Muses again appeared in the country: encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon liberty. Among the number of those bards who appeared at the court of *Glendwrwy*, was *Iolo Goch*, who celebrated, in a high strain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the same time flourished *Dafydd ap Gwylim*, a native of *Caerdigan*.

“The Welsh, having made the last effort for their expiring freedom, sunk into a state of slavery, the most deep and severe. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progress, and from holding public assemblies; which privileges



privileges were called by the natives *clera* and *cymhortha*. During this dark period, and the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguished, or was only employed in soothing the misery of the times by obscure predictions of more prosperous days.

“ A brighter prospect opening on the Welsh in the reign of Henry the Seventh, a series of bards from this time arose; who, being chiefly maintained in the families of the chieftains, ascertained the genealogies; and, the causes of reciting warlike exploits having ceased, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hospitable spirit, their talents, and the graces of their persons. They, likewise, amidst other duties, had the mournful office of composing an elegy on the death of

the chieftain in whose family they resided; which was sung to the surviving relations in honour of the dead; reciting the noble families from which the deceased had sprung, and the great actions performed by himself or his ancestors.

“ Since the reign of queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular assembly of the bards. The motives of emulation and reward being thus removed, and the spirit of ancient freedom being extinguished, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been so renowned, gradually declined. But some sparks of that ancient fire yet remain among the Welsh, which in seasons of festivity, break out into a singular kind of poetry, called *Pennyll*; and which, as a native art, may long survive, though time, or the influence of English manners, should erase every other original trait.

## ROYAL HOUSEHOLD amongst the WELSH.

[ From the same Work. ]

“ **T**HE Royal Household consisted of the following officers and domestics.

“ The Master of the Palace. He was sometimes the heir apparent, always of the royal blood. His authority extended to every person of the household, and when any of them fell under the king's displeasure, this officer entertained him till a reconciliation was effected. He received a share of all military plunder, and, on three festivals in the year, was obliged by his office to deliver the harp into the hands of the domestic bard. He was also, it is probable, the king's treasurer.

“ The Domestic Chaplain, was by his office appointed to say grace, to celebrate mass, and to be consulted in matters of conscience. He was also secretary to the king, and to the principal court of justice. In the king's absence, the domestic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the steward of the household, supported the royal dignity, and exercised the authority annexed to it.

“ The Steward of the Household, superintended the inferior domestics; receiving, among other emoluments, the skins of lambs, kids, and fawns, and all other creatures from an ox to an eel, killed for the use of the king's



king's kitchen. He was the king's taster; and drank, but did not eat, at the king's table. He distributed among the household their wages, he assigned them proper seats in the hall of the palace, and allotted the apartments where they were to lodge.

“The Master of the Hawks, was required to sleep near his birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept, and not in the palace, lest they should be injured by the smoke. He was restricted to a certain measure of mead and ale, that he might not neglect his duty. In spring he had the skin of a hind, and in autumn that of a stag, for gloves to guard his hands, and thongs for the gesses of his hawks. The eagle, the crane, the hawk, the falcon, and the raven, were considered as royal birds; when any of these were killed without authority, a fine was paid to the king. The king owed three services to the master of the hawks; on the day when he took a curlew, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horse of this officer while he took the bird, held his stirrup while he mounted and dismounted; and that night honoured him likewise with three different presents. If the king was not in the field, he rose from his seat to receive this officer upon his return; or if he did not rise, he gave him the garment he then wore.

“The Judge of the Palace. The court in which this judge presided was the principal court of Wales. It is said that he always lodged in the hall of the palace, and that the cushion on which the king was seated in the day, served for his pillow at night. On this appointment, he received an ivory chess-board from the king, a gold ring

from the queen, and another gold ring from the domestic bard; which he always kept as the insignia of his office. When he entered, or departed out of the palace, the great gate was opened for him, that his dignity might not be degraded by passing under a wicket. He determined the rank and duty of the several officers of the household. He decided poetical contests; and received from the victorious bard, whom he rewarded with a silver chair, the badge of poetical pre-eminence, a gold-ring, a drinking horn, and a cushion. If complaint was made to the king, that the judge of the palace had pronounced an unjust sentence, and the accusation was proved, he was then forever deprived of his office, and condemned to lose his tongue, or pay the usual ransom for that member. The other judges were also subject to these severe but salutary conditions. A person ignorant of the laws, whom the king designed to make his principal judge, was required to reside previously for a whole year in the palace, that he might obtain from the other judges, who resorted thither from the country, a competent knowledge of his duty and profession. During this year, the difficult causes which occurred, were stated and referred by him to the king; at the expiration of this term he was to receive the sacrament from the hands of the domestic chaplain, and to swear at the altar that he would never knowingly pronounce an unjust sentence, nor never be influenced by bribes or intreaties, hatred or affection; he was then placed by the king in his seat, and invested with the judicial authority; and afterwards received presents from the whole household. It was reckoned among  
the



the remarkable and peculiar customs of the Welsh, that the tongues of all animals slaughtered for the household were given to the judge of the palace.

“ The Master of the Horse. His lodging was near the royal stables and granary ; and it was his duty to make an equal distribution of provender among the royal horses. From every person on whom the king had bestowed one of his horses, this officer received a present. To him and to his equerries belonged all colts, not two years old, included in the king’s share of spoils taken in war. To him also belonged the riding caps, saddles, bridles, and spurs, which the king had used and laid aside. The spurs, we are told, were of gold, silver, and brass. It was part of his duty, to produce the horse belonging to the judge of the palace in good condition and in his complete furniture. The judge, in return for this care, instructed him in the nature of his rank and privileges. The extent of his protection was the distance to which the swiftest horse in the king’s stables could run.

“ The Chamberlain, was obliged to eat and sleep in the king’s private apartment, which he was appointed to guard. It was his duty to fill, and present to the king, his drinking horn ; and to keep also his plate and rings, for all of which he was accountable. When the king’s bed-furniture and wearing apparel were laid aside, they were given to the chamberlain. If a person, walking in the king’s chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be slain, the laws gave no compensation for his death.

“ The Domestic Bard, was considered as next in rank to the chief

bard of Wales. He was obliged, at the queen’s command, to sing in her own chamber, three different pieces of poetry set to music, but in a low voice, that the court might not be disturbed in the hall. At his appointment he received a harp from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. On three great festivals in the year, he received and wore the garments of the steward of the household, and at those entertainments sat next to the master of the palace. He accompanied the army when they marched into the enemies country ; and when they prepared for battle, he sung before them an ancient poem called Unbenniaeth Prydain, or the Monarchy of Britain ; and for this service was rewarded with the most valuable beasts of the plunder which they brought back from these incursions.

“ An Officer to command Silence. This he performed first by his voice, and afterwards by striking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domestic chaplain usually sat ; and to him a fine was due for every disturbance in the court. He took charge of the implements of husbandry, and of the flocks and herds belonging to the king’s demesne, in the absence of the bailiff, or during the vacancy of his place. He was also a collector of the royal revenues.

“ The Master of the Hounds. In the hunting season he was entertained, together with his servants and dogs, by the tenants who held lands in villanage from the king. Hinds were hunted from the middle of February to Midsummer, and stags from that time to the middle of October. From the ninth day of November to the end of that month, he hunted the wild boar. On the first day of November he brought



brought his hounds and all the hunting apparatus for the king's inspection; and then the skins of the animals he had killed in the preceding season were divided, according to a settled proportion, between the king, himself, and his attendants. A little before Christmas he returned to the court, to support his rank and enjoy his privileges. During his residence at the palace he was lodged in the kiln-house, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs. His bugle was the horn of an ox, valued at one pound. Whenever his oath was required, he swore by his horn, hounds, and leashes. Early in the morning before he put on his boots; and then only, he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature. The master of the hounds, or any other person who shared with the king, had a right to divide, and the king to choose. It was his duty, to accompany the army on its march with his horn; and to sound the alarm, and the signal of battle. His protection extended to any distance which the sound of his horn could reach. The laws declared, that the beaver, the martin, and the stoat were the king's, wherever killed; and that with the furry skin of these animals his robes were to be bordered. The legal price of a beaver's skin was stated at ten shillings.

“The Medd or Mead-brewer. This liquor, which was the wine commonly used by the Welsh, was made with honey mixed in a vat with boiling water, and spiced. The wax separated by this process from the honey, was partly given to the mead-brewer, and partly applied to the uses of the hall, which was the refectory of the palace; and to those of the queen's dining apartment.

“The Physician of the Household, was also a practitioner of surgery. In slight cases he cured the king's domestics without a fee. When he healed a common wound, he claimed the torn and bloody garments of the wounded person. When the brain was laid open, the bowels in sight, or a thigh, leg, or arm was fractured, he received one pound for the cure. He was entitled to a bond from the family of his patients, by which he was indemnified, if death ensued from his prescriptions; if he did not take this precaution, and the patient happened to die, he was liable to a legal prosecution. He always attended the army on its march.

“The Cup-bearer, had charge of the mead-cellar, and filled and presented the drinking horns.

“The Door keeper, whose duty it was to carry messages to the king and his court. His station and lodging was the gate-house. He was required to know personally all the officers of the household, that he might not refuse admittance to any of them, which refusal was considered and punished as a violation of privilege. If he deserted his post, and happened to receive any insult, he could obtain on that account no compensation. He cleared the way before the king, and with his rod kept off the crowd. He preserved the hall of the palace free from intruders, and did not sit, but kneel in the king's presence. The door-keeper of the palace, and the door keeper of the royal chamber, lodged with the gate-keeper in the gate-house.

“The Cook, to whose office appertained the skins of all animals slaughtered for the use of the kitchen. He always carried the last dish out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king, who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

“The



“ The Sconce-bearer, who held wax tapers when the king sat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

“ The Steward to the Queen; this officer was also her taster. He superintended her domestics, and was entertained at her table.

“ The Queen’s Chaplain, who was also her secretary, and received a fee for every grant or instrument which bore her seal. He was also entertained in her dining apartment, and sat opposite to her at table. He was entitled by his office to the penitential robes which the queen wore during Lent. He lodged together with the king’s chaplain, in the sacristan’s house.

“ The Master of the Horse to the Queen, was in several respects upon the same footing with the king’s officer of the same name.

“ The Queen’s Chamberlain, transacted every business between her apartment and the hall, and kept her wardrobe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be at hand whenever he was wanted.

“ The Woman of the Queen’s chamber, whose office it was to sleep so near her mistress as to be able to hear her speak though in a whisper. She was entitled to the queen’s linen, hair-laces, shoes, bridles, and saddles, when they were laid aside.

“ The Door-keeper to the queen, lodged in the gate-house.

“ The Queen’s Cook.

“ The Queen’s Sconce-bearer.

“ The Groom of the Rein, who when the master of the horse was absent, supplied his place. He led the king’s horse to and from the stables, brought out his arms, held his stirrup when he mounted or dismounted, and ran by his side as his page,

“ An officer to support the king’s feet at banquet’s: he was the foot-stool of his throne; and the guard of his person. There was one in every cantred.

“ The Bailiff of the King’s Demesne. It was his province to judge and to punish the king’s private vassals, and to him their heriots and amercements were paid. The servants of the chancellor and the officers of revenue drove into his custody the tribute cattle, and by him the king’s household was supplied with provision.

“ The Apparitor, as an officer of the household, stood between the two pillars in the hall, and had the charge of the palace during entertainments, that it might not suffer any damage by fire or otherwise. He appeared likewise in another capacity, conveying the summonses and citations of the principal court of justice. He carried a rod or wand as the badge of his office, and claimed entertainment at every house to which he was sent: when the judges were sitting, it was the apparitor’s duty to silence, or take into custody, those offenders who disturbed the court.

“ The Gate-keeper claimed by custom a share of several things carried through the gate-house to the palace. State prisoners were committed to his custody. He acted as apparitor in the king’s demesne. He provided straw for the beds and other uses of the household, and took care that the fires were lighted.

“ The Watch-man of the palace was a gentleman who guarded the king’s person while he slept. To him were given, as symbols of his duty, the eyes of all animals slaughtered for the use of the palace kitchen. When the king and the household retired to rest, a horn

was



was founded which was a signal to the watchman to go upon duty. In the morning, when the palace gate was opened, he was relieved. From that time till the horn was sounded again at night, he was permitted to sleep, and was under no necessity of performing any other service, unless he voluntarily undertook it for a reward. If he was found negligent or asleep during his watch, he was subject to heavy punishments.

“The Wood-man procured fuel for the uses of the household. He also slaughtered the cattle for the royal kitchen with his axe.

“The Baker Woman.

“The Palace-smith was obliged to work without a reward for the household, except when he made a boiling pot, the point of a spear, the wood-man's axe, the iron work of the gate of the palace, or royal castle, and the iron work of the mill. It was his duty to strike off the shackles of prisoners released by the court of justice, and he received a fee for that service. No other smith was allowed to exercise his trade in the same commot with himself without his permission.

“The Landdrefs.

“The Chief Musician was chosen into and seated in the chair of music, for his superior skill in that science, by the session of the bards at the end of every third year. When his term expired, if he had maintained his superiority he was re-chosen. He was the only person, except the domestic bard, who was allowed to perform in the king's presence. He was lodged in one of the apartments belonging to the heir apparent. In the hall he sat

next to the judge of the palace. When the king desired to hear music, the chief musician sung to the harp two poems; one in praise of the Almighty, the other in honour of princes and of their exploits; after which a third poem was sung by the domestic bard. His emoluments arose out of fees given by brides on their nuptials, and from those of novices in music, when they were admitted to the practice of their art. The Welsh bards accompanied their songs with the harp, the crwth and the flute. They frequently addressed poems to their princes and lords, in which they asked for presents, such as a horse, a bull, a sword, or a garment, and they were seldom, if ever, refused. The controller of the revenues had the privilege of bringing three guests to banquets in the palace. This officer and the chancellor received all the honey, the fish, and wild creatures, which were paid as tributes, or forfeited to the king. They also received a third part of the income arising to the king from his tenants in villanage.

“These were the different officers, of whom the royal household was composed. They were freeholders by their offices, and in consequence of this they all enjoyed the right of protection, by which they granted criminals a temporary safety. On the heads of these persons, and on all their members, a price was fixed by the laws. They received for their wearing apparel woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen. They were all called together by a horn.”



## MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

[ From the First Volume of GROSE'S MILITARY ANTIQUITIES. ]

“ **B**Y the Saxon laws, every freeman of an age capable of bearing arms, and not incapacitated by any bodily infirmity, was, in case of a foreign invasion, internal insurrection, or other emergency, obliged to join the army, that being one of the three services comprised under the title of the *trinoda necessitas*; these were, attending personally in war for the defence of the nation, working at and contributing to the building of the public castles and fortresses, and repairing bridges and highways.

“ In forming their armies the following regulations were observed: all such as were qualified to bear arms in one family, were led to the field by the head of that family. Every ten families made a *tything*, which was commanded by the borougher in his military capacity styled *conductor*. Ten *tythings* constituted an *hundred*; the soldiers of each hundred were led by the chief magistrate of the hundred, sometimes called the *hundredary*. Several hundreds formed a *trything*, which was commanded by the officer, called a *trything-man*; and the force of the country or *shire*, was commanded by the *hertoch*, *dux*, or *duke*, and he by the king, or an officer called the *kynings hold*, i. e. the king's lieutenant or general, which office lasted only during the war. In times of peace, or when the king did not think it necessary to have a general, the militia remained under the command of the dukes of each county.

“ Every landholder was obliged

to keep armour and weapons according to his rank and possessions; these he might neither sell, lend, nor pledge, nor even alienate from his heirs. In order to instruct them in the use of arms, they had their stated times for performing their military exercise; and once in a year, usually in the spring, there was a general review of arms, throughout each county.

“ The clergy were exempted from personal military services, not only as being contrary to their profession, but likewise that they might the better attend to their religious duties. Their estates, though held in *franc almoigne*, were however chargeable to the *trinoda necessitas*, the only imposition to which they were liable.

“ The greater part of the Anglo-Saxon forces consisted of infantry; the cavalry was chiefly composed of the *Thanes*, and such men of property as kept horses.

“ The Saxon cavalry are frequently delineated in ancient illuminations as riding without stirrups, with no other defensive armour than a helmet; their weapon a spear. It is nevertheless certain, that defensive armour was worn by their officers and great men about the time of the Norman conquest.

“ Their infantry seem to have been of two sorts, the heavy and light-armed. The first are represented with helmets made of the skins of beasts, the hair outwards, large oval convex shields, with spikes projecting from the bosses, long and very broad swords, and spears. The light-infantry with  
spears



spears only, and some no other weapon than a sword, besides which, different histories relate that they also used clubs, battle-axes, or bills, and javelins, the latter they darted with great dexterity, and then instantly came to close fight. The dress of both horse and foot, was a tunic with sleeves, the skirts reaching down to the knees, the horsemen wore spurs with only one point.

“ The kings commonly wore their crowns in battle, which also in some measure answered the purpose of a helmet.

“ The Anglo-Saxon mode of drawing up their armies, was in one large dense body, surrounding their standard, and placing their foot with their heavy battle-axes in the front.

“ By the laws of king Edward the Confessor, any man who from cowardice abandoned his lord, or fellow-soldiers, whilst under the command of the hertoch, in any expedition by land or sea, forfeited both his life and property, and his lord might resume any lands he had formerly granted him. He who was slain in war fighting before his lord, either at home or abroad, all payments due for reliefs on his estates were remitted to his heirs, who were to enjoy his lands and money without any diminution, and might divide it among them.

“ The introduction of the feudal system, which took place in this kingdom about the year 1086, gave a very considerable change to the military establishment of the nation. This alteration in the constitution, was not, it is said, effected by the sole power of king William, but was adopted with the consent of the great council of the realm, assembled at Sarum, where all the principal landholders sub-

jected their possessions to military services, became the king's vassals, and did homage, and swore fealty to his person for the lands held of him, as superior lord and original proprietor. But when it is considered, that the great land-holders at that meeting were most of them Normans, the friends and followers of the king, on whom he had bestowed the estates taken from the English; the suffrage of such an assembly, though freely obtained, will scarce justify the measure being deemed a national choice.

“ By this system all the lands of the realm were considered as divided into certain portions, each producing an annual revenue, styled a knight's fee. Our ancient lawyers are not agreed as to the quantity of land, or sum of money of which it consisted; it indeed seems to have varied at different periods: however, in the reigns of Henry II. and Edward II. a knight's fee was stated at 20l. per annum, the number of knight's fees in this kingdom was estimated at sixty thousand.

“ By the feudal law, every tenant in capite, that is every person holding immediately from the king, the quantity of land amounting to a knight's fee, was bound to hold himself in readiness, with horse and arms to serve the king in his wars, either at home or abroad, at his own expence, for a stated time, generally forty days in a year, to be reckoned from the time of joining the army. Persons holding more or less, were bound to do duty in proportion to their tenures, thus one possessed of but half a fee, was to perform service for twenty days only. The lands of the church were not exempt, but ecclesiastics were generally indulged with performing their service by deputies.

Although



Although sometimes their personal appearance was insisted on, possibly from a supposition that their presence with the army would give a confidence to the soldiers, and a sanction to the cause, effects not unlikely in those days of superstition; or perhaps the instance here particularly alluded to, was occasioned by some new contrivance of the clergy, to avoid the performance of their military services, by calling a convocation.

“The service being accomplished, the tenant was at liberty to return home; if he or his followers afterwards continued to serve with the army, they were paid by the king: certificates from the constable or marshal were sometimes required, in proof that a knight had duly performed his service.

“If a tenant in capite, or knight, could not perform his service in person, through sickness, being a minor, or any other cause, he obtained leave to send some able person in his stead, an indulgence for which it was often necessary to fine to the king, a fine being in the language of those days, not only an amercement for an offence, but also the price of a favour. Our records afford several instances, wherein feudal tenants unable to bear arms, were by proclamation directed to find unexceptionable persons to perform their services for them.

“As a tenant who held several

knight's fees, could not do the service of more than one in his person, he might discharge the others, by able substitutes being knights, or by two esquires, sometimes styled servants, in lieu of each knight.

“Sometimes the king compounded with his tenants for particular services, and sometimes for those of the whole year, accepting in lieu thereof pecuniary payments, with which he hired stipendiary troops: this is generally supposed to have introduced the practice of levying scutages, first begun by king Henry II. The punishment for non-attendance, when duly summoned, was a heavy fine, or forfeiture of the tenure.

“The tenants in capite in order to find substitutes for those fees, for which they could not serve themselves, made under grants to their favourites and dependants, liable to the same conditions as those, on which they held them from the crown, namely fealty and homage, and that their tenant should attend them to the wars, when they should be called upon by the king, there to serve for a stated time at their own expence, properly armed and mounted: these again had their under tenants and vassals. Men at arms, or knights, were generally attended by their tenants and vassals, both on horseback, and on foot, these served in the infantry either as archers or bill men.”

## CONSTITUTIONAL ESTABLISHMENT after the CONQUEST.

[From the same Publication.]

“THE constitutional military force of England, soon after the Conquest, consisted of the

feudal troops and the posse comitatus.

“The feudal troops were either the



the persons who held lands in capite, that is, immediately of the crown, or their vassals and under-tenants, both of whom were, as has before been observed, obliged by their tenures to attend the king and their lords to the wars, at home or abroad, completely armed and mounted, for forty days in a year, or according to the value of the fees held by them.

“The posse comitatus, or power of the county, included every freeman above the age of fifteen, and under that of sixty, and although the chief destination of this establishment was to preserve the peace under the command of the sheriff, they were also, in case of hostile invasions called out to defend the country, and repel the enemy. The posse comitatus differed from the feudal troops in this; they were only liable to be called out in case of internal commotions, or actual invasions, on which occasions only they could legally be marched out of their respective counties, and in no case out of the kingdom; whereas the feudal troops were subject to foreign service at the king’s pleasure. That this body of men might be ready to take the field, the following law was enacted by Henry II. A. D. 1181, in the 27th year of his reign; which was in substance similar to that mentioned in treating of the military establishment before the battle of Hastings.

“Whosoever holds one knight’s fee shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield and a lance; and every knight to have as many coats of mail, helmets, shields and lances, as he shall have knights fees in his domain.

“Every free layman having in chattels or rent to the value of sixteen marks, shall keep a coat of

mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance.

“Every free layman who shall have in chattels or rent ten marks, shall have a habergeon, a chapelet of iron, and a lance.

“Also all burgeses and the whole community of freemen shall have a wambais, a chapelet of iron, and a lance.

“Every one of these (before mentioned) shall swear that he will have these arms before the feast of St. Hilary, and will bear fealty to king Henry, to wit, the son of the empress Matilda, and that he will keep these arms for his service, according to his command, and with fidelity to our lord the king and his realm: and no man having these arms shall sell, pledge, nor lend them, nor alienate them in any other manner: nor shall the lord take them from his vassal by forfeiture, gift, pledge, or any other manner.

“On the death of any one having these arms, they shall remain to his heir; and if the said heir is not of such age as to be able to use arms, they shall, if necessary, be put into the custody of him who has the guardianship of his person, who shall provide a man to use them in the service of our lord the king, if required, until the heir shall be of a proper age to bear arms, and then they shall be delivered to him.

“Any burgeses having more arms, than he is by this assize required to have, shall sell or give them, or so alienate them, that they may be retained for the service of our lord the king of England; and none of them shall keep more arms than he is by this assize bound to have.

“No Jew shall have in his custody a coat of mail, or habergeon, but



but shall sell or give it away, or in some other manner so dispose of it, that it shall remain in the king's service.

"Also no man shall carry arms out of the kingdom, unless by the command of our lord the king, nor shall any man sell arms to another, who means to carry them out of the kingdom.

"By other parts of this law it was directed, that juries shall be appointed in the hundreds and boroughs of every county, to discover who had chattels or rent to the value expressed therein; on which inquest no person who had not chattels to the value of sixteen marks, or ten at least, was to serve. The king's justices in their circuits were required to enroll the names of the jurors, and of those who should be found to have chattels or rents to the value above mentioned, after which they were to cause this affize to be publicly read, and all the persons concerned were to be sworn to observe it in all points.

"And if it happened that any one of those who ought to have these arms was not in his county at the time the justices were there, they were directed to appoint another time and county for his appearance; and if he did not come to them in any of the counties through which they passed, they were in that case to appoint him a time at Westminster, at the octaves of St. Michael, then to attend and take his oath, as he loved himself and all that belonged to him; and he was likewise to be commanded to have, before the feast of St. Hilary, arms such as he was by law bound to possess.

"Also the justices were enjoined to cause it to be notified over all the counties through which they were to pass, that those who had not these arms as aforesaid, the king would punish corporally in

their limbs, and not in their goods, their lands, or chartels.

"Also none might act as jurors respecting legal and free men, who hath not sixteen marks in land, or ten marks in chattels.

"Also the justices to command in all the counties by which they should pass, that no one as he loved himself and all that belonged to him, should buy or sell any ship, to be taken out of England; and the king commanded that none but a freeman should be admitted to take the oath of arms.

"This regulation, or affize, received a farther corroboration, by the statute of the 13th of king Edward I. called the statute of Winchester, by which, every man was bound to provide and keep armour and weapons, according to his estate or goods.

The armour and weapons directed by the statute of Winchester to be kept by persons of different possessions, were thus allotted: every one possessed of lands to the yearly value of fifteen pounds and forty marks in goods, to keep a haubergeon, an iron head piece, a sword, knife, and horse. Those having from ten, and under fifteen pounds in lands and chattels, or the value of forty marks, the same as the preceding class, the horse excepted: Persons having an hundred shillings per annum in land, and upwards, were to keep a doublet, a head-piece of iron, a sword, and a knife. And from forty shillings annual rent in land, and upwards, to one hundred, a sword, bow and arrows, and a knife. He that had under forty shillings in land, was sworn to keep faulchions, gisarmes, daggers, and other small arms. Persons possessing less than twenty marks in chattels, to have swords, daggers, and other inferior weapons; and all others authorized to keep



bows and arrows, might have them out of the forests. A review of these arms was to be made twice a year, by two constables of every hundred, who were to report defaulters to the justices, and they to present them to the king in parliament. This statute was repealed in the first of Philip and Mary, and another enacted, wherein armour and weapons of more modern date were inserted.

“By that act it was provided, that all temporal persons, having estates of a thousand pounds or upwards, should, from the first of May, 1588, keep six horses or geldings fit for mounting demi-launces, three of them at least to have sufficient harness, steele saddles, and weapons requisite and appertaining to the said demi-launces, horses or geldings; and ten light horses, or geldings with the weapons and harness requisite for light-horsemen; also forty corselets furnished, forty almaine rivetts, or instead of the said forty almaine rivetts, forty coats of plate, corselets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bowes, thirty sheaf of arrowes, thirty steele cappes or sculles, twenty black bills or halberts, haquebut, and twenty morians or fallets.

“Temporal persons having estates to the value of 1000 marks and upwards, and under the clear yearly value of 1000l. to maintain four horses or geldings for demi-launces, whereof two at the least to be horses; with sufficient weapons, saddles, meet and requisite to the said demi-launces; six light-horses, with furniture, &c. necessary for the same, thirty corselets furnished; thirty almaine rivetts, or in lieu thereof thirty coats of plate, corselets, or brigandines furnished; thirty pikes, twenty long bowes, twenty sheafs of arrowes, twenty steel caps or sculls, ten black bills or

halberts, ten haquebuts and ten morians or fallets.

“Every temporal person having 400l. per annum, and under the clear yearly value of 1000 marks, to keep two horses, or one horse and one gelding, for light-horses, twenty corselets furnished, twenty almaine rivetts furnished, or instead thereof, twenty coats of plate, corselets or brigandines furnished; twenty pikes, fifteen long bowes, fifteen sheaves of arrowes, fifteen steel caps, or sculls, six haquebuts, and six morians or fallets.

“Temporal persons having clear 200l. per annum, and under 400l. per annum, one great horse or gelding fit for a demi-launce, with sufficient furniture and harness, steeled saddle, &c. two geldings for light-horse, with harness and weapons as aforesaid: ten corselets furnished, ten almaine rivetts, or instead thereof, ten coats of plate corselets, or brigandines furnished, ten pikes, eight long bows, eight sheafs of arrowes, eight steel caps or sculls, three haquebuts, and three morians or fallets.

“Every temporal person, &c. having 100l. or under 200l. per annum, two geldings and furniture, &c. for light-horsemen, three corselets, furnished, three almaine rivetts, corselets or brigandines furnished, three long pikes, three bowes, three sheaves of arrowes, three steel caps or sculls, two haquebuts, and two morians or fallets.

“Temporal persons having 100 marks and under 100l. per annum, one gelding and furniture for a light horseman, two corselets furnished, two almaine rivetts, coats of plate or brigandines furnished, two pikes, two long bowes, two sheafs of arrows, two steel caps or sculls, one haquebut, one morian or fallet.

“Temporal persons having 40l. or



or under 100 marks per annum, two corselets furnished, two almaine rivetts, corselets or brigandines furnished; two pikes, one long bowe, one sheaf of arrows, one steel cap or scull, two haquebuts, two morians or fallets.

“Persons having 20l. and under 40l. per annum, one corselet furnished, one pike, one haquebut, one morian or fallet, one long bowe, one sheaf of arrows, and one steel cap or scull.

“Temporal persons having 10l. and under 20l. per annum, one almaine rivett, a coat of plate or brigandine furnished, one haquebut, one morian or fallet, and one long bowe, one sheaf of arrows, and one steel cap or scull.

“Temporal persons having 5l. and under 10l. per annum, one coat of plate furnished, one black bill or halbert, one long bowe, and one sheaf of arrows, one steel cap or scull.

“Temporal persons having goods and chattels to the amount of 1000 marks, one horse or gelding furnished for a demi-launce, one gelding furnished for a light-horseman, or eighteen corselets furnished instead of the said horse and gelding and furniture of the same, at their choice; two corselets furnished, two almaine rivetts, or instead thereof two corcelets or two brigandines furnished, two pikes, four long bowes, four sheafs of arrowes, four steel caps or sculls, and three haquebuts, with three morians or fallets.

“Temporal persons having goods &c. to the amount of 400l. and above, and under 1000 marks, one gelding for a light-horseman, properly furnished, or instead thereof nine corcelets furnished, at his choice, and one other corcelet furnished; one pike, two almaine rivetts, or plate coates, or brigandines

furnished, one haquebut, two long bowes, two sheafs of arrowes, and two steel caps or sculls.

“Goods, &c. to the amount of 200l. and upwards, and under 400l. one corcelet furnished, one pike, two almaine rivetts, plate coats, or brigandines furnished; one haquebut, one morian or fallet, two long bowes, two sheafs of arrows, and two sculls or steel caps.

“Goods, &c. to the amount of 100l. or above, and under 200l. one corcelet furnished, one pike, one pair of almaine rivetts, one plate coat, or pair of brigandines furnished, two long bowes, and two sheafs of arrowes and two sculls.

“Goods, &c. to the amount of 40l. and under 100l. two pair of almaine rivetts, or two coats of plate, or brigandines furnished, one long bowe, one sheaf of arrowes, one steel cap or one scull, and one black bill or halbert.

Goods, &c. to the amount of 20l. and upwards, and under 40l. one pair of almaine rivetts, or one coat of plate, or one pair of brigandines, two long bowes, two sheafs of arrowes, two sculls or steel caps, and one black bill or halbert.

“Goods, &c. to the amount of 10l. and above, and under 20l. one long bowe, one sheaf of arrowes, with one steel cap or scull, and one black bill or halbert.

“Temporal persons not charged by this act, having annuities, copyholds, or estate of inheritance to the clear yearly value of 30l. or upwards, to be chargeable with furniture of war, according to the proportion appointed for goods and chattels.

“And every person who by the act of the 33d of king Henry VIII. cap. 5. was bound by reason, that his wife should wear such kind of apparel, or other thing, as in the same statute is mentioned and declared,



clared, to keepe or find one great stoned trotting horse, viz. Every person temporal, whose wife (not being divorced, nor willingly absenting herself from him) doth were any gowne of silke, French hood, or bonet of velvet, with any habilliment, past, or edge of golde, pearle, or stone, or any chaine of golde about her necke, or in her partlet, or in any apparell of her body, except the sonnes and heires apparent of dukes, marqueses, earles, viconts and barons, and others having heriditaments to the yearly value of 600 marks or above, during the life of their fathers and wardes having heriditaments of the yearly value of 200l. and who are not by this act before charged, to have, maintaine, and keep any horse or gelding; shall from the said first of May, have, keep, and maintain, one gelding, able and meete for a light-horseman, with sufficient harness and weapon for the same, in such manner and forme, as every person having lordships, houses, lands, &c. to the clear yearly value of 100 marks is appointed to have.

“ Any person chargeable by this act, who, for three whole months from the 1st of May, shall lack or want the horses or armour, with which he is charged, shall forfeit for every horse or gelding in which he is deficient, ten pounds; for every demi-launce and furniture, three pounds; for every corselet and furniture of the same, forty shillings, and for every almain rivet, coat of plate, or brigandine and furniture of the same, twenty shillings; and for every bow and sheaf of arrows, bill, halbert, hacquebut, steel cap, scull, morian and sallet, ten shillings, one half of these forfeitures to the king

and queen, the other half to the parties suing for the same.

“ The inhabitants of all cities, boroughs, towns, parishes, &c. other than such as are specially charged before in this act, shall keep and maintain at their common charges, such harness and weapons as shall be appointed by the commissioners of the king and queen, to be kept in such places as shall by the said commissioners be appointed.

“ Indentures to be made of the numbers and kinds thereof between two or more of the said commissioners, and twelve, eight, or four, of the principal inhabitants of every such city, borough, &c. &c. one part to remain with the chief officer of the said city, &c. and the other part with the clerk of the peace of the county.

“ And if any of the inhabitants shall be deficient for three months in any of the articles directed to be found, they shall forfeit for every article according to the proportion before mentioned, to be applied and levied as there directed.

“ The lord chancellor for the time being shall have full power to grant commissions under the great seal of England, to as many justices of every shire or county as he shall deem necessary for making this appointment of horses and armour. This act not to invalidate any covenant between a landlord and his tenant for finding horses, armour, or weapons.

“ The justices of every county are hereby authorized to make search and view from time to time of and for the horses, armour, &c. to be kept by persons possessed of 200l. per ann. and not above 400l. per ann. or to be found by persons chargeable on account of their goods,



goods, chattels, &c. as aforesaid, and to hear and determine at their quarter sessions every default committed or done, contrary to this act, within the county, and to level the penalties.

“ Any soldier making sale of his horse, harness, or weapon, or any of them contrary to the form of the statute made in the said 2d and 3d year of the late king, i. e. the 2d and 3d of king Edward VI. shall incur the penalty of the said statute, and the sale shall be void, the purchaser knowing him to be a soldier.

“ All presentments and prosecutions to be within one year after the commission of the offence.

“ Persons prosecuted for deficiencies of armour may plead their inability to procure it, on account of the want of it within the realm, which plea, if true, shall be a sufficient justification; if denied, issue to be joined, and the trial of such issue, only had by the certificate of the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, the lord president of the council, the lord steward of the king's and queen's most honourable household, the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, and the lord chamberlain of the said household, or by three of them, under their hands and seals, &c. &c. this act or any usage to the contrary notwithstanding. No persons to be charged both for lands and goods. This act not to repeal the act of the

33d of Henry VIII. for having long bowes, and exercising archery.

“ Provided any horses shall die, or be killed, or armour be lost or expended in the defence of the realm, the owner shall not be prosecuted for the deficiency within one year after such loss.

“ The want of a gantlet or gantlets shall not be reckoned a deficiency for a corcelet.

“ The servants of such persons as are bound to find a haquebut, may exercise themselves in shooting at such marks as are limited and appointed by the 33d of Henry VIII. so that they do not use such haquebut in any highway. This act not to extend to Wales, Lancaster, or Chester, nor to oblige any one to have or to find a haquebut, but that they may, at their will and pleasure, have and keep instead of every haquebut charged in this act, one long bowe, and one sheaf of arrowes, over and above such other armour and munition as is by the laws of the realm appointed.

“ The lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal may from time to time by virtue of the king's commission, appoint commissioners in every city, borough, &c. &c. as well in England as Wales, consisting of justices with other persons joined with them, as he shall think meet, to take a view of armour, and to assign what harness, &c. they shall be bound to provide and keep.”

## MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS in IRELAND.

[FROM ARCHDALL'S MONASTICON HIBERNICUM.]

### “ LOUGHDEARG;

“ **I**N the parish of Templecarn, and barony of Tírugh; in this lough there are several islands,

the largest is called the island of St. Dabeoc, some call it St. Fintan's island, and others the island of



Saints. In this island was a priory of canons regular, following the rule of St. Augustine, which was dedicated to the saints Peter and Paul, and founded, as some say, by the great apostle of Ireland, but others give the foundation to St. Dabeoc, who was also called Mo-beoc and Beonan; he was brother to St. Canoc, who flourished about the year 492. St. Dabeoc is patron of this church, where three festivals are held to his honour yearly, on the 1st of January, 24th of July, and 16th of December. St. Dabeoc is said to have been buried in this abbey, which he made subject to the great Abbey of Armagh; it had a fine chapel, with convenient houses for the monks, the remains of which may yet be seen. One of the St. Patricks was prior here about the year 850.

“Notwithstanding the reputed holiness of this celebrated monastery, it was plundered and reduced to ashes by Bratachas O’Boyle and M’Mahon A. D. 1207. John was prior in 1353.

“St. Patrick’s purgatory, as it is called, was first fixed in this island, but it being near to the shore, and a bridge from the main land giving the people a free and easy access into it, the cave was closed up, and another was opened in a lesser island, about half a mile from the shore. Some people have given the invention of this purgatory to the great St. Patrick, but others, with more probability, ascribe it to Patrick who was prior here about the year 850. This purgatory continued a long time in high repute both at home and abroad. We find, in our records, several safe conducts granted by the kings of England to foreigners desirous to visit it, and particularly in the year 1358, to Maletesta Un-

garus, kn. another bearing the same date, to Nicholas de Beccario, a nobleman of Ferrara; and in 1397, one to Raymond, viscount de Perilleux and knight of Rhodes, with a train of 20 men and 30 horses. But this purgatory must have fallen afterwards into disrepute, for we find, that by the authority of the pope, Alexander the VIth, (he having considered the same in the light of imposition) it was demolished on St. Patrick’s day, in the year 1497, by the father guardian of the Franciscans of Donnegall, and some other persons of the deanery of Loughern, who were deputed for this purpose by the bishop. A canon of the priory of St. Dabeoc usually resided on the island, for the service of the church and pilgrims.

“The extent of this island is scarcely three quarters of an Irish acre; the cave of the purgatory is built of free stone, and covered with broad flags and green turf laid over them; in length, within the walls, it measures sixteen feet and an half, and in breadth, about two feet and an inch; when the door is shut, no light can be discovered save what enters at a small window in the corner. In 1630 the government of Ireland thought fit to have it finally suppressed, and it was accordingly dug up, to the no small distress and loss of the Roman Catholic clergy.”

*“Priory of the HOLY TRINITY, commonly called CHRIST CHURCH.*

“INVOLVED in darkness and obscurity, in vain we search for the origin of our religious foundations, the improbabilities and fictions of monkish legends are often our only evidences, and we are frequently obliged to adopt the palpable anachronisms



chronisms of such writings, in the place of authentic documents and chronological certainty.

“ On the present occasion we are fortunately relieved from these difficulties by the testimony of a venerable record, the Black Book of Christ Church, which informs us, that about the year of our Lord 1038, Sitric, the son of Ableb, or rather Aulif, the Danish prince of Dublin, gave to Donat, bishop of that see, a place where the arches or vaults were founded, to erect a church to the honour of the Blessed Trinity.

“ Ware, Harris, and other antiquaries who have mentioned these circumstances, give us the extract without subjoining any elucidation, which however it seems to call for.

“ From the practice of those ages we know, that it was usual to build small oratories, and to arch that part in which the shrine of the saint, or other sacred deposit was placed. The stone roofing prevented accidents from fire, and at the same time preserved a reference to those cryptical monastic cells, then held in general veneration. When a large edifice was constructed, as was particularly the case at Cashell, those ancient vaulted oratories were religiously preserved, and were looked upon as indubitable proofs of the antiquity and holiness of the church. From this explanation and instance, a doubt cannot be entertained of these arches being the foundation of an ancient oratory, and which the donations of Sitric enlarged and furnished with convenient and necessary offices; for so the words “*sufficienter ad ædificandam ecclesiam cum tota curia*” are to be interpreted.

“ The father and grandfather of Sitric died on their journey to Rome, the fashionable tour of those days, and Sitric seems to have

been actuated with the same love of religion which so eminently distinguished his family. Additional credit is derived to this record from the times of Sitric and Donat synchronizing; so that it may be assumed as certain, that the church was begun about the period now assigned.

“ The grants of Sitric were not many, as his territory was circumscribed, and lay mostly on the sea coast; but he bestowed on them the lands of Bealdulech, or Baldoyle, Rechen and Portrahern, with their villans, cows, and corn; and Donat built an episcopal palace contiguous to the church. The religious of this community were secular canons, not tied to the observance of strict monastic rules, or belonging to any of the cenobitical orders; yet they were a sort of monks lax in discipline, and bound to such regulations as the bishop prescribed. On the advancement of Laurence O’Toole to the see of Dublin in A. D. 1163, he made them canons regular of the order of Arras, a branch of the Augustinians.

“ We find in Ware’s history of the bishops, that after the death of Maurice M’Donald, archbishop of Armagh, in the year 1134, Nigel M’Aid usurped that see, taking away with him, says St. Bernard in his life of Malachy, the ornaments of the church, such as the text of the gospels which had belonged to St. Patrick, and a staff covered with gold and set with precious stones, called the staff of Jesus: in such reverence were these reliques held, that whoever possessed them was esteemed the rightful possessor of the see. The history of this celebrated staff, as delivered by Joceline, is briefly this: St. Patrick, moved by divine instinct, or angelic revelation,



revelation, visited one Justus, an ascetic who inhabited an island in the Tyrrhene sea, a man of exemplary virtue and most holy life. After mutual salutations and discourse, he presented the Irish Apostle with a staff which he averred he had received from the hands of Jesus Christ himself. In this island were some men in the bloom of youth, and others who appeared aged and decrepit; St. Patrick conversing with them, found that these aged persons were sons of those seemingly young; astonished at this miraculous appearance, he was told, "that from their infancy they had served God, that they were constantly employed in works of charity, and their doors ever open to the traveller and distressed; that one night a stranger, with a staff in his hand, came to them, whom they accommodated to the best of their power; that in the morning he blessed them, and said, I am Jesus Christ whom you have always faithfully served, but last night you received me in my proper person: he then gave his staff to their spiritual father, with directions to deliver it to a stranger named Patrick, who would shortly visit them; on saying this he ascended into heaven, and left us in that state of juvenility in which you behold us, and our sons, then young, are the old decrepit persons you now see." Joceline goes on to relate, that with this staff our Apostle collected every venomous creature in the island to the top of the mountain of Cruagh Phadruig, in the county of Mayo, and from thence precipitated them into the ocean.

"These tales were traditional among the Irish from the early ages and antecedent to the time of Joceline, who wrote A. D. 1185,

for we find them in Henry the monk of Saltrey, who flourished about forty years before that period. Superstition thus finding an easy assent from the credulity of mankind, wonderfully exalted the power of, and excited the veneration due to, such reliques, so that we need not wonder at the notice taken of them in the records of this church.

#### " CLONMACNOISE.

"This monastery, which belonged to the regular canons of St. Augustin, was peculiarly and universally esteemed; it was uncommonly extensive, and amazingly enriched by various kings and princes; its landed property was so great, and the number of cells and monasteries subjected to it so numerous, that almost half of Ireland was said to be within the bounds of Clonmacnoise: and what was a strong inducement and contributed much towards enriching this house, it was believed, that all persons who were interred in the Holy Ground belonging to it, had insured to themselves a sure and immediate ascent to Heaven; many princes (it is supposed for this reason) chose this for the place of their sepulture; it was the Jona of Ireland: yet notwithstanding the reputed sanctity of this monastery, and the high estimation in which it was held by all ranks of people, it appears from the foregoing history, that the abbey and town were frequently plundered, burnt, and destroyed by despoilers of every kind, from the unpolished Irish desperado to the empurpled king: the abbey also suffered by the hands of the barbarous Ostmen, and not only by them, but, (with concern do we add) by the English then settled



settled in the kingdom, whose errand hither, we would wish to think, was to conciliate the affections of the people, to unite them in bonds of friendship, and to teach them to be like fellow-citizens and subjects; instead of this, we are compelled to say, they too often joined in the sacrilegious outrages of other wicked men, and repeatedly disturbed and despoiled the peaceful seminary of Clonmacnoise; sparing neither book, vestment, or any other appendage of the sacred altar, which belonged to these truly inoffensive men.

“ The situation of Clonmacnoise is delightful. It stands about ten miles from Athlone, on the banks of the Shannon, and is raised above the river on ground composed of many small elevations, on which are a few of the buildings which did belong to this ancient house: several other ruins appertaining to it may also be seen in the little vallies between the hills. The whole is bounded to the east and north with very large bogs.

“ Here are two round towers, elegantly built of hewn stone; the larger, which is called O'Rourke's, and wants the roof, is sixty-two feet in height, and fifty-six in circumference, and the walls are three feet eight inches in thickness; the other tower, called M'Carthy's, is seven feet in diameter within, and the walls are three in thickness, and fifty-six in height, including the conical shaped roof. The next considerable building we find here is the cathedral, which was the ancient abbey, the doors of it are richly carved. There are several old monuments in this church, on which are inscriptions, said to be partly in Hebrew and partly in Irish. At length this abbey, which was formerly endowed with very

large possessions, suffered a gradual decline, and in the course of time was reduced and despoiled of all its property.

“ The cemetery contained about two Irish acres, on which ten other churches were afterwards built by the kings and petty princes of the circumjacent country, who, though at perpetual war whilst living, were content to rest peaceably beside each other. The several founders named these churches as follows: Temple Righ, or Melaghlin's Church, built by O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and to this day it is the burial place of that family; Temple O'Connor built by O'Connor Dun; Temple Kelly; Temple Finian, or M'Carthy, built by M'Carthy-more of Munster; Temple Hurpan, or M'Laffy's Church; Temple Kieran; Temple Gauney; Temple Doulin, which is now the parish church; and Temple M'Dermot; this last was much larger than any of the others, and before the west door stands a large old cross of one entire stone, much defaced by time, on which was some rude carving, and an inscription in antique and unknown characters; the north doors are very low, but guarded with small pillars of fine marble, curiously hewn. Another of these churches hath within it an arch of greenish marble, flat wrought, and beautifully executed, the joints of which are so close, that the whole appears to be of one entire stone. Besides the cross before mentioned there are three others in the churchyard.

“ Here we also find Temple Easpic, or the Bishop's Chapel; and on the west of the cemetery lie some ruins of the episcopal palace, which may still be seen.

“ The 9th of September is annually



annually observed as the patron-day, when great numbers from the most distant parts of Ireland, assemble here in pilgrimage."

" INISMURRAY,

" An island in the great western ocean, and about five miles from the main land of the barony of Carbury. In the early ages there was an abbey here, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and governed by St. Dicholla, the son of Meinida, who died A. D. 747.

" This island was destroyed by foreigners, but we are not informed at what period.

" 807. The Danes or Gentiles, as called by our annalists, made good a landing in this year, and, with their accustomed barbarity, set fire to this very poor abbey.

" Our monastic annals close here; but from a gentleman who visited Inismurray in the summer of 1779, we are enabled to give the following description :

" This island is a rock rising from the sea, with horrid precipices towards the ocean, but shelving gently like steps on the side opposite the land; it contains about one hundred and thirty acres of a shallow soil, from four to five inches in depth, which serves to feed some sheep, a few cows, and five or six horses, the remainder of the island is a mere rock; the habitable part contains about forty or fifty people, children included, who live in five houses, with as many barns adjoining them; they intermarry amongst each other, and when the land is overstocked with inhabitants, they seek their fortunes on the great island of Ireland; they are one community, and live by fishing and selling their fish on the main; they speak Irish only, one

man bowed beneath the weight of years excepted; and boast their having had this island in possession upwards of seven hundred years.

" What is called the abbey, is an enclosure of dry stones, from five to seven and eight feet thick; it is impossible to determine whether it is round or oval; more rude inelegant workmanship was never seen. There are a few cells under ground, which receive their light, some through a hole at the top, others through a loop hole in the side; they are dark and horrible dungeons.

" There are also two chapels built with mortar, and quite in a gross state, as is St. Molasse's cell, which has a stone roof, and where the statue of the saint is preserved. One of the chapels, standing by itself, has an extraordinary window, the arch of which is one rough crooked stone, just in its original shape. Here is an altar, called the cursing altar, which is covered with round stones, and north-west of this, stands the altar of the Trinity.

" The neighbouring inhabitants say, that if a man, who is really wronged, turns one of these stones, and at the same time curses his adversary, the wish, whatsoever it is, will fall upon him if guilty, but if otherwise, the curse recoils upon the person who denounces it; this keeps them in such awe, as to prevent rash imprecations. There are several small enclosures with a stone in the centre, and some springs, each of them consecrated to a particular saint.

" A statue of their patron, saint Molasse, very rudely carved in wood, and painted of a reddish colour, is still preserved here; the abbey was erected conjointly by this saint and St. Columb, but the latter



latter being of an impetuous and fiery disposition could not accord with the mildness of Molasse, and betook himself to the main land, leaving the other in peaceable possession."

#### "MONAINCHA.

"The monastery of Monaincha, situated almost in the centre of the great bog of Monela, in the barony of Ikerrin and about three miles south-east of Roscrea, was originally an abbey of Culdean monks, under the invocation of St. Columba, whose festival was formerly celebrated there, on the 15th of June; the situation chosen by these religious was very singular: the island whereon the monastery is built consists of about two acres of dry ground; all the surrounding parts being a soft morass, scarcely accessible by human feet, and yet on this isle stand the remains of a beautiful edifice; not large, but constructed in so fine a style, and with such materials, as excites our wonder how they could have been transported thither. The length of the church is forty-four feet, the width about eighteen; the arches of the choir and the western portal are semicircular, and adorned with a variety of curious mouldings; the windows were contrasted arches, such as appear over the west entrance to the church of St. Edmondsbury, Suffolk, but they are decaying, and some have fallen down.

"The antiquity of this monastery is indisputable; for it is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who came into Ireland in 1185, as preceptor and secretary to king John, then earl of Morton; he says this island borders upon North Munster and the confines of Lein-

ster, and that there a few Culdees, or Colidei, did devoutly serve God. To the east of the abbey church is a small oratory, but no vestige of monastic dwellings can be found on this isle, save only the abbey and the abbot's room adjoining it, which was over the cellars, and but small; whatever others might have been were probably formed of wood, and in the lapse of many centuries have ceased to exist. Superstition established an opinion, so early as the age of Giraldus, that no person could die in this isle, let his malady be ever so extreme, or his fate ever so urgent: the merits of the patron saint and those of his religious, secured this privilege to an isle so favoured, and hence it acquired the appellation of *Insula Viventium*, or, the Island of the Living. This legendary celebrity brought, from the remotest parts innumerable pilgrims, to expiate their sins at the altar of St. Columba, and a gainful trade was carried on for more than ten centuries; which enabled the monks to improve their abbey, and add such decorations as the fashion and taste of the day required: for we are not to suppose, that the present church is the same as the original which was erected in the seventh century; that was probably of wood, in which state it continued till the invasion of the Ostmen, when a new style of architecture commenced, and Monaincha was constructed of more durable materials.

"However, the salubrity and supernatural power of the isle was not so great as to prevent the emigration of its religious inhabitants to the main land: they found the noxious vapours of the surrounding marshes and swamps highly injurious to their constitutions, and they,



they, as Ware informs us, fixed their residence at Corbally; where is at this day, in good preservation, a small neat chapel, of a cruciform shape, with narrow slits for windows, and many other particulars indicating a respectable antiquity."

#### "GLEN DALOGH.

"THE ruins of this abbey (being the first which a traveller perceives) are situated in the bottom of the vale, and consist of two buildings parallel to each other (the larger one on the south being the church;) on the east end of the abbey is an arch, of extremely curious workmanship; the columns on the sides recede one behind another, and are very short, but do not diminish; the capitals are ornamented in a singular manner, most of them with human heads at the angles, and dragons or other fabulous animals at the sides; the heads have much the appearance of those in Egyptian sculpture, with large ears, long eyes, and the tresses of the hair strait; the ring-stones of the arch are indented triangularly, in imitation of the Saxon architecture, and in some parts human heads and other ornaments are within the triangular mouldings. On the removal of some heaps of rubbish from under the ruins of this arch, a few stones beautifully carved were found, many of them belonging to the arches, and some to the architrave of the window; the architrave is twelve inches broad, and a pannel is sunk, ornamented lozenge wise, and an oval forms the lozenge, with a bead running on each side; the centre of the lozenge is decorated on one side, in bass relief, with a knot delicately carved; the other with a flower in the centre, and mouldings

corresponding to the shape of the lozenge. The half lozenge at the bottom of the pilaster, in one is filled with a bas relief of a human head, with a bird on each side pecking at the eye, and the other by a dragon, twisting its head round, and the tail turned up between its legs into the mouth. Here is another stone, apparently the capital of a column; two sides of it are visible, both are ornamented with a patera, but each side in a different manner; one consists of a flower of sixteen large leaves and fifteen smaller ones, relieved the eighth of an inch, and the other of six leaves branching from the centre, with another leaf extending between their points.

"In describing the other ruins of this desolated city, (which appears to have been built in an elegant style of Grecian architecture) we in some measure outstep the bounds originally prescribed, in which monastic dwellings were alone included; but their contiguity to the abbey, which we have just now quitted, induces us to proceed to the next erection called the

#### "CHURCH OF THE TRINITY;

"It stands on a rising ground, north of the abbey; and, as the inhabitants say, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity; in the front of this church is a circular building upon a square base, which evidently was intended for a belfry, a sufficient space being left for the rope to come down. Hence let us come to the

#### "SEVEN CHURCHES.

"For which Glendalough has been for many centuries remarkable,



able, and for which it will be celebrated, even when the vestiges now remaining are no more.

“ The entrance to the area, on which these churches stand, is on the north-east side, through the ruins of a gateway, sixteen feet six inches in length, by sixteen feet in width; the arches, which are still entire, are nine feet seven inches wide, and ten feet high, and the ring-stones, of mountain granite, are the full depth of the wall; the outside arch is composed of twenty-four stones, and the inside one of twenty-seven, which are two feet six inches in depth.

“ The CATHEDRAL CHURCH ranks as the first, and owes its origin to St. Keivin, by whom it was dedicated to the patron saints of the abbey. It measures forty-eight feet in length and thirty in width; on the south side were three small windows, and at the east end was an arch seventeen feet six inches wide, behind which was another building thirty-seven feet six inches in length, by twenty-three feet in width, with a beautiful window at the east end, on the north are two small ones, and one on the south, with a door three feet eight inches wide, communicating to a small building of sixteen feet by ten, the door of the church is seven feet four inches high, three feet six inches wide at top, and three feet ten at bottom; the jambs are composed of four courses and a lintel at top, over which is a discharging arch; the stones are the entire depth of the walls, with a reveal cut at the inside for the door, which appears to have turned on pivots; holes are cut for bars across, and iron cramps and bolts appear in some places; several courses of this building are of hewn stone, as well as a kind of pilasters, which

project from the ends of the wall to the front and rear, and measure two feet six inches in width; the wall of the building to the east, within these, is detached, and has the appearance of a more modern style.

“ Under a small window, at the south side of the choir, is a tomb of freestone, ornamented, and in the cemetery stands a round tower, one hundred and ten feet high, uncommonly well built, and in fine preservation, the roof alone having suffered by time; at the bottom it measures fifty-two feet in girth, and the walls are four feet thick.

“ The remains of several crosses may still be seen amongst those ruins, and that situated in the cemetery of this church, particularly merits notice, being one entire stone, eleven feet in height.

“ ST. KEIVIN'S KITCHEN (its vulgar appellation) was undoubtedly one of the Seven Churches, and is now almost entire, having suffered alone in the ruin of a window, the only one in the church, this was placed about eight feet from the south-east angle, and was ornamented with an architrave elegantly wrought, but being of freestone, it was conveyed away by the neighbouring inhabitants, and brayed to powder for domestic use. The area of this church measures twenty two feet nine inches by fifteen, in height it is twenty feet, and the walls are three feet, six in thickness; at the east end is an arch five feet three inches in width, which communicates to another building ten feet six in length, by nine feet three in width; on the north side of which is a door two feet two inches wide, which communicates with another chapel of the same length, and five feet nine inches in width; each of these buildings.



buildings has a small window in the centre to the east, the walls are three feet thick, and both measure twelve feet in height. The foundation, with two or three courses of the building is laid of cut mountain grit; the door is six feet eight inches high, two feet four inches wide at top, and two feet eight inches at bottom, most of the stones run through the entire thickness of the wall; the lintel is five feet eight inches in length, by eleven inches and an half in depth, and a rude cornice, projecting about five inches, and measuring four feet ten inches long, by six inches in depth, is worked out of the same stone. A round belfry rises from the west-end of the church, the entrance to it is through a square hole in the cove of the church, over which, between the cove and the roof, is a large space, open to the belfry, that received its light from a small window. The height of this tower is about forty-five feet; the roof, both of the church and tower, is composed of thin stones, very neatly laid, and with a very high pitch; the ridge of the roof is about thirty feet above the ground, and the double building, at the rear, is only twenty feet; having ascended the roof of this building, we discover a groove cut in the east-end of the larger building, which shews that this was not the original tower, but much higher and narrower than the former; indeed the walls of the double building are separated from those of the large, and though undoubtedly very ancient, yet the inferiority of the materials and workmanship, evidently shew that this work was posterior to the former, and erected by much less skilful builders.

“OUR LADY’S CHURCH, the most westward of the seven, and

nearly opposite to the cathedral; is now almost in ruins, but from the door way, and the few remains of walls, it appears to have been built with more knowledge of the art than the other buildings. The door consists of only three courses; the lintel is five feet six inches in length, and fourteen inches and an half in depth; the door is six feet four in height, two feet six in width at top, and two feet ten at bottom; a kind of architrave is worked around the door six inches broad, and in the bottom of the lintel an ornament is wrought in a cross resembling the flyer of a stamping-press. The walls are carried up with hewn stone, in general of a large size, to about the height of the door, and the remainder are of the rude mountain rag-stone, but laid incomparably well. At the east end was an arch of hewn stone exactly similar to that of the cathedral.

“THE RHEFEART, literally the sepulchre of kings, is famous for having seven princes interred within its limits; in this church is the tomb of M’Mthuil, or O’Toole, the ancient chieftain of the country, with the following inscription, in the Irish character:—

“JESUS CHRIST

“MILE DEACH FEUCH CORP RE  
MAC MTHUIL.

“See here the resting-place of the body of king M’Thuil, who died in Christ 1010.

“Many others of this family are said to have been interred here, where a stone cross, elegantly carved, is still preserved.

“PRIORY OF ST. SAVIOUR, commonly called the Eastern Church. Of this building, little can be said, the foundation only remaining; but about five years since, a quantity



tity of stone remarkably well wrought, was discovered here, and on removing an heap of rubbish, the collection of many centuries, two clusters of columns were found, with curious emblematic decorations, which had supported a great fretted arch, composed of the before mentioned stones, which lead to the discovery.

“THE IVY CHURCH, is situated somewhat to the westward, and has large breaches in its walls long since overgrown with ivy; nothing worthy of remark can be found in this building, which is entirely unroofed.

“TEAMPULL-NA SKELLIG, situated in the recess of the south mountain, was the ancient Priory of the Rock, and was also called the Temple of the Desert, both expressive of the Irish appellation.

“The celebrated bed of St. Keivin, on the south side of the lough is a cave, hewn in the solid rock, on the side of the mountain, exceeding difficult in ascent, and terrible in prospect, for it hangs perpendicular over the lake, at an alarming height above the surface of the water; at a small distance from this bed, on the same side of the mountain, are to be seen, the ruins of a small stone building, called St. Keivin's cell.

“We shall now bid adieu to

this illustrious seminary, which (in the language of a late eminent writer,) “was once the luminary of the western world, whence savage sects and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion.”

“The romantic shape of the surrounding mountains, many of which are covered with a fresh spring of wood, and others, though of a surprising height, retaining the liveliest verdure almost throughout the year; these, added to the winding form of a very fertile valley, which terminates in a lake of considerable extent, increase our veneration; in a word, on a review of such a scene, “to abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from us and from our friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom or by virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose piety will not grow warmer as he treads the ruins of Glendalough!”

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## STYLE of the ANCIENT IRISH MUSIC.

[In a Letter from the Rev. EDWARD LEDWICH, LL. B. in the APPENDIX to WALKER'S HISTORICAL MEMOIRS of the IRISH BARDS.]

“I With my reading or knowledge enabled me to assist your ingenious enquiries, or elucidate

the curious subject which so laudably engages your attention. Your patriotism is eminent in recovering from



from oblivion the vestiges and fragments of our ancient musical art; and the valuable specimens you have exhibited of it, no less demonstrate your taste and judgment.

“In treating of the history of the church of Ireland in the 12th century, it was necessary to examine and refute an assertion of St. Bernard, that antecedent to the primacy of Malachy, we were ignorant of psalmody and church music: they gave rise to the following notices and conjectures.

“How plain soever it may appear, that music existed in the Christian church from its foundation, yet some industry is requisite to discover it in England and in Ireland. Bishop Stillingfleet has been able to collect but few musical traits of the Gallican or British offices, as contra-distinguished from the Gregorian or Roman: the paucity of records, and the bare hints of writers forming very uncertain data from whence to deduce positive conclusions. The same obscurity clouds the remote periods of musical history in Ireland. This must be an apology for the imperfection of the hints now offered on this topic, which however lies open to future improvement from superior abilities and more extensive erudition.

“It was in the year 1134, that Malachy O'Morgan ascended the archiepiscopal chair of Armagh. He was the beloved friend of St. Bernard, after whose decease, the latter, in a high strain of paregyric, composed his life. Among other particulars there recorded, he informs us, that the Irish, through the primate's zeal, were brought to a conformity with the Apostolic Constitutions and the decrees of the fathers, but especially with the

customs of the holy church of Rome. They then began to chaunt and sing the canonical hours, as in other places, which before was not done even in the metropolitical city of Armagh; Malachy had learned song in his youth, and enjoined singing in his own monastery, when as yet it was unknown, or not practised in the city or diocese. Thus far St. Bernard.

“This citation suggests two facts; the first incredible and certainly far from truth, that the Irish church had subsisted for seven hundred years without music or psalmody: the other more probable, that Malachy exerted the influence of his station to oblige the Irish to relinquish their old ritual, and adopt the Roman manner of celebrating divine offices. His efforts were in vain, even allowing a temporary acquiescence; for, in thirty years after we find the council of Cashel decreeing an uniformity of public worship, according to the model of the English church. The Irish received, very reluctantly, innovations in doctrine and discipline; nor was it before their princes were expatriated and the people reduced to extreme misery, that they embraced foreign superstition, and obeyed the dictates of the sovereign pontiff.

“That the Christian fathers adapted their psalms and hymns to the Greek notation and modes, admits of the fullest proof. Accustomed from infancy to the choral service of Paganism, the convert naturally retained his former musical ideas, but applied them to more sanctified compositions, and a purer object. Though it is impossible to determine of what kind the ecclesiastical modes were, or what the discipline of the singers, I cannot believe the whole service of the  
primitive



primitive church was irregular; or that the people sang as their inclination led them, with scarcely any other restriction than that it should be to the praise of God. For early in the third century, Origen informs us, the Christians sang in rhyme, that is, with nice regard to the length and shortness of the syllables of the poetry, and in good tune and harmony. The terms he uses are taken from the Greek music, and evince that Christians, in their church performances, were scientific and correct. The definition of a psalm by Gregory Nazienzen, by St. Basil and Chrysostom, in the 4th century, is an additional proof of what is advanced. I have insisted on this point the more, in order to subvert the groundless assertion of St. Bernard; and to demonstrate, that singing made a part of the Christian service, wherever the gospel was established.

“About the year 386, psalms and hymns were ordered to be sung after the Eastern manner; and about 384, the Ambrosian chant was formed of the Dorian, Lydian, Mixolydian, and Phrygian tones, which were called authentic modes, and to which pope Gregory, in 599, added four plagal. Western Europe had been evangelized antecedent to Gregory’s pontificate, and the Ambrosian chant admitted into many principal churches: I say principal, because there is reason to believe, many bishops and dioceses preserved the Cursus, that is, the offices and singing introduced by the first missionaries, and which more closely adhered to the Eastern, that is, the ancient Greek music, than the chant of the cathedral of Milan. And this seems countenanced by a very curious M S. supposed to have been written

1786.

by an Irish scholar about 901, and printed by sir Henry Spelman. In this it is said, that the Cursus of the Scots (for such was the appellation of the Irish in those days) was composed by St. Mark, and used by St. Gregory Naz, St. Basil, St. Patrick, and communicated to the continent by Columbanus. No notice is taken of St. Ambrose and pope Gregory but just mentioned. Now, as the monastic rule of our countryman Columbanus has been published, and as this rule made part of the Irish Cursus, we shall see how great a part of it was made up of psalmody and anthems, or alternate singing.

“The monks are to assemble thrice every night, and as often in the day, to pray and sing. In each office of the day, they were to use prayers and sing three psalms. In each office of the night, from October to February, they are to sing thirty-six psalms and twelve anthems, at three several times; in the rest of the year, twenty-one psalms and eight anthems; but on Saturday and Sunday nights, twenty-five psalms and twenty-five anthems. Here was a perpetual psalmody or *laus perennis*, like that practised in Psalmody Isle in the diocese of Nismes, founded by Corbilla, a Syrian monk, about the end of the 14th century. These may be added to the other numerous instances of the orientalism of our church, and its symbolizing with the eastern in most articles of faith and practice, and which created so much uneasiness to Rome and her emissaries for many ages; the seductions of flattery and the thunders of the Vatican were equally ineffectual to shake our principles; the mellifluous eloquence of St. Bernard might calumniate, but was unable to sub-

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ject us to the domination of the Roman see.

“The canons ascribed to St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Iferninus, extant in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, were transcribed, according to an excellent antiquary, in the 10th century; Dachery supposes they were made in the 8th, and I have elsewhere shewn this to be probable. The second directs the readers to remain in the church in which they are appointed to sing; this seems to be the meaning, but whatever it is, it teaches us that the reader and singer had the same office. Many of our primates, as may be seen in Ware’s Bishops, and most of our learned men, among other literary distinctions, are called readers. On this it is remarked—That the name, *lector*, is more frequently found among the Irish historians than that of *scribe*; nevertheless, to conceal nothing, some by the ancient scribes understand writers;”—this throws no light on the lector. By the 15th canon of the Laodicean council, no one is to sing in the church but the canonical singers, who are to ascend the desk and read from the book. In the answers of John, bishop of Citri to Constantine Cabasilas, archbishop of Dyrrachium, we find the readers were placed on each side of the choir, and, like the precentor and succentor, led the choristers. At this day we read each verse of the psalm before it is sung; in this instance also we retained the usage of the Eastern church. On the whole, the evidence now produced is sufficient to convict St. Bernard of error, and vindicate our practice of music and psalmody.

“Giraldus Cambrensis gives a splendid account of the perfection of Irish music in the 12th century,

and Caradoc of Lhancarvan agrees with him. They confine their praise to secular performances, and speak nothing of ecclesiastical. Such excellence was not attainable by any sudden or fashionable application; it must have been the effect of long practice and habit. Perhaps the following observations may elucidate this point.

“Caradoc, without any of that illiberal partiality so common with national writers, assures us, the Irish devised all the instruments, tunes, and measures in use among the Welsh. Cambrensis is even more copious in his praise, when he peremptorily declares, that the Irish, above any other nation, is incomparably skilled in symphonical music. Such unequivocal testimony of our superior taste and improvement in the musical art, naturally calls for some enquiries into so curious a fact, more especially as the persons, who deliver it, lived in a polished age, both in respect of literature and manners.

“The words of Cambrensis are clearly expressive of attainments in the science of music far beyond the minstrelly of England and France, or any other country he had travelled. The richness of our invention; the vivacity, beauty, and variety of our melodies extorted applause from him: I say extorted, because he takes care to inform us, there was scarce any thing else to commend among the Irish.

“This incomparable skill could never be predicated of unlearned, extemporaneous, bardic airs: it implies a knowledge of the diagram, and an exact division of the harmonic intervals; a just expression of the tones, and in the quickest movements, an unity of melody. Cambrensis observes these particulars



lars of our music. He accurately distinguishes the Irish and English styles: the latter was the diatonic genus; slow and made up of concords: heavy; the intervals spacious, as in ecclesiastical chant. The former was the enharmonic genus; full of minute divisions, with every diesis marked: the succession of our melodies lively and rapid; our modulations full and sweet.

“ He alone who had the sharpest faculties, and was the most profoundly versed in the musical art, felt ineffable pleasure. It is then evident, that all this transcendent excellence in music could be derived but from two sources; a perfect knowledge of it as a science and practice. We are not, it is true, able to produce our ancient tablature, or tunes from M. S. S. hitherto discovered; but as from Caradoc, it appears we communicated both to the Welsh, and as they exist in Mr. Morris’s Collections, we may fairly assume them as our own, and derivatives from this isle. These collections are of the 12th century, the very time in which Caradoc and Cambrensis flourished; so that connecting the evidence together, that we had music in score, can hardly be disputed, and what is more extraordinary, most of the pieces for the harp are in full harmony and counterpoint.

“ From these facts a mistake of Cambrensis unfolds itself to view. The Irish, he informs us, used but the tabor and harp. Here then could not be a varied combination of sounds; a multiplicity of parts, or such an artificial composition as to constitute counterpoint: a single melody, and that confined within a small compass, was all that could be executed. The Welsh, he tells

us, had three instruments, consequently they could play counterpoint; so that Cambrensis must have been ignorant of the art he was describing, or extremely inadvertent, as no such effects, as he suggests, could be produced by such instruments. Nor can any reason be assigned, why we should not have an equal number of musical instruments with the Welsh, who confessedly adopted them from us. An omission of a transcriber very probably gives rise to the error.

“ The tenor of our ecclesiastical history very explicitly shews the propagation of the gospel among us by Hellenistic missionaries; our doctrine and discipline were the same as practised in the primitive church during the four first centuries. Each bishop appointed such an order for the celebration of divine offices, as he judged most eligible and best suited to his respective diocese. So various were these offices in 1090, that Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, presses the Irish clergy to adopt the Roman. “ What,” says he, “ can be more indecent, or schismatical, than that a clergyman who is very learned in the offices of one church, should be very ignorant and a laic in those of another?” This is a new proof that we were unacquainted with the Roman service, as well as with the Ambrosian and Gregorian chant, and that we retained the forms of the eastern church, originally delivered to us. Bishop Stillingfleet, as cited by Dr. Burney, makes the principal difference between the Roman and Gallican ritual to consist in their church music.

“ St. Paul desires the Ephesians to speak to each other in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. He here seems to make use of a harsh expression to avoid introducing a



heathen term. With what propriety could christians be said to speak to each other in hymns, which celebrated the divine perfections? But they might, as in the Pagan Dithyrambics and Pœans, exercise themselves in the antiphonal singing, and succeed or answer each other. And this is clearly the Apostle's meaning.

“ However, he disliked the practices of idolatry; the permission he here gives the Ephesians, a gay and luxurious people, of using psalms, hymns, and odes, was absolutely necessary for keeping new converts in the faith: they could not easily forget the raptures of their festal and choral hymns; and it is probable the apostles, and their disciples, formed spiritual songs, on their model, in various metres and melodies: at least, the early fathers of the church, as Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory Nazienzen did so. Some of their imitations are poetical; but no merit of this kind could compensate a Grecian ear for the negligent, injudicious, and offensive use of improper measures, with which the christian compositions abounded. Dionysius Hallicarnassæus, in his beautiful treatise last cited, gives instances of the most favourite performers being hissed on the stage, for the smallest want of rythm or accent; such were the delicacy of Grecian organs, and the correctness of Grecian taste.

“ The more zealous catholics digested these insipid productions; but the public were very far from acquiescing in such unlearned and barbarous poetry and music. St. Basil complains that his flock neglected his psalms and hymns for their old Pagan songs. The Arrians, Apollinarians, and other he-

retics taking advantage of the popular disgust formed poems in the true Greek style, and in captivating melodies; the union and charms of harmony and verse were too powerful for orthodoxy; the number of sectaries soon exceeded that of true believers. The church beheld this triumph with terror and amazement, she saw her danger and endeavoured to avert it. She reformed her hymns, and embraced the Greek modes; nor was John, the œcumenic bishop of Constantinople, ashamed to urge his people to imitate the Arrian compositions. Gildas and Bede agree, that Britain was infested with Arianism, and St. Jerom complains, that the christian world groaned under this heresy.

“ These notices, hitherto unconnected, may perhaps throw some light on the peculiar style of our ancient music. We received the knowledge of the gospel about the end of the 4th century, and with it the Greek or eastern harmony, then universally in use. From an expression of St. Austin, it is evident, the enharmonic genus was then adopted and cultivated, as it alone was calculated to exhilarate the spirits, revive pleasing hopes, and banish melancholy and despair; nor can there be any doubt but our primitive missionaries first conciliated the affections of their hearers by harmony, before they opened to them the doctrine of redemption. Bede makes Augustine approach Ethelbert and his court, singing litanies.

“ Before the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants were generally introduced, we were grown strong in religion and learning, and for a long time strangers to, as well as averse from Romish innovations. We had an independent hierarchy, which neither in 900 nor in 1090, as has

been



been seen, yielded subjection to St. Ambrose or pope Gregory; it therefore was not possible for us to have any other music but on the Greek model, the character of which, as may be collected from St. Austin and Cambrensis, was enharmonic.

“The state of society here at our conversion; a precise and energetic language; the paucity of our instruments, and the admirable effects of our harmony, clearly point out the simple style of our melodies; how exactly they coincided with the Greek; how well adapted to delight our national vivacity and amuse our indolence. Topics these, capable of much curious and entertaining amplification, but exceeding the limits of this epistle, and superfluous to so excellent a master of this subject.

“As the seeds of christianity and learning were coeval in this isle, notwithstanding the vain and groundless pretensions of some antiquaries, so they found a soil wherein they vegetated with uncommon strength and rapidity: monastic foundations, the schools of literature in those ages, greatly multiplied, and letters soon flourished in every corner. I have elsewhere alledged many circumstances to induce a belief that the Greek language was particularly cultivated in those seminaries, and I have already produced an instance or two of natives eminently skilled in it. Can it then seem strange that we should have the musical diagram of the Greeks, or that we practised scientifically their best melodies? This notation, it is true, appears corrupted in Mr. Morris’s M. S. S.

but it invincibly demonstrates that the Welsh had a notation, and that it must have existed previously among the Irish. The Northumbrians and Albanian Scots, both converted by the Irish, excelled in harmony.

“The English music on the contrary, was of the diatonic genus. It was the policy of the church of Rome, from the first entrance of her missionaries into Britain, to decry and depreciate the ancient rites and ceremonies of the natives, and to exalt the efficacy and perfection of her own. Arguments, however, were in vain, power soon decided the controversy in favour of the latter. We are informed by Bede, that James, the deacon, instructed the clergy of York in singing after the Roman manner, as Stephen did the northern ecclesiastics. Pope Agatho thought the establishment of the Gregorian chant so important an affair, that he sent John, his precentor, hither for that purpose. These efforts of the papal see, seconded by the favour of the British princes, soon extinguished every spark of our ancient music, and confirmed the slow, spacious, and unisonous melody of plain song. The perpetual use of it to both clergy and laity was secured by canons, and when it became a commutation for sins and fasting, the practice of it must have been universal. ’Tis then no wonder that the taste of the nation accommodated itself to this chant; a dull and heavy modulation succeeded, well fitted to a state of spiritual thralldom, and to express the dismal tales of minstrelsy.”



## PARTICULARS relating to the FIRST SETTLEMENT of the SCOTS in IRELAND.

[From HAMILTON'S LETTERS concerning the Northern Coast of the County of ANTRIM.]

“**Y**OU would hardly believe how little remains of Irish history, language or customs, are to be traced in this part of the country: the revolutions which it has undergone, in consequence of forfeitures to the English, and the encroachments of the Scots, have overturned every remnant of its original state.

“During the time that the English were endeavouring to extend their pale, in every direction from the metropolis of the kingdom, over a desperate but disunited enemy, the Scottish clan of M'Donalds, who by an intermarriage had got footing in Ireland, began their ravages on the northern coast of Antrim; and by the powerful support which they received from Cantire, and the western isles of Scotland, established their dominion over a tract of country near forty miles in length.

“As the people of those days generally followed the fortune of their chief, the greater part of the native Irish who survived these bloody scenes, transplanted themselves elsewhere: while the Scots remained peaceable possessors of the field.—Hence the old traditions and customs of the country were entirely lost; and the few who speak the Celtic language at all, use a kind of mixed dialect, called here *Scotch-Irish*, which is but imperfectly understood by the natives of either country.

“The present possessors are in general an industrious thrifty race of people. They have a great deal

of substantial civility, without much courtesy to relieve it, and set it off to the best advantage.—The bold ideas of rights and privileges, which seem inseparable from their presbyterian church, renders them apt to be ungracious and litigious in their dealings.—On the whole, the middling and lower ranks of people in this quarter of the kingdom are a valuable part of the community; but one must estimate their worth as a miner often does his ore, rather by its weight than its splendor.

“There are three or four old castles along the coast, situated in places extremely difficult of access, but their early histories are for the greater part lost.—The most remarkable of these is the castle of Dunluce, which is at present in the possession of the Antrim family. It is situated in a singular manner on an isolated abrupt rock, which projects into the sea, and seems as it were split off from the terra firma. Over the intermediate chasm lies the only approach to the castle, along a narrow wall, which has been built somewhat like a bridge, from the rock to the adjoining land; and this circumstance must have rendered it almost impregnable before the invention of artillery. It appears, however, that there was originally another narrow wall, which ran across the chasm parallel to the former, and that by laying boards over these an easy passage might occasionally be made for the benefit of the garrison.

“The walls of this castle are built of columnar basalt, many joints



joints of which are placed in such a manner as to shew their polygon sections; and in one of the windows of the north side, the architect has contrived to splay off the wall neatly enough, by making use of the joints of a pillar whose angle was sufficiently obtuse to suit his purpose.

“The original lord of this castle and its territories, was an Irish chief, called Mc Quillan, of whom little is known, except that, like most of his countrymen, he was hospitable, brave, and improvident; unwarily allowing the Scots to grow in strength, until they contrived to beat him out of all his possessions.

“In the course of my expeditions through this country, I met with an old manuscript account of the settlement of the Scotch here, of which I shall give you a short extract. It will serve in good measure to shew the barbarous state of the inhabitants in the sixteenth century, and the manner in which property was so readily transferred from one master to another.

“The manuscript is in the hands of the Mc Donalds, and therefore most likely speaks rather in their favour.

“About the year 1580, Coll. Mc. Donald came with a parcel of men, from Cantire, to Ireland, to assist Tyrconnell against great O’Neal, with whom he was then at war.

“In passing through the Root of the county of Antrim, he was civilly received, and hospitably entertained, by Mc. Quillan, who was then lord and master of the Root.

“At that time there was a war between Mc. Quillan and the men beyond the river Bann, for the custom of this people was, to rob from every one, and the strongest party carried it, be it right or wrong.

“On the day when Coll. Mc. Donald was taking his departure to proceed on his journey to Tyrconnell, Mc. Quillan, who was not equal in war to his savage neighbours, called together his militia or gallogloghs, to revenge his affronts over the Bann; and Mc. Donald thinking it uncivil not to offer his service that day, to Mc. Quillan, after having been so kindly treated, sent one of his gentlemen with an offer of his service in the field.

“Mc. Quillan was right well pleased with the offer, and declared it to be a perpetual obligation on him and his posterity. So Mc. Quillan and the highlanders went against the enemy, and where there was a cow taken from Mc. Quillan’s people before, there were two restored back: after which Mc. Quillan and Coll. Mc. Donald returned back with a great prey, and without the loss of a man.

“Winter then drawing nigh, Mc. Quillan gave Coll. Mc. Donald an invitation to stay with him at his castle, advising him to settle himself until the spring, and to quarter his men up and down the Root. This Coll. Mc. Donald gladly accepted; and in the mean time seduced Mc. Quillan’s daughter, and privately married her; on which ground the Scots afterward founded their claim to Mc. Quillan’s territories.

“The men were quartered two and two through the Root, that is to say, one of Mc. Quillan’s gallogloghs and a highlander in every tenant’s house.

“It so happened that the galloglogh, according to custom, besides his ordinary, was entitled to a meather of milk, as a privilege.—This the highlanders esteemed to be a great affront; and at last one of them asked his landlord, —“Why



do you not give me milk as you give to the other?"—The galloglogh immediately made answer, "Would you, a highland beggar as you are, compare yourself to me, or any of Mc. Quillan's gallogloghs?"

"The poor honest tenant, (who was heartily weary of them both) said, "Pray, gentlemen, I'll open the two doors, and you may go and fight it out in the fair fields, and he that has the victory let him take milk and all to himself."

"The combat ended in the death of the galloglogh; after which, (as my manuscript says) the highlander came in again and dined heartily.

"Mc. Quillan's gallogloghs immediately assembled to demand satisfaction; and in a council which was held, where the conduct of the Scots was debated, their great and dangerous power, and the disgrace arising from the seduction of Mc. Quillan's daughter, it was agreed that each galloglogh should kill his comrade highlander by night, and their lord and master with them; but Coll. Mc. Donald's wife discovered the plot, and told it to her husband—So the highlanders fled in the night time, and escaped to the island of Raghery.

"From this beginning, the Mc. Donalds and Mc. Quillans entered on a war, and continued to worry each other for half a century, till the English power became so superior in Ireland, that both parties made an appeal to James the First, who had just then ascended the throne of England.

"James had a predilection for his Scotch countrymen the Mc. Donald, to whom he made over by patent four great baronies, including, along with other lands, all poor Mc. Quillan's possessions. How-

ever to save some appearance of justice, he gave to Mc. Quillan a grant of the great barony of Enishowen, the old territory of O'Dogherty, and sent to him an account of the whole decision by sir John Chichester.

"Mc. Quillan was extremely mortified at his ill success, and very disconsolate at the difficulties which attended the transporting his poor people over the river Bann, and the Lough Foyle, which lay between him and his new territory. The crafty Englishman, taking advantage of his situation, by an offer of some lands which lay nearer his old dominions, persuaded him to cede his title to the barony of Enishowen. And thus the Chichesters, who afterwards obtained the title of Earls of Donegal, became possessed of this great estate; and honest Mc. Quillan settled himself in one far inferior to Enishowen.

"One story more (says the manuscript) of Mc. Quillan—The estate he got in exchange for the barony of Enishowen was called Clanreaghurkie, which was far inadequate to support the old hospitality of the Mc. Quillans. Bury Oge Mc. Quillan sold this land to one of Chichester's relations, and having got his new granted estate into one bag, was very generous and hospitable as long as the bag lasted. And so (continues the manuscript) was the worthy Mc. Quillan soon extinguished.

"I should not have obtruded the account of the downfall of this Irish chief, but that it affords so good a reason for the utter obliteration of every ancient record and monument in this part of the country; and will plead my excuse for not adding somewhat to our collection of Irish antiquities.



# MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

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## LETTERS on the BREEDING and TREATMENT of SILK WORMS.

[From the TRANSACTIONS of the Society for the Encouragement of  
Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

February 1, 1785, the Silver Medal was voted to Miss HENRIETTA RHODES, of Cann Hall, near Bridgnorth, for her sedulous Attention to and judicious Observations on the breeding and treating of SILK WORMS, as communicated in the first of the following Letters; and the Thanks of the Society were given to her for her second Letter on the same Subject, in which is contained an Account of the Success of her Experiments during the following Summer.

“ **I**N addressing this letter to you with the inclosed hank of silk, I believe I deviate from the mode which your institution prescribes, to those who become claimants for the honorary rewards which are so nobly distributed to genius and industry; but my attempts have fallen so short of what is required by the society, that I dare not appear before them under any of those forms which would indicate my pretensions to be unequivocal: such however is the idea I have formed of their liberal propensity to patronize the efforts of preserving ingenuity and laudable ambition, that if I shall be found to have succeeded better than any one else; if the specimen of silk I produce, is (and I have been so told by many good judges) superior to any that has yet been manufactured in England, and equal to that which comes from Italy: and if I can prove that it is impossible for so large a quantity as five pounds to be procured in one year, until plantations of mulberry trees have actually been made, I flatter myself that I shall not remain undistinguished.

“ I will begin from the period in which I first took to feed silk worms, as it will serve to shew their prodigious and rapid increase. In the summer of the year 1782, a dozen and half of silk worms were sent me by a friend who resided at a distance; I was then totally ignorant of the method of treating them, but I preserved them in health, and they produced me a great number of eggs.

“ In the May following, (1783), I found my stock increased to about thirteen hundred, and I was so fortunate as to lose very few during the whole time of feeding; for I had twelve hundred and seventy very fine cones, and they produced me near four ounces of silk. I preserved all the eggs from these, and on the 12th of last May, placed them in the sun, they were hatched in incredible numbers; and by the most accurate calculation, I was mistress of more than ten thousand; I fed them with lettuce leaves, for the first week, and then from three or four mulberry trees, which grew in some adjacent gardens. However, as they grew larger, they became so  
extremely



extremely voracious, that I felt the most mortifying apprehensions lest a famine should ensue; and my compassion for the industrious little animals who depended on me solely for their daily food and support, was so abundantly excited, that the preservation of their lives became an interesting object independent of the advantages I had proposed to myself. I sought after mulberry trees with an anxiety I cannot describe, and the discovery of a new one was a real acquisition. At length my resources were augmented to the number of twelve trees, though some of them were at the distance of ten miles from me. To these the kindness of many friends enabled me to send every day, and the frequency of my visits, were visibly displayed on all the trees; of the truth of this you will judge, sir, when I inform you that a bushel of leaves crammed in as close as possible, would frequently be insufficient to support them one day.

“Towards the latter end of June, they had attained their full growth, when an unexpected circumstance, checked my ambitious hopes, (for until then I had certainly entertained the extravagant idea that I might possibly gain the golden fleece, which would intitle me to the envied prize) and deprived me of thousands of my insects. You will perhaps recollect a most awful and tremendous thunder storm, which happened about this period, in the night, and which spread a general alarm throughout England. On visiting my manufactory early the next morning, I found that the lightning had struck several of the pans; for I cannot believe that the noise of the thunder could occasion such appearances. A large pan immediately opposite to the window, containing about five hundred silk worms, was full of a

liquor as yellow as gold, and all the little animals who had been its inhabitants, were dead, and as apparently scorched up, as if they had undergone the operation of fire; while others of the pans, had been only partially affected. I removed all the dead, but my misfortune did not end there, for three succeeding days presented me with such numbers who had equally felt the baneful effects of the lightning, that my immense stock was reduced to two thousand eight hundred and ninety three: these were exceedingly fine and healthy, and they began spinning on the 7th of July.

“During all this time, they had had no other attendant than myself, except when the pans were to be cleaned, which was about once a week, and in that office I was assisted by a servant. I fed them three times a day with leaves which had been gathered in the morning, and they took up so small a portion of my time, that neither my amusements, or any other avocations, were interrupted by it.

“By means of a small and very simple machine, which I invented for the purpose of winding the silk, I was enabled to get through that task very expeditiously. I selected two hundred and fifty of the largest cones, and from them I wound the skean which I have sent you; its weight is three quarters of an ounce and one drachm: however, upon an average, I find that three hundred and sixty cones produce an ounce; for from the two thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, I had exactly half a pound of silk: the whole is precisely of the same colour, texture, and height of gum with the inclosed.

“Of the waste silk with which the cones are surrounded, I had somewhat more than a quarter of a pound, and I sent it some months



ago to Nottingham, to be carded and wove into stockings. It was my design to have sent those stockings also, for the inspection of the society, but the manufacturer has not yet returned them to me.

“ I am determined to persevere until I have procured a sufficient quantity to make a piece of silk; but the difficulty which attends the meeting with food, and the unpleasant circumstance of being so very troublesome to one's friends, renders it necessary for me to proceed by a slower progress than I had hoped for.

“ From the recital I have given, it will appear very obvious, that a number not less than thirty thousand must be fed to obtain five pounds of silk; and that the leaves of twelve large mulberry trees, (allowing that they were not absolutely stripped) were scarcely found adequate to the support of ten thousand.

“ The ease and success with which I managed my manufactory, will, I think, make it equally apparent, that if it be possible by any means to stimulate the spirit of making mulberry plantations, that the whole difficulty is overcome.

“ The expence of erecting a place for them would be very trifling, and from the little trouble I myself experienced in the management of my ten thousand, I am of opinion that two persons would be sufficient to take care of a whole manufactory, until they begin to spin. The period they lived with me was about six weeks. The calamity mine suffered from lightning, is not to be adduced against me, that was certainly no common occurrence; and if it were, might be guarded against, as mine were in an exposed situation.

“ Amidst the scarcity of food,

which threatened me, I tried most of the different leaves to be found in a large kitchen garden, but the silk worm would eat none, except lettuce and spinnage; and they perish even on those in a very short time, owing, as I imagine, to their moisture and coldness.

“ The criterion to judge of the goodness of silk is, I have been told, by the height of the gum; that mine more than vies with the Italian silk, in this respect I thus account for: in their climate, the chrysalis soon comes to life, and it is necessary to destroy them, lest by eating their way out, they should injure the silk; and to effect this, they are placed in heated ovens: in ours, where every progression is slower, there is sufficient time to wind off the silk, without killing the chrysalis. I frequently wound the cones out of boiling water, placing them afterwards on dry paper, and always found that the chrysalis came to life again, at its proper time.

“ If therefore the chrysalis could bear so great a degree of heat as boiling water, it is obvious that the warmth of the ovens, and the length of time necessary to keep them there, must greatly injure the strength and glossy hue of the silk. But this is not all, for in Italy they suffer the moth to eat its way out of the largest cones, in order to have eggs from the most healthy, and thereby lose all the silk in those cones. Here the silk may be gathered as well as the moth preserved; and thus do we possess two striking advantages, which amply compensate for the loss of many others. Upon the whole I am decidedly of opinion, that this great article of commerce, which use and luxury have rendered so essential to our comforts and conveniences,

and



and for which such immense sums are annually sent into other nations, may be cultivated at home with the greatest ease, and with the utmost certainty of success.

“ You will conceive, sir, that I must feel a degree of anxiety to learn whether I am honoured with any attention from the society ; and on your politeness I presume to rely for that information.

I remain, Sir,

Your humble servant,

HENRIETTA RHODES.

*Bridgnorth, Dec.*

22, 1784.

“ SIR,

“ THE marks of approbation which the society honoured me with last year, together with your polite wishes to hear from me again, have determined me to communicate the success which has attended my management of silk worms this summer.

“ I think I mentioned in my last letter that the difficulties I had encountered in procuring mulberry leaves, had so far checked the ardour of my ambition, that I should greatly limit the extent of my manufactory another season ; I accordingly preserved only one sheet of writing paper covered with eggs ; and in order that the worms might have the advantage of the hottest summer months, these eggs were not exposed to the sun until the morning of the first of June ; before night, some hundreds were hatched, and in a day or two the whole made their appearance. Having convinced myself by repeated experiments, that the lettuce was the only food which could be relied upon next to the mulberry, I had caused some large beds to be carefully cultivated ; and it now remained for me to make trial how long they would subsist upon these

without injury to their growth, or the produce and texture of the silk ; they were so extremely fine and healthy, that I fed them solely with lettuces until the 24th of June, a lunar month within four days, and more than double the time they used to be kept from the leaves of the mulberry tree.

“ In less than a week after their change of food, they began to spin, and I had the pleasure to observe that the cones were as fine and firm as any I ever had.

“ By the latter end of July, the whole business was completed, and I had wound exactly four thousand cones, which produced me eleven ounces of silk, precisely the same as the specimen you have seen. I am tempted to entertain very sanguine hopes from the discovery that the silk worm will subsist so long a period of it's little life, on an indigenous plant so easily procured ; the more especially so, as I did not lose a dozen during the whole time of their feeding, and can demonstrate that the cones were not inferior in size and weight to those which have been manufactured in Italy.

“ Mrs. Williams, in the account she has given of her management of silk worms, (see the second vol. of the Transactions, page 151.) asserts that two hundred and forty four, produced near an ounce and half of silk. Upon an average I have collected no more than one ounce from three hundred and sixty of mine ; but this apparently material difference between us, will be found to exist only in the statement of facts.

“ Conceiving that the premiums offered by the society, extended merely to that silk which may be manufactured without carding, I held it incompatible with my ideas of truth and candour, to bring the waste



waste or carding filk, into the account, otherwise I should at all times have been able to double my quantity. For the loose filk which you must strip from the cones, before you begin to wind, together with some that will remain round them at the last, notwithstanding the utmost care, is nearly one third more than that which I have understood to come under the denomination of merchantable filk; and thus this year I might have boasted of twenty-five ounces instead of eleven, if, like Mrs. Williams, I had included the filk for carding.

“ In a treatise which lately fell in my way, addressed to the trustees for establishing a silk manufactory in Georgia, the author, who seems perfectly well informed on the subject, tells us that the cones in general are found to contain three hundred yards of filk, which weighs no more than two grains. Happy to meet with a piece of information which would enable me to ascertain the degree of perfection I had brought the filk worm to, I measured the filk from one cone, with the most critical exactness, and found it contained four hundred and four yards, which when dry weighed three grains; and this was from one of the worms which fed only a week upon mulberry leaves. I must, however, acknowledge that although this cone exceeded the given quantity in weight and measure, that all were not equally fine, and that I pursued the thread through all its intricacies, with a most persevering patience.

“ Mrs. Williams’s observations on the various kinds of leaves they will eat, admitting their truth, can never be of the least utility, unless to gratify the curiosity of the speculative philosopher. She talks of gathering cowslip leaves in October, but they vegetate luxuriantly only

in the spring; and neither could they nor the leaves of the blackberry, even then, be procured in sufficient quantities to serve a manufactory. Of the young leaves of the elm, I myself made trial, to the destruction of nine worms out of twelve, which I gave them to. The remaining three I rescued from the same fate, by giving them the mulberry leaf; but they never recovered their strength sufficiently to form a cone.

“ I also adopted the ingenious hint of the honourable Daines Barrington, and collected those kinds of leaves which were similar to the mulberry, in taste and appearance; such as the nut, currant, lime, kidney beans, strawberry, chesnut, raspberry, &c. &c. but none of these would do. The cabbage leaf, (of which I was induced to make trial, because it is made choice of by our common caterpillar) was preferred to either of these, though sparingly eaten of; and I had no wish to try the effect of their continuance at this food, as the smell would render it unfit for a large manufactory. A female friend of mine, who had kept filk worms, many years ago, assured me that they devoured ash leaves with great avidity; and a gentleman of my acquaintance, likewise told me that his sister used to give them vine leaves. The latter, mine would not venture to begin upon, and of the former, they were fatiated at one meal.

“ Mr. Barrington suggests that it might possibly be discovered what leaf the filk worm would live best upon, if we were to observe what insect made the mulberry its succedaneum; it has therefore escaped the notice of that learned investigator into the phenomena of nature, that no other insect whatever, will feed upon the mulberry.



mulberry leaf, or is even found upon it; I speak from my own observation, and from the experience of three years, in which, during the time I made use of the mulberry leaves, a bushel at least have passed through my hands in a day, and I never yet found a single insect amongst them, or a leaf which had the smallest part eaten away.

“ Until the last rain fell, our fruit trees, and even the more lowly vegetables, were covered with myriads of insects; the mulberry alone remained sacred from their depredations. At this circumstance is curious, Mr. Barrington, will perhaps thank you for the information. Indeed, every thinking mind will find new cause from it, to adore the goodness of the great creator, who in his wonderful œconomy of nature, has thus bountifully secured food to the reptile whose labours were to be of service to man.

“ I cannot agree with Du Halde, in thinking that noise is at all prejudicial to the silk worm. Mine were so situated that they were exposed to all the sounds incidental to a country town, from the barking of dogs, up to a family concert; and I am sure they never were visibly affected by either. They certainly have but one night and one day throughout the whole of their existence. They eat perpetually from their first appearance, until they become chrysalises, which I imagine to be their only state of rest. If properly secured from birds and those insects which make others their prey, they do not appear liable to any dangers except that of lightning, and perhaps this they share in common only with other tender animals. The effect which we commonly attribute to thunder storms, that of insects being washed from the trees

by rain, has more probably its cause in lightning, which on the principles of electricity, must destroy millions.

“ Mrs. Williams thinks that the silk worm wastes its silk by being moved incautiously, but a power of throwing out a fine thread, in its very early state, is enjoyed also by various other insects, and was given, no doubt, by providence, to prevent the extinction of the whole species, by violent rain or wind: by this thread they will hang suspended, and resist a torrent of water, unless lightning snap the web, together with their lives. The silk worm, however, loses this property with its first coat; for it is then able to crawl with celerity, and provide for its own safety.

“ I am very far from thinking it impossible to procure two crops of silk in a season in this climate, the attempt, however, cannot be made with success, until the planting of mulberry trees has engaged the attention of the nation; and I should rejoice greatly to see that once more became a matter of royal consideration. So trifling a number as two or three hundred, may be reared almost in any season, but I allude to a manufactory of such extent as might afford other gratifications besides those of curiosity.

“ I have scarcely a more predominant wish at present, than that of being able to produce the first quantity you propose, five pounds in one year; and I have actually preserved eggs to supply me with thirty thousand worms; this idea, however, I never could have entertained, had I not arrived at the certainty of their living upon lettuce leaves for so long a period: and circumstances must still determine the completion of my plan.

“ Hitherto I have been able to conduct the whole myself, but if I pursue



pursue my design, I must call in assistance, and devote much more time to the superintendence of the business.

“ If my scheme is carried into execution, the eventual success of

the enterprize shall be communicated to you, by Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,  
HENRIETTA RHODES.”

*Cann Hall,*

Aug. 24, 1785.

## The STATE of AGRICULTURE amongst the FLEMINGS.

[From SHAW'S SKETCHES of the HISTORY of the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.]

“ COMMERCE and manufacture have declined in the Austrian Netherlands, but agriculture is undecayed. The populousness of the cities is diminished, but the number of inhabitants in the country is augmented beyond the parallel of past times. Even in the most flourishing time of these provinces, under the dukes of Burgundy and the first princes of the Austrian line, the appearance of the country in regard to culture and population did not equal its present state.

“ The natives of this region betook themselves at an early time to the art of husbandry, to which they were invited by a soil well adapted to vegetation, and by the happy temperature of the climate. In ages when only a rude tillage was known in the neighbouring countries, agriculture had attained here to a great degree of perfection, and had gained that firm possession of the soil which it has since kept. The fertility of Flanders was not subdued by the ravages of war itself. Even in the last century, in that most unprosperous period when the other arts of the Flemish provinces sunk and fell into decline, agriculture still retained its vigour: but during the long tranquillity which the present century has afforded, this art has acquired a new

activity, and has advanced these lands to a still higher state of improvement. Where the tillage was imperfect, a more complete husbandry has taken place: large tracts that were formerly waste have been subjected to the plough: the villages have increased in extent and in number, and a degree of populousness is found in some of these provinces, that is not perhaps surpassed in any part of Europe.

“ The rural scene presents here pleasing prospects on all sides, fields crowned with fruitful crops, meadows covered with numerous herds, neat and commodious farm-houses set singly or in groupes, cheerful and crowded villages embowered among trees, and divided from each other by small intervals. Between such fair landscapes wind the rivers, or extend the clear canals of Flanders and Brabant. The bounty of the land is diffused in decent competence through all the multitude that inhabits it; and the looks of the labourer, his wholesome fare and neat dwelling, express that he has his share of that plenty with which his industry crowns the fields.

“ Agriculture flourishes greatly in Brabant and Haynault, but it is in the province of Flanders that this art has attained its highest praise. Here were made the earliest improvements of husbandry. In these rich



rich plains, the plough, long held in veneration, has left the fewest spaces waste or unemployed; and the husbandman's art, aided here by long experience and pursued with constant industry, exhibits most the extent of its power in the copious productions that it calls forth from the earth.

"The fields of Flanders never repose or lie fallow, yet the rich soil fails not to repay the care of the farmer by a constant succession of fruitful crops. Nor is he satisfied only with the crops that the summer ripens. Soon as the harvests are gathered, the earth receives again into its bosom new seeds or plants, and new crops of greens and vegetables arise, that cover the fields through the autumn and the winter months, till the spring warns to prepare the ground for the ensuing season. Such is the fertility which these lands derive from the natural goodness of the soil, from the rich manure which numerous cities and villages bestow, and from excellent methods of agriculture; but above all, from the patient toil of the husbandman, who labours in these fields with unequalled industry and pains;

*Exercetque frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis.*

"The farms in Flanders are small, rarely exceeding fifty acres, and frequently contracted within a narrower bound. Set at a small distance from each other in the center of their respective farms, as is often the case here, the farm-houses, when seen from some eminence, present a continued village, and exhibit a picture of great population. The small extent of the farms has been thought, and not without reason, to have contributed much to the exact culture and

populousness of Flanders. In a small farm, each part seen by the eye of the master has its due tillage: the work of husbandry is chiefly performed by the farmer and his family, who spare no pains to cultivate that field which assures their subsistence; and the glebe, subdued and manured with assiduous care, makes a large return to that labour which is bestowed on its culture. A vast population springs up, and the land is covered with the dwellings of a multitude of cultivators, who find each in the produce of that small farm which he tills, a decent and comfortable maintenance. It happens otherwise in a country where the farms are of a wide extent. In a large farm, many parts are overlooked or neglected, and a more negligent culture is bestowed by hired labourers, more remiss and less interested in the crop. The great farmer is placed in a state of higher plenty, and his dwelling, his furniture, and table express his opulence; but while he enjoys this affluence, and while luxury gains admittance among a rank of men to whose condition it is ill-suited, the populousness of the country decays, the number of industrious cultivators is diminished, and extreme indigence is often found in the dwellings of the cottagers that inhabit around.

"The other provinces have remarked the advantages which Flanders has derived from the small extent of the farms, and have imitated that example. The States of Haynault have, by an express law, limited the extent of the farms in that province, and have ordained, that no farm shall contain a larger space than a hundred and fifty acres. The good effects of this regulation, which was made about thirty years ago,



ago, have been sensibly found. Since that time, the fields in Haynault are more completely cultivated, the lands are not permitted to lie fallow, the country has become more populous, and the villages increasing, draw nearer to each other. The States of Brabant and Namur meditate by a similar law to circumscribe the extent of farms in these provinces. That part of Brabant which is called the Walloon Brabant, is a country cast into large farms, and from that circumstance is less populous, and more imperfectly cultivated, than other parts of that province where the small farms obtain.

A contrary practice has for some time past prevailed in England, where the number of small farms is diminished, and where the proprietors of estates have in frequent instances adopted the plan of laying many small farms into one large farm. Agriculture has not profited by this alteration. The glebe, stinted in its tillage where a single master grasps a large extent of fields, has not yielded more abundant harvests; and the markets, less amply provided in some important articles, miss that supply which they were accustomed to draw from the small farms. The populousness of the country has fallen. While the mansion of the great farmer has risen more ostentatiously, those numerous tenements that were scattered through the fields, or that encircled the cheerful green, have disappeared, and the deserted village has furnished a theme for the poet's song. The ancient tenant, finding no occupation in the fields where he has spent his youth, and not caring, as a mercenary, to plough that land which he formerly rented, forsakes his native shore, and seeks with his family another

climate where his industry may be better requited. Other disadvantages may be numbered, that have flowed from this practice. Let it be remarked as an article of some moment, that the firm and independent spirit of a bold peasantry is better nourished among that rank of men by whom small farms are occupied, than among servile labourers who perform the tasks of husbandry in large farms.

The country of Wafs, a district lying along the northern bank of the Scheld below Ghent (the scene anciently of wars between the Counts of Flanders and of Holland, and through which in latter times the Prince of Parma, in the memorable siege of Antwerp, drew a canal that still remains), is the pride of Flanders in respect of culture and population. Yet the soil of the country of Wafs is in many parts ungrateful, and equals not in general the goodness of soil of other parts of Flanders: but, divided into slender heritages, and parcelled out into small farms that often do not exceed twenty acres, fertilized by rich manure, and subdued by the unceasing labour of the peasant, who here, imitating the gardener's skill, applies the spade and the hoe, no less than the plough, to the culture of his narrow field, this district surpasses all the tracts of this fruitful region in the abundance of its crops. A vast population is found in this territory, whose villages are equal to large cities. St. Nicholas, and Lockeren, villages of the county of Wafs, contain each not less than 10,000 inhabitants.

The Province of Flanders, now so cultivated, wore anciently a far different aspect. The vast forest of the Ardennes, of which there are yet some slender remains here



in the pleasant wood of Wynendale and other smaller woods, then overspread all that region: the first Counts of Flanders, on account of the deep forests that covered their domain, were named the foresters of Flanders. Marshes also and stagnant waters abounded. A moist sky added to the natural humidity of the soil; and the Scheld and other rivers, as yet unrestrained by dykes, and keeping no certain bed, overflowed the level face of the country.

Agriculture and the art of man have wrought the mighty change that is now seen. The monks, who in early times united rustic labour with contemplation and prayer, introduced the first rude tillage. Those fertile fields that surround the monastic houses were in their original state wild and savage tracts, that were cleared of their woods, and subdued to culture by religious hands. The violence of a barbarous age respected the labour of holy men: feudal lords beheld with surprize the effects of industry, and lands were bestowed on the monasteries, as the charters by which they are granted express, that they might be rendered fruitful by the skill of the monks. The fathers of the convent, extending their lands and gaining new fields from the wilderness, associated other hands in their toil; and around the monastery rose frequent cottages, the habitations of labourers, the beginning of populous villages, and sometimes of flourishing cities.

Agriculture thus introduced by the monks, made a rapid progress as the yoke of feudal oppression became lighter, and as the peasants acquired privileges, by which they were secured from the violence of their Lords. The cities of Flanders rising in trade and arts, afford-

ed a great encouragement to agriculture. The merchant, adventurous in commerce, by which he was enriched, exerted the same enterprising spirit in cultivation: the nobles, that they might procure those luxuries which the commerce of the cities presented, turned their care to the improvement of their demesnes; and the husbandman, who in the large consumption of crowded cities found a ready market for the produce of his fields, was tempted on that account to redouble his industry. The Princes also beheld the progress of this useful art with peculiar favour; and the Counts of Flanders, as it is said bestowed rewards on those who excelled in agriculture. Already in the twelfth century, the deep forests of Flanders were cut down, and the soil laid open to the rays of the sun: spacious canals were formed, which, whilst they drained the lands, opened the communication of the country. The Scheld, compelled to yield up fruitful fields that had long been hidden under his wave, was restrained by dykes, and obliged to keep a certain bed. Flanders became the most cultivated and most fertile domain of Europe; and though she has since been imitated by other nations her praise has not fallen. England, where tillage was long in an imperfect state, and which took from this country lessons of husbandry as well as of other arts, far surpassing Flanders in commerce and manufactures, has not yet surpassed her in agriculture.

Liberty, which first animated the industry of the husbandman in these parts, still sustains his labours. The present sovereign, by acts that add signal lustre to his reign, seeks to promote agriculture in other parts of his wide empire, by the enfranchisement of the peasants from that

feudal



feudal bondage in which they have been long kept by the nobles. A like attention has not been needed in this country, where the peasant, no less than the lord, possesses rights that may not be invaded with impunity, and where those feudal servitudes, that still disgrace some parts of this island, have been long unknown. Conscious of his privileges, the Flemish peasant resumes his toils, nor repines whilst the laws secure to him his property in that field which he cultivates. The season that renews his labours brings also along the appointed days of sport and recreation. A religion indulgent to her votaries gladdens him with her returning holidays, that are accompanied by sports and games, and exercises, consecrated by long usage. The Kerre-Messe, or festival of the saint who is the patron of the parish-church, dissolves all the village in mirth and oblivion of care, and the jocund neighbourhood exhibits those festive scenes, which the pencil of the Flemish painter has so often sought to imitate. Restored by this remission of toil, the husbandman rises more vigorous to pursue his tasks, and the year is crowned with plenty by his redoubled activity.

All the various kinds of grain are cultivated happily in this country. Years of scarcity that affect other parts of Europe are little known here, where the crops of ordinary seasons yield a much larger store than the subsistence of the inhabitants, though numerous, requires, and where the exportation of grain to other countries less fortunate, forms a principal branch of commerce. The flax of Flanders not only supplies to that province its chief manufacture, but yields also a profitable article of traffic with other nations. Many valu-

able plants adapted to various uses are raised with success: tobacco may be ranked among these plants: legumes and all the tribe of esculent roots grow in abundance, and have lent to England most of her vegetables of that class. Vines were formerly trained in Flanders and Brabant; but the vine, less grateful to the planter's care, has given way to products that are better suited to the clime and soil, and in which the husbandman finds a greater advantage.

Agriculture, whilst it supplies materials to commerce and manufacture, is also more permanent than either, and affords a more solid basis of national prosperity. The manufactures of Louvain have failed, and the trade of Antwerp is fallen; but the fields of Flanders keep a constant fertility. Agriculture also entertains a race of men, temperate, hardy, simple, that withstand the attacks of luxury, and among whom virtue lingers long, when corruption has gained the other ranks of the state. Even in the improved state which husbandry has attained in this island, England has still cause to make it a reproach to her inhabitants, that they have not enough respected agriculture, and that, intent on colonies and foreign possessions, they have neglected the due improvement of her soil, the best source of wealth. Hence, while a defective tillage is found in many places, and while in other parts vast tracts of ground are yet unsubdued by the plough, her natives have passed into foreign climes, where themselves with their industry have been lost to the parent country, or where, with impaired health, and too often with impaired virtue, they have acquired Indian gold, returning to advance the reign of luxury at home, and extend the corruption of a sliding age.



## AN APOLOGY for LUXURY.

[ From the Marquis DE CASAUX's THOUGHTS on the MECHANISM of SOCIETIES. ]

“ **W**OULD not the question about luxury, reduced to its elements, like those other questions which I have touched upon hitherto, present consequences diametrically opposite to those ideas which perhaps are yet too common, only because they have not been thoroughly examined? Methinks I have advanced one step towards the solution of the problem, by proving (if I have proved it) that the tax laid on that pretended monster, luxury, is in fact the most oppressive for the people, on account of the following effects, from which the impost cannot be freed.

“ First, if that tax lessens the consumption of the article taxed, provision must be made, by a fresh tax, for the deficit in the first, which nevertheless has already deprived of sustenance, those who derived it only from that article of consumption annihilated by the tax.

“ Secondly, if the rage for the article taxed, gets the better of the rigour of the tax, or in other words, of the absurd disproportion thereby established between the real and nominal value of that article, the land proprietor has no other resource left, whereby to provide for the tax, and for the rest of his standing expences, than to raise the prices of his commodities accordingly; and the poor, whose consumption has not been taxed, pays dearer, nevertheless, for his bread; and for all that he consumes besides, whilst the tax laid on luxury alone, is pleaded by all the capitalists as a pretence for not increasing

the price of labour amongst the people they employ.

“ Thirdly, if the little private calculations, of which I have spoken, did not rectify (as I contend they do by degrees, and as they ought to do sooner) the mistakes of the grand calculations in the administration of finances; that is to say, if the land proprietor did not increase the price of his commodities, in proportion as the tax bears heavy on that article of luxury which he still persists to consume: it would appear still more heinous in the eyes of the moralist; for those artificers who, without remorse, without a blush, should employ themselves in the work of satan, of which the consumption should continue the same, would subsist undisturbed in peace and plenty on that very work, whilst a considerable number of scrupulous artisans, employed hitherto on articles free from censure, but of which the consumption should have decreased by the counterblow of the taxes on luxury, would most scandalously be left starving and unemployed.

“ I shall now inspect the question more minutely; for all I have said hitherto is not so much an apology for luxury, as an exposition of the inconveniencies attending its being made the principal object of taxation: I beg to be excused, if I grow unwillingly more familiar in my style, when the dignity of the subject seems to require one of suitable dignity in the manner of treating it.

“ It is the quality of the land that



that determines the division of its products: however ungrateful the soil, the man who cultivates it, first deducts what is necessary for his subsistence, and a trifle more; the rest is divided amongst the landlord and some others, for one reason or another admitted to a share. This division, determined by the most general quality of the land, brings down the proprietor, who farms out his estate, to about one third of its productions, and reduces nearly to the like proportion, those who are employed in wresting them from the bosom of the earth.

“ In order therefore to consume as much as 80 men, the proprietor must have a landed estate capable of giving food to 240; and out of these 240, 160 must be provided for before the proprietor can think on his own consumption. Consequently, it would be unreasonable to call him to any other account than for that portion which he has received: but I readily subscribe to the necessity of having that account examined with the utmost rigour, since the object is to justify the dissipation of so considerable a surplus, and since the employment of that surplus, well ascertained, will give us sufficient light on the employment of the other parts of the revenue; which by that means it will be useless to examine.

“ The highest pitch of extravagance, in point of luxury, is, beyond contradiction, that which, in the smallest possible compass, contains the largest quantity, as well as the greatest perfection of labour, and of a labour the most easy to destroy.

“ Let us suppose a man who, to the fancy of being possessed of such an article, should join that of seeing constantly at work all those

hands which must be employed to complete it; such a fancy never produces any other effect, but that of tertiating or doubling the price of things. The patriarchs of old, busied and amused themselves, no doubt, in setting to work those whom they enabled to eat; they lived too near the time when man was condemned to labour, to maintain them in idleness. The modern patriarch of whom I am speaking, provided with a pound weight of flax, which costs him six pence, divides it among twenty-five working people, who give it every preparation necessary to answer the purpose it is intended for. After an entire month of the most slavish precautions, the most minute details, a thread, hardly perceptible to the naked eye, presents to the warm imagination of the proprietor, the idea of the chef-d'œuvre of which this thread is to be the foundation; after four or five months more, devoted to the most patient and assiduous industry, he is at last put in possession of some slips of lace, weighing in all four or five drachms, picked out and sorted, thanks to the last refinement of art, from that pound of flax which had cost six pence. Five pence three farthings, and a few fractions, are then, it seems, in the strictest calculation, the only real loss—the only devastation which is occasioned by luxury carried to the highest pitch of extravagance; and this loss is compensated by some very curious pieces of workmanship, which it is impossible to value at less than 227l. 10s. being the amount of 4550 days work at 12d. paid to each of the twenty-five working people, who have owed their subsistence, for six months, to that pretended inutility.—Amongst all the passions with which providence



dence has been pleased to gratify the rich for the advantage of the poor, name me only one that occasions less devastation, and maintains a greater number of indigent persons, than luxury carried to excess. O ye rigid men, who have left off wearing lace, join with me who have left it off too,—join with me in teaching those who continue to wear it, how many of their brethren they nourish without knowing it! Make them virtuous by teaching them, that in order to be so, they need only do, from a sentiment of humanity, what hitherto perhaps they have done through a motive of puerile vanity, or from a principle of ostentation, which, when considered, needs to be considered with some indulgence.

“ Another aspect, whimsical enough perhaps, but by no means foreign to the title of this pamphlet, would be that under which we should view those prodigies of art and patience, as the work not only of twenty-five artificers who were busied upon it for six months, but also of twelve or fifteen husbandmen whose existence and labour were indispensable for the sustenance, during the same time, of the twenty-five labouring people employed in that great work. . . . A peevish man would perhaps exclaim, “ Was it indeed worth while to be born, if all ends with this life ? ”—And yet, even in this case, thread-lace ought not to be proscribed: it was not worth while indeed to come into the world, solely to make lace; but, once born, we must work at something, in order to bear, without weariness, every instant even of a life which should not require lace-making for its support: as to the nature of the work, let us not find fault with that

of others, before we justly estimate our own. . . . Can we find many of our fellow-creatures, who on their death-bed are able to shew the work of their whole life. . . . worth the smallest shred of lace then in being?

“ After this single instance of luxury, by which twenty-five men are fed during six months at the expence of another, by daily reducing his revenue from 80 to 55, I think that, without being an enthusiast or declaimer, it would be difficult, even for a good man, in the right sense of the word, to withstand the pleasure (although perhaps rather of the mischievous kind) of observing that little more is wanted beyond two such fancies as we have stated, to bring the proprietor, reduced in the origin from 240 shillings to 80, and then from 80 to 55—to bring him, I say, exactly to the level of the cultivator, whom he has brought down to 9d. or 10d. and of the mechanic on whom he has bestowed 11d. or 12d. however, I am willing to allow him 24 for his real, personal, and daily consumption. Twenty-four pence! will it be said, “ What signifies being so rich, to consume so little ! ” Yes, twenty-four pence; and this is by much too much, if we deduct, as we ought, from the price of each article supposed to be consumed by the rich, the sum that remains in the hands of the pilferers of all kinds, who stand, unknown to him between him and that article.—How! what say you then to that plate of green peas which costs 6, 8, or 10 guineas!—But, my good friend the consumer of green peas, if you knew how many pilferers it conceals, of whom you have not the least idea! if you knew how many wants it has supplied to some,



Some, how many indulgences of luxury it has procured to others, before it found its way to the table of an epicure, or of an ostentatious man! — Let us try to enumerate them: workers of mines and quarries, masons, carpenters, glaziers, colliers, lock-smiths, English, and French sailors for the common-spice trade; Dutch seamen, for the more precious kinds; ships of war of the three powers, indispensable for the protection of the merchantmen employed on those objects; wood-fellers in Sweden, sail-cloth weavers in Russia; ship builders, pilots, admirals of the three nations, husbandmen busied in the four parts of the world in procuring food for themselves, in order to prepare food for all those wood-fellers, glaziers, admirals, &c. exclusive of the Dutch gardener, and the French cook who alone can worthily crown the mighty operation. — Imagination loses itself in that single plate of green peas. How many reductions from 16 pence to 8, and from 8 to 4, have been required to produce it! It is inconceivable that it should not sell for more than 6 or 8 guineas; — but if each of those pilferers above mentioned takes back the small portion by which he has increased the intrinsic value of the article . . . O ye, who must have swallowed up 500 properties, in order to eat, without being guilty of extravagance, that plate of green peas, and who flatter yourselves with the idea of having consumed on that day fifty or sixty crowns worth, learn and reflect henceforward, without remorse and without vanity, that you have not spent above half one penny, the real value of any other dish of greens which you might have substituted to the peas you have consumed.

“Scrutinize, in the same manner, your wearing apparel; choose, like a child, what pleases most the eyes of the body; or, like a fastidious man, all that is most imposing to the eyes of the imagination; or, miser-like, that which costs least money; or, in fine, like a man of sense, what your means or your taste incline you to wear; the difference, as to essentials, is little or none. It cannot be positively asserted, that your consumption will be more or less considerable in one than in the other case; but recollect that thread lace, for which you could not pay less than 227l. 10s. because there stand between you and the pound of flax from which it has been extracted, 35 or 40 intermediate pilferers, to be fed during six months; — this lace, however, in spite of that extravagant price, could not, as you have seen, be set down to account amongst the articles of your real and personal consumption, for more than six pence, supposed to be the intrinsic value of a pound weight of flax, which has gone through so many hands to be converted into lace. Now, on this principle, you might be wrapped in lace from head to foot: and your entire mummy, instead of presenting to the eye of a sworn appraiser a consumption of 30 or 40,000l. would in this instant of its highest splendor, only present him with a devastation of 200lb. of flax, sacrificed to decorate that mummy, or to hide its defects. — And as the object would be 200lb. of flax, the value of which is fully known by the number of people to whom it would afford support, instead of dealing so lightly as I did with a single pound, when I introduced my patriarch, the appraiser would reckon with you rigorously; he



would consider, that in the hands of the arts, no part of the works of the creation can be lost; that, as it is their triumph, so it is their duty, to divide into 10, 20, or 30 parts, whatever requires such a division, in order that each may receive the degree of utility of which it is susceptible, and which the arts are bound to account for to society: the appraiser would then carry you to the lace-merchant, in order to lay before you ten different sorts of an inferior lace, taken from parts chosen successively after that which serves you for a wrapper, and descending still from pilfery to pilfery, he would at last inveigle you in the cabins of some pretended wretch, where he would shew you the quantity of coarse and substantial shirts, necessary to teach you that 3 or 4 lb. of flax, at the most, are the only possible devaluations your mummy can be reproached with, as two shillings are the only expence your vanity can boast of in the 25 or 30,000l. which you could presume to have consumed.

“Yet, let us grant something to the pretended importance of being possessed of 500 properties, each of them sufficient to the support of one man. I shall accordingly suppose you to be habitually clothed in those stuffs, which, to the richness of the materials that compose them, join the perfection of workmanship, (which concerns you, as you have seen, in no other light, but that of either a benevolent, or an unintentional provider for the necessary consumption of the labouring man);—but 10 lb. of silk, as they come out of nature’s hands, are not worth 30 shillings:—without enquiring why they may then be valued at 30 shillings, bring all the other parts of your dress to

the touchstone I have furnished you with; consider, that if you wear the same coat every day, it would be far from being worn out at the end of the year,—and how far it would be of course from standing for two or three pence in the account of your daily consumption;—add thereto your real and personal wastings in coals, wood, pomatum, essences, elixirs, &c. valued after the same principle;—at what a distance you still remain from the 24 pence I have granted you for consumption!—And do not say that you renew your coat every season;—had you swallowed up 5000 instead of 500 properties, and should you change cloaths every day, your real consumption would not be the greater for it: would not your valet de chambre, to whom you should have given that suit of cloaths, for which you had paid 40 guineas, and which you had worn only once;—would not, I say, your valet de chambre sell it for 15 guineas to an old cloaths-man, who would get 20l. for it from a strolling player?—Be pleased now to trace that suit from Paris to Lisle, to Brussels, Dresden, Poland, Russia; see how many people will get a livelihood by carrying it about; how many guineas it will bring to the travelling Roscius, who will shine in so many countries at your expence; reflect on the revolutions which the elegance of that dress will occasion in the modes at Petersburg; how many draughtsmen, embroiderers, working people of all sorts, will be employed and fed, (thanks to your luxury), in copying that master-piece of taste and fancy—This is not all; you might probably, at the end of 15 years, meet again in Paris with the same suit, cut into small pieces, in the hands



hands of some ladies of the first rank, busily engaged in unweaving the rags, to send, as soon as possible, those precious relics of your seemingly spoiled cloaths, to Lyons, &c. where ten workmen are waiting its arrival, to get bread by restoring to it a great part of its former value, under another form. — And you would presume to have consumed it? . . . The work of God is not so easily destroyed, nor his beneficence so easily concentrated.

“ Was it worth being so rich, to consume so little ?

“ Where you to say, Is it worth while to commit an injustice in order to grow rich, when we can consume but so little, and when the means are so numerous of pilfering so lawfully all that is wanted for consumption ? I could then understand you ; — but since you are in possession of 500 properties without having been guilty of injustice ; it is something to reflect that they are really to you, the source of numberless enjoyments which you have it in your power to render worthy of a rational being : and, as the continuance of those enjoyments depends entirely on the health and bodily strength of so many others who are to contribute thereto, it is something to be conscious that we find our own pleasures in the interest of others ; it is something to reflect, that these pleasures are a very gentle mean, devised most probably by an universal watchfulness, to induce you to provide men destitute of every thing, with that modicum of goods which was not granted to them, and which, nevertheless, being necessary for their sustenance, is sufficient to their moderation, and prevents their feeling the privation of all the rest : it is something to reflect, that you feed in fact 50, 100, 500 perhaps

of your brethren, amongst whom there are 10, 15, 30, as well fed as yourself, since they live on what comes from your table. As to the other, whose faces you will never see, since some of them are at Pekin, in Arabia, at Constantinople, and others in France, Russia, &c. be assured that, with much less meat than you, but more bread, potatoes, or rice, and a few glasses of an acid liquor, the idea of which, whilst I venture to speak of it, is enough to crisp all your nerves, they are as contented, as happy as you, because they consume, without any reflection, without any solicitude for the morrow, all they want, in order to view that morrow with the same tranquillity. — Would it not be unjust in that Being, who weigheth the mountains in a balance, if there were, amongst men, one condition more unfortunate than another ? Would he not be unjust, if amongst men, there were one condition more blessed than another ? I suppose, indeed, that there exists a Being, who weigheth the mountains in a balance, as others have supposed that there is a future life, where happiness is more visibly equal ; and I have hitherto ventured upon so many suppositions ! — yet I would beg leave to offer one more, relating, though indirectly perhaps, to the object now under consideration ; but this shall be the last : I will ask (upon the supposition that there really exists a Being, not only Estimator, Moderator, but Creator also of all that thinks, wishes, and can be happy) . . . yes, I presume to ask, whether the created being, capable of conceiving the idea of giving immortality to the creature capable of wishing for it, of fostering the hopes, and feeling the value of it, would not be greater than



than the Creator himself, if the Creator had not conceived such an idea?—I freely confess, that I should think myself better than the Creator, had the Creator conceived such an idea without putting it execution.

“I now return to the point which requires no kind of supposition, I mean the real consumption.—Let us pass from that very insignificant possessor of 500 properties, to the greatest monarch upon earth.—What difference is there between his consumption and that of the meanest of his subjects?—He has the choice of every thing, such is the ne plus ultra of his power: three, four, or five pounds weight of nourishing food, are really as sufficient for the one as they are necessary to the other;—and on all points, what is the object that procures to the monarch either advantage or pleasure, the price of which as paid by him, were it even of fourfold the value, is not exactly composed, both of the amount of the sustenance that was necessary to the production of that object, and

of a sum which will infallibly pay for other productions, which must be purchased to forward new ones—from which the people will constantly have deducted their necessities, before they are permitted to satisfy the superfluities, the luxury of any whosoever?—Such is that never-ending screw, that adorable chain, which nothing can stop or break, unless it be the insanity of a monster, who should receive that fourfold price, and bury it under ground, lest it should prove useful to society.—That wretch was very consistent with his feelings, who wished the Roman people to have but one head, that he might exterminate the whole nation at a single blow; but the phoenix will ever rise from its ashes; and humanity, with all her resources, all her rights, would be reproduced from the very stones, were it possible that not a single head should escape the sword of that consistent being who might wish to cut them all off.”

## REFLECTIONS on NOVELTY.

[From the 4th Number of the TRIFLER, in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.]

*Illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus.*

*Spectator.*

For novelty alone, he knew, could charm

The lawless crowd.

*Eo quod*

*HOR.*

*FRANCIS.*

“**T**O treat on a subject, in the pursuit of which the most eminent writers of modern ages have been frustrated, is certainly

no very easy or trivial undertaking, and may seem to require more abilities and more experience than a mere Trifler can possibly have attained. But in an age when established principles are received rather as a burden than an advantage to society; when fashion and invention are become the grand topics of meditation and employment; when the least attempt towards the revival of antiquated and forgotten customs



customs, the simplest discovery of new amusements, or the propagation of such as are not universally known, meet with the most liberal rewards and acknowledgments from every rank and station; in such an age, I say, some thoughts upon the subject of Novelty may not be found totally impertinent, though unsupported by that claim which should chiefly recommend them.

“ Novelty, like commodities of every sort, becomes more or less valuable according to its greater or less degree of scarcity, and continues to lose part of its influence as new inventions become more common, and variety is enjoyed with greater frequency. In those dark ages of the world when arts and sciences served no other purpose than to gratify the appetites of an ignorant monarch, or to consume whole lives of his subjects in the contemplation of what they knew nothing more of, except the mere existence, without the most feeble attempts to cultivate or render them serviceable to the ends of moral institutions or natural appearances. Novelty may be said to have been at its highest pitch of infection. So little were arts and sciences known in those days, that the discovery of any thing new, though never so trivial, excited their attention almost to a degree of enthusiasm; but so ignorant were the people of cultivation, and their genius so incapable of exertion, that they admired it more for its rarity than its real value. Having no idea of the operations of any machine already constructed to their hands, nor how that construction was produced, they could not possibly place any value on that, the mere existence of which was all they could comprehend. The most they could presume to do, was to shew their apparent

knowledge and real regard, by remaining fixed in a state of amazement and stupidity, without once enquiring in what manner, or to what purpose, so wonderful a piece of mechanism had been wrought. It was the amusement of monarchs, to toy and dally with that which was the admiration of their subjects. When the Europeans first introduced locks and keys into America, the Virginian king was so struck with the oddness of the phenomenon, that it was his constant employment, for some time, to turn the key, and become door-keeper to his attendants: but, when arts and sciences began to flourish more diffusely over the whole globe, they became the objects of more circumspect attention; the folly and ignorance of preceding ages was now beginning to wear off, and there was manifestly to be seen in every new discovery something that called for enquiry, and demanded analysis. What was discovered in this led to the discovery of something more mysterious, and of greater consequence; till, at length, the whole body of philosophy was laid open, its contents examined, the thread of its mysteries unravell-ed, and its truths exposed to public circumspection. By this means Novelty is become more common and less striking. It must be something of the greatest importance, and something of the most extraordinary nature, that can now excite the public curiosity; I mean, that can affect every individual equally alike; for fashions are continually changing; manners and customs depend totally upon the fancy and whimsies of the court: but revolutions of this sort are not of equal moment to all ranks of people; the great alone are subject to them, and to these I shall very sparingly



sparingly allude. The late rage of ballooning, which had spread itself beyond even the nations of Europe, begins now to be appeased: every secret of the art is explored, and every principle that actuated the powers of this wonderful bubble is rendered common to the most ignorant beholder. Yet nothing at its first appearance met with such universal attention; nor was the inventor unworthily rewarded: and I am sorry to remark, that so celebrated a nursery of the arts and sciences, as that University of which I have the honour to be a member, should degrade itself so far as to suffer such ingenious and truly philosophic merit as that of Mr. Sadler's to lie undistinguished by any single mark of esteem, or even attention. The improvement of an invention of such a nature, though at present so imperfect, may lead to the discovery of something more considerable, especially when ingenuity and ambition concur in the pursuit of one grand end. For an ambition so highly laudable as this must be, raises in our minds a desire, which, if it once calls for gratification, will never be resisted, nor ought we to resist a passion which may tend to produce such great and useful services. In every instance, this passion of novelty may easily be proved to be not less useful than considerable. Genius, however depressed by accident or inclination, must at one time or other, be exerted. A state of indolence and solicitude can no longer be endured when once the passions are called forth by the force of example, or the hopes of encouragement. The warbling of birds, the falling of cascades, and all the variety of rural enjoyments, become either nauseous or totally insipid, when once the charm of Novelty has raised

our desires, and its pleasures demanded gratification. It is true that solitude and quiet are the most effectual requisites for diving into the mysteries of profound literature; but while they improve the understanding, and favour the pursuits after real knowledge, genius and taste are left at a distance behind. The man of the world, who has travelled through most of the countries in Europe, and carefully observed the difference between their manners and customs; has ranged from tavern to tavern, from coffee-house to coffee-house, and indulged himself with the gratification of every enjoyment of life, from the pomp and splendor of St. James's, to the privacy and humility of the "straw-built cot;" may be able to temper his genius, and direct his taste to a degree of elegance and accuracy, to which the rural enthusiast is an entire stranger. In order, therefore, to correct the natural morosity of such a man's temper, and to divert the peculiarities of his manner, nothing will be found of greater efficacy than a change of place, conversation, and acquaintance. A transition from obscurity to public attention; from the securities of retirement to the hazards of a riotous and vitious metropolis; from the private conviviality of a few friends to a wide world of acquaintance; from the artless melody of a nightingale, to the choral dignity of an opera; from the humble employments of husbandry, or the study of vegetation, to the matchless sublimity of theatrical entertainments, or the matter and importance of political squabbles; cannot but awake him from his lethargy, and demand his attention. He has now an opportunity of ascending from speculation to practice,



tice, from precept to example. The moralist, who has the interest and happiness of a few individuals at heart, must expect the rewards and acknowledgements of a few individuals only; but he that has all mankind for his subject, will not only be rewarded by such myriads of those to whom his labours were consecrated, but will receive the particular distinction of HIM, in whose hand is the full and sole power of compensation and applause. In order to profess this latter, in any degree of perfection, a large acquaintance must be attained with the world and its foibles, which can only be done by the above transition and accurate observation; and it generally happens that this transition is effected merely by the aversion which most people frequently discover to a tedious return of the same pleasures, and the same uniform method of life. At a period when letters are sought after as the grand incentive to earthly happiness, and cultivated as the most indissoluble cement of society, I am happy to observe, that a means of circulating them by an easy and concise plan of publication becomes daily increased. Within the narrow bounds of a Magazine may be found, at once, information, variety, and entertainment. The generous reception with which the Gentleman's Magazine ever has, and still continues to be honoured, may prove the truth of this assertion; nor can the closest imitations ever hope to rival originality of design, and a noble spirit of execution; and I regard as a favourable omen the circumstance of having introduced myself to the world by means of so extensive and communicative a miscellany. The warmth and spirit which has hitherto buoyed up this publication, it is to be hoped, will

still continue to be countenanced and applauded: for, in pursuit of any thing new, nothing can be too much applauded, nothing too much encouraged.—I shall here remark an error which parents are continually guilty of, in restraining their children from that sphere of life, which the early bent of their genius has discovered a strong partiality for. Perhaps eight out of ten are prejudiced in favour of a travelling life; a life which the most dignified rank, and the most luxurious enjoyments, can never be compared with, either in point of pleasure or utility. To charm is in the power of every kind of life; but to charm with continuance the life of a traveller can only profess. He is carried off in the heat of his curiosity from the contemplation of one project, to others as different in their kind as distant in their station. Before one pleasure has lost its power of attraction, another succeeds in its place; from court to court, from country to country, from prospect to prospect, his attention is diverted, while every fresh motion brings along with it some new beauty, or confesses some unknown truth. The boundaries of his understanding are hereby extended, the bent of his genius complied with, and the ardour of his curiosity appeased. The study of arts and sciences is facilitated by a continual succession of new discoveries. The system of vegetation becomes more enlarged, the distance and station of countries more determinate, and their manners and policy more publicly understood. In short, every pleasure that can touch the heart, and every good that can improve the mind, is to be expected only from the fullest enjoyments of variety, and the keenest thirst of Novelty."



## ADVICE to PREBENDARIES.

[From ADVICE to the CLERGY of every Denomination and Degree, &amp;c.]

“**I**N consequence of a proper attention to the admonitions contained in the preceding chapters, you are now a canon of Windsor, or prebendary of Durham, Canterbury, Winchester, or some other opulent cathedral. You have besides, livings of five or six hundred a-year, where the duty is done by your curates for thirty or at most forty pounds per annum each. If they happen to have wives and families, they may possibly have frequent occasion to exert their economical faculties. So much the better. Luxury in the inferior clergy is a vice. The apostles were all poor men. Parson Adams, to the best of my recollection, had not above twenty pounds a-year, and yet he was perfectly contented and happy. These arguments, if they should presume to complain, will stop their mouths; besides curates are a mere drug; so that they may decamp whenever they please. An advertisement in the papers will give you the choice of half a score. Charity begins at home. A prebendary has occasion for every shilling of his revenue. He must keep servants, a good table, and a carriage. His wife and daughters must dress fashionably, frequent public diversions, and play at cards.

“Cards are now no longer the amusement, but the principal occupation, the business of the polite world: therefore, as most of your time must be appropriated to this rational, this instructive, this philosophical, this moral employment, you cannot spend your mornings better than in the study of Hoyle, which, with the other red

book, will sufficiently occupy all your leisure. The rest of your library is totally useless, except now and then a Review, in order to enable you to give your opinion occasionally on recent publications. Books of divinity are quite out of the question: of these you have read enough when you had no better employment: besides, in the present constitution of things, they are all become obsolete.

“If, out of frolic, you should at any time chuse to preach a sermon, let the subject be some mystical point of divinity; so that it may be totally unintelligible to the congregation. The people of which congregations are generally composed, admire most what they least understand. As to the christian duties of humility, charity, abstinence, mortification, and self-denial, they might do well enough whilst you were a poor curate. Such topics would now give occasion to invidious reflexions: they are duties, with which, in your present situation, you have no concern. I remember a young clergyman's preaching a sermon against adultery, who the night before had been surprized in bed with the wife of one of his parishioners. As he came out of the church, the injured husband seized him by the collar and threw him into a horse-pond.

“We learn from an old adage, that a man is best known by the character of his associates. For this reason, I must admonish you not to admit the minor canons to any degree of familiarity. They are poor, and consequently men of no character. You may employ them



as preceptors to your children, or to superintend your household during your absence, and you may now and then admit them to your table when you have no better company. When you want to get rid of them, as soon as they have drank Church and King, you may take out your watch, and, looking towards the bottom of the table, say, you fancy it is almost time for evening prayers. When these thread-bare drudges are gone, you push back your wig, seat yourself afresh on your chair, open your countenance, and patting the lid of your snuff-box, facetiously apologize to the company for the necessity of now and then admitting inferiors to one's table. You then whisper a toast to the baronet, on your right hand, and setting down your glass, you exclaim, *Vive la bagatelle!* Thus the laick part of the company are relieved from all restraint, and the evening is spent in social jocundity and ease. About eight o'clock, tea being announced, you join the ladies in the drawing-room, where the card-tables being prepared, the company sits down to crown whist, with half a guinea or a guinea on the rubber, and you break up between eleven and twelve. Such were the lives of the apostles and primitive fathers of the church.

“If there happens to be a company of strolling players in the town, three nights in the week, attended by your wife and daughters, you may spend at the theatre; but you must not so far forget your rank as to mix with the actresses behind the scenes; that privilege belongs to the younger clergy. Plays, you know, afford a most rational entertainment; and that they have a natural tendency to promote morality, is evinced by the virtu-

ous lives of those who frequent the theatres.

“But, though this necessary round of amusements will occupy much the greatest part of your time, business must not be entirely neglected. The study of the two red books, with the perfect knowledge of which your interest is so inseparably connected, must, on no account, be omitted. One will teach you how to fill your card-purse, and from the other you will learn the names of the great men in power, whom you are to court in expectation of a bishoprick. These severe studies will generally employ your morning hours: nevertheless, you will find it necessary to appropriate some portion of your time to the receipt of your rents, and correspondence with your curates concerning your tythes. You will also have frequent occasion to write letters to the lawyers and attorneys employed in carrying on law-suits against your parishioners. On this subject let me conjure you never to let the feelings of humanity clash with the sacred interest of the church, nor warp the pious severity of divine justice. “If you yourself were only concerned in these litigations, you would be the last man in the world to ruin a poor man for the non-payment of his rent, his tythe, or modus; but this is the cause of the church, of religion, of the whole body of the clergy to the latest posterity: besides to speak the truth, these farmers are such a pack of rascals that they deserve no compassion.

“I have promised to conduct you to the summit of ecclesiastical dignity and preferment; and I will fulfil that promise: but I must inform you, that your attention to my admonitions must increase in  
pro-



proportion to your proximity to the goal. Never forget that the king makes bishops, and that, consequently, the minister for the time being is your sole object. You are not yet sufficiently elevated to make a point blank attack on a chancellor of the exchequer; but by gradually extending your influence in the corporation, and among the voters for the county in your several parishes, you will in time attain the honour of being mentioned to him by the peer that makes the members; and your interest at court will increase in proportion to the increase of your parliamentary interest in the county. Mean while, you must be exceedingly careful, even when conversing with your most intimate friends, never to let slip a single patriotic expression, nor seem dissatisfied with taxes nor with any other measure of government. There are indeed many examples in our history of turbulent men forcing themselves into power by opposing the minister; but, in the ecclesiastical line, that method does not succeed; it is therefore wisely abandoned.

“As to the wisdom and honesty

of the minister, they are no concern of yours. If you suffer conscience to obstruct your road to preferment, I have done with you at once; and the best advice I can give you, is to retire to one of your livings in the country, and spend the remainder of your life in obscurity. But, Sir, I presume you have had a liberal education, and that you have by this time, shook off the trammels of a religion of which humility, scrupulous integrity, and self-denial are the fundamental principles; a religion, that presents an insurmountable bar to the attainment of wealth, rank, and power, the desiderata of all mankind. Your superiors, in compliance with the times, have skipped over this bar with great agility. They yet preserve the semblance of the old impracticable religion; but it requires very little penetration to discover, that they are since proselytes to the doctrines of that sublime philosopher Epicurus who laughed at divine providence, who proved beyond a doubt that the soul dies with the body, and whose *summum bonum* was pleasure.”

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## HUMAN LEARNING, an APOLOGUE.

[From TALES, ROMANCES, APOLOGUES, ANECDOTES, &c. in Two Volumes, translated from the French.]

“DABSCHELIM, king of the Indies, possessed a library so large, that it required a hundred Bramins to revise and keep it in order, and a thousand dromedaries to carry the books. As he had no intention to read all it contained, he commanded his Bramins to make extracts from it, for his

use, of whatever they judged most valuable in every branch of literature. These doctors immediately undertook to form such an abridgment, and, after twenty years labour, composed from their several collections a small Encyclopedia, consisting of twelve thousand volumes, which thirty camels could scarcely



scarcely carry. They had the honour to present this to the king, but were astonished to hear him say he would not read a work which was a load for thirty camels. They then reduced their extracts so that they might be carried by fifteen, afterwards by ten, then by four, and then by two dromedaries. At last, no more were left than were sufficient to load a mule of ordinary size. Unfortunately, Dabschelim had grown old while his library was abridging, and did not expect to live long enough to read to the end this master-piece of learning. The sage Pilpay, his visir, therefore, thus addressed him. Though I have but an imperfect knowledge of the library of your sublime majesty, yet can I make a kind of analysis of what it contains; very short, but extremely useful. You may read it in a minute, yet will it afford you sufficient matter for meditation during your whole life.

At the same time the Visir took the leaf of a palm-tree and wrote on it, with a pencil of gold, the four following maxims.

“ I. In the greater part of sciences there is only this single word, perhaps: in all history but three phrases: they were born, they were wretched, they died.

“ II. Take pleasure in nothing which is not commendable, and do every thing you take pleasure in. Think nothing but what is true, and utter not all you think.

“ III. O ye kings! subdue your passions, reign over yourselves, and you will consider the government of the world only as recreation.

“ IV. O ye kings! O ye nations! listen to a truth you never can hear too often, and of which sophists pretend to doubt. There is no happiness without virtue, and no virtue without the fear of the Gods.”

## The DEAN of BADAJOZ, a TALE.

[From the same Publication.]

“ **T**HE dean of the cathedral of Badajoz was more learned than all the doctors of Salamanca, Coimbra, and Alcala united. He understood all languages, living and dead, and was perfect master of every science, divine and human; except that, unfortunately, he had no knowledge of magic, and was inconsolable when he reflected on his ignorance in that sublime art. He was told that a very able magician resided in the suburbs of Toledo, named Don Torribio. Immediately, he saddled his mule, departed for Toledo, and alighted

at the door of no very superb dwelling, the habitation of that great man.

“ Most reverend magician, said he, addressing himself to the sage, I am the dean of Badajoz. The learned men of Spain all allow me their superior, but I am come to request from you a far greater honour, that of becoming your pupil. Deign to initiate me in the mysteries of your art, and doubt not but you shall receive a grateful acknowledgement, suitable to the benefit conferred, and your own extraordinary merit.



“ Don Torribio was not very polite, though he valued himself on being intimately acquainted with the best company in hell. He told the dean he was welcome to seek elsewhere for a master in magic ; for that, for his part, he was weary of an occupation which produced nothing but compliments and promises, and that he would not dishonour the occult sciences, by prostituting them to the ungrateful.

“ To the ungrateful ! cried the dean : has then the great Don Torribio met with persons who have proved ungrateful ! and can he so far mistake me as to rank me with such monsters ? He then repeated all the maxims and apophthegms which he had read, on the subject of gratitude, and every refined sentiment his memory could furnish.

“ In short, he talked so well that the conjurer, after having considered a moment, confessed he could refuse nothing to a man of such abilities and so ready at pertinent quotations. Jacintha, said he, calling to his old woman, lay down two partridges to the fire ; I hope my friend, the dean, will do me the honour to sup with me to-night. At the same time he takes him by the hand, and leads him into his cabinet ; there, he touches his forehead, muttering three mysterious words, which I must request the reader not to forget, Ortobolan, Pistafrier, Onagriouf ; then, without further preparation, he began to explain, with all possible perspicuity, the introductory elements of his profound science.

“ His new disciple listened with an attention which scarcely permitted him to breathe ; when, on a sudden, Jacintha enters, followed by a little man, in monstrous boots,

and covered with mud up to the neck, who desired to speak with the dean on very important business.

“ This was the postillion of his uncle, the bishop of Badajoz, who had been sent express after him, and had galloped quite to Toledo, before he could overtake him ; he came to bring him information that, some hours after his departure, his grace had been attacked by so violent an apoplexy that the most terrible consequences were to be apprehended. The dean heartily cursed (inwardly that is, and so as to occasion no scandal) at once the disorder, the patient, and the courier, who had certainly all three chosen the most impertinent time possible. He dismissed the postillion, telling him to make haste back by Badajoz, whither he would presently follow him : after which he returned to his lesson, as if there were no such things as either uncles or apoplexies.

“ A few days after he again received news from Badajoz, but such as was well worth hearing. The principal chanter and two old canons came to inform the dean that his uncle, the right reverend bishop, had been taken to heaven to receive the reward of his piety ; and that the chapter, canonically assembled, had chosen him to fill the vacant bishoprick, and humbly requested he would console, by his presence, the afflicted church of Badajoz, now become his spiritual bride.

“ Don Torribio, who was present at this harangue of the deputies, endeavoured to derive advantage from what he had learned, and, taking aside the new bishop, after having paid him a well turned compliment on his promotion, proceeded to inform him that he



had a son, named Benjamin, possessed of much ingenuity and good inclination ; but in whom he had never perceived either taste or talents for the occult sciences ; he had therefore, he said, advised him to turn his thoughts towards the church, and had now, he thanked heaven, the satisfaction to hear him commended as one of the most deserving divines among all the clergy of Toledo : he, therefore, took the liberty, most humbly, to request his grace to bestow, on Don Benjamin, the deanery of Badajoz, which he could not retain together with his bishoprick.

“ I am very unfortunate, replied the prelate, apparently somewhat embarrassed ; you will, I hope, do me the justice to believe that nothing could give me so great a pleasure as to oblige you, in every request. But, the truth is, I have a cousin, to whom I am heir, an old ecclesiastic, who is good for nothing but to be a dean ; and, if I do not bestow on him this preferment, I must embroil myself with my family, which would be far from agreeable. But, continued he, in an affectionate manner, will you not accompany me to Badajoz ? Can you be so cruel as to forsake me just at the moment when it is in my power to be of service to you ? Be persuaded, my honoured master : we will go together ; think of nothing but the improvement of your pupil, and leave me to provide for Don Benjamin : nor doubt but, sooner or later, I will do more for him than you expect. A paltry deanery, in the remotest part of Estremadura, is not a benefice suitable to the son of such a man as yourself.

“ The Canon law would, no doubt, have construed this offer of the prelate’s into simony. The

proposal, however, was accepted ; nor was any scruple made by either of these two very intelligent persons. Don Torribio followed his illustrious pupil to Badajoz, where he had an elegant apartment assigned him, in the episcopal palace, and was treated with the utmost respect, by all the diocese, as the favourite of his grace, and a kind of grand vicar.

“ Under the tuition of so able a master, the bishop of Badajoz made a rapid progress, in the occult sciences. At first, he gave himself up to them, with an ardour which might appear excessive : but this intemperance grew by degrees more moderate ; and he pursued them with so much prudence that his magical studies never interfered with the duties of his diocese. He was well convinced of the truth of a maxim, very important to be remembered by ecclesiastics, whether addicted to sorcery or only philosophers and admirers of literature, that it is not sufficient to assist at learned nocturnal meetings, or adorn the mind with the embellishments of human science ; but that it is also the duty of divines to point out to others the way to heaven, and plant, in the minds of their hearers, wholesome doctrine and christian morality.

“ Regulating his conduct by these commendable principles, the learned prelate was celebrated throughout Christendom, for his merit and piety ; and promoted, when he least expected such an honour, to the archbishoprick of Compostella.

“ The people and clergy of Badajoz lamented, as may be supposed, an event by which they were deprived of so worthy a pastor ; and the canons of the cathedral, to testify their respect, unanimously



conferred on him the right of nominating his successor.

“Don Torribio did not neglect so alluring an opportunity, to provide for his son. He requested the bishoprick of the new archbishop, and was refused with all imaginable politeness. He had, he said, the greatest veneration for his old master, and was both sorry and ashamed it was not in his power to grant a thing which appeared so very a trifle ; but, in fact, Don Ferdinand de Lara, constable of Castile, had asked this same bishoprick, for his natural son ; and, though he had never seen that nobleman, he had, he said, some secret, important, and, what was more, very ancient obligations to him. It was, therefore, an indispensable duty to prefer an old benefactor to a new one : but that he ought not to be discouraged at this proof of his justice, as he might learn, by that, what he had to expect when his turn arrived ; which it certainly would the very first opportunity.

“This anecdote, concerning the ancient obligations of the archbishop, the magician had the goodness to believe ; and rejoiced, as much as he was able, that his interests were sacrificed to those of Don Ferdinand.

“Nothing, therefore, was thought of but preparations for their departure to Compostella, where they were now to reside. Though these were scarcely worth the trouble, considering the short time they were destined to remain there ; for, at the end of a few months, one of the Pope’s chamberlain’s arrived, who brought the archbishop a Cardinal’s cap, with an epistle, conceived in the most respectful terms, in which his Holiness invited him to assist, by his counsel, in the government of the Christian world ; per-

mitting him, at the same time, to dispose of his mitre, in favour of whom he pleased.

“Don Torribio was not at Compostella, when the courier of the holy father arrived. He had been to see his son, who still continued a priest, in a small parish, at Toledo ; but he presently returned, and was not put to the trouble of asking for the vacant archbishoprick. The prelate ran to meet him with open arms.

“My dear master, said he, I have two pieces of good news to relate at once. Your disciple is created a cardinal, and your son shall—shortly be advanced to the same dignity. I had intended, in the mean time, to have bestowed on him the archbishoprick of Compostella ; but, unfortunately for him, or rather for me, my mother, whom we left at Badajoz, has, during your absence, written to me a cruel letter, by which all my measures have been disconcerted. She will not be pacified, unless I appoint for my successor the archdeacon of my former church, Don Pablos de Salazar, her intimate friend and confessor ; she tells me it will occasion her death if she should not be able to obtain preferment for her dear father in God ; and I have no doubt but what she says is true. Imagine yourself in my place, my dear master. Shall I be the death of my mother ?

“Don Torribio was not a person who would incite or urge his friend to be guilty of parricide : nor did he indulge himself in the least resentment against the mother of the prelate.

“To say the truth, however, this mother, he talked of, was a good kind of woman, nearly superannuated, who lived quietly with her



her cat and maid servant, and scarcely knew the name of her confessor. Was it likely, then, that she had procured Don Pablos his archbishoprick? Was it not far more probable that he was indebted for it to a Gallician lady, his cousin, a young widow, at once devout and handsome, in whose company his grace the archbishop had frequently been edified, during his residence at Compostella? Be it as it may Don Torribio followed his Eminence to Rome. Scarcely had he arrived in that city before the Pope died. It is easy to imagine the consequence of this event. The Conclave met. All the voices of the sacred college were unanimous in favour of the Spanish cardinal. Behold him, therefore, Pope!

“Immediately after the ceremonies of his exaltation, Don Torribio, admitted to a secret audience, wept with joy, while he kissed the feet of his dear pupil, whom he saw fill with so much dignity the pontifical throne. He modestly represented his long and faithful services. He reminded his holiness of his promises: those inviolable promises which he had renewed, before he entered the Conclave. He hinted at the hat which he had quitted, on receiving the tiara; but, instead of demanding that hat for Don Benjamin, he finished, with most exemplary moderation, by renouncing every ambitious hope. He and his son, he said, would both esteem themselves too happy, if his Holiness would bestow on them, together with his benediction, the smallest temporal benefit. Such as an annuity for life, sufficient for the few wants of an ecclesiastic and a philosopher.

“During this harangue, the sovereign Pontiff considered within

himself how to dispose of his preceptor. He reflected that he was no longer very necessary, that he already knew more of magic than was sufficient for a pope, that it must be highly improper for him to appear at the nocturnal assemblies of forcerers, and assist at their indecent ceremonies. After weighing every circumstance, his Holiness concluded that Don Torribio was, not only a useless but, a troublesome dependent; and, this point decided, he was no longer in doubt what answer to return; accordingly he replied in the following words, “We have learned, with concern, that, under the pretext of cultivating the occult sciences, you maintain a horrible intercourse with the spirit of darkness and deceit; wherefore we exhort you, as a father, to expiate your crime by a repentance proportionable to its enormity. Moreover, we enjoin you to depart from the territories of the church, within three days, under pain of being delivered over to the secular arm, and its merciless flames.”

“Don Torribio, without being disconcerted, immediately repeated aloud the three mysterious words which the reader was desired to remember; and, going to the window, cried out, with all his force, jacintha, you need spit but one partridge, for my friend, the dean, will not sup here to night. This was a thunderbolt to the imaginary Pope: he immediately recovered from a kind of trance, into which he had been thrown by the three magic words, when they were first pronounced, and perceived that, instead of being in the Vatican, he was still at Toledo, in the closet of Don Torribio, and saw, by the clock, it was not yet a complete hour since he first entered that sa al



cabinet, where he had been entertained with such pleasant dreams. In that short time he had imagined himself a Magician, a Bishop, an Archbishop, a Cardinal, a Pope, and, at last, found he was only a dupe and a knave. All was illusion, except the proofs he had given

of his deceitfulness, and evil heart. He instantly departed, without speaking a word, and, finding his mule, where he had left her, returned to Badajoz, without having made the smallest progress in the sublime science in which he had proposed to become an adept.

### Interesting PARTICULARS respecting the DEATH of Captain COOK.

[From the Narrative of DAVID SAMWELL, Surgeon of the Discovery.]

“**T**O widen the breach between us, some of the Indians, in the night, took away the Discovery's large cutter, which lay swamped at the buoy of one of her anchors: they had carried her off so quietly, that we did not miss her till the morning, Sunday, February the fourteenth. Captain Clerke lost no time in waiting upon Captain Cook, to acquaint him with the accident: he returned on board, with orders for the launch and small cutter to go, under the command of the second lieutenant, and lie off the east point of the bay, in order to intercept all canoes that might attempt to get out; and, if he found it necessary, to fire upon them. At the same time, the third lieutenant of the Resolution, with the launch and small cutter, was sent on the same service, to the opposite point of the bay; and the master was dispatched in the large cutter, in pursuit of a double canoe, already under sail, making the best of her way out of the harbour. He soon came up with her, and by firing a few muskets, drove her on shore, and the Indians left her: this happened to be the canoe of Omea, a man who bore the title of Orono. He was

on board himself, and it would have been fortunate, if our people had secured him, for his person was held as sacred as that of the king. During this time, Captain Cook was preparing to go on shore himself, at the town of Kavaroah, in order to secure the person of Kariopoo, before he should have time to withdraw himself to another part of the island, out of our reach. This appeared the most effectual step that could be taken on the present occasion, for the recovery of the boat. It was the measure he had invariably pursued, in similar cases, at other islands in these seas, and it had always been attended with the desired success: in fact, it would be difficult to point out any other mode of proceeding on these emergencies, likely to attain the object in view. We had reason to suppose, that the king and his attendants had fled when the alarm was first given: in that case, it was Captain Cook's intention to secure the large canoes which were hauled up on the beach. He left the ship about seven o'clock, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a serjeant, corporal, and seven private men: the pinnace's crew were also armed, and under the command of Mr.



Mr. Roberts. As they rowed towards the shore, Captain Cook ordered the launch to leave her station at the west point of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. This is a circumstance worthy of notice; for it clearly shews, that he was not unapprehensive of meeting with resistance from the natives, or unmindful of the necessary preparation for the safety of himself and his people. I will venture to say, that from the appearance of things just at that time, there was not one, beside himself, who judged that such precaution was absolutely requisite: so little did his conduct on the occasion, bear the marks of rashness, or a precipitate self-confidence! He landed, with the marines, at the upper end of the town of Kavaroah: the Indians immediately flocked round as usual, and shewed him the customary marks of respect, by prostrating themselves before him. There were no signs of hostilities, or much alarm among them. Captain Cook, however, did not seem willing to trust to appearances; but was particularly attentive to the disposition of the marines, and to have them kept clear of the crowd. He first enquired for the king's sons, two youths who were much attached to him, and generally his companions on board. Messengers being sent for them, they soon came to him, and informing him that their father was asleep, at a house not far from them, he accompanied them thither, and took the marines along with them. As he passed along, the natives every where prostrated themselves before him, and seemed to have lost no part of that respect they had always shewn to his person. He was joined by several chiefs, among whom was Kanynah, and his brother Koohowroah. They kept the crowd in order, according to their

usual custom; and being ignorant of his intention in coming on shore, frequently asked him if he wanted any hogs, or other provisions: he told them that he did not, and that his business was to see the king. When he arrived at the house, he ordered some of the Indians to go in, and inform Kariopoo, that he waited without to speak with him. They came out two or three times, and instead of returning any answer from the king, presented some pieces of red cloth to him, which made Captain Cook suspect that he was not in the house; he therefore desired the lieutenant of marines to go in. The lieutenant found the old man just awaked from sleep, and seemingly alarmed at the message; but he came out without hesitation. Captain Cook took him by the hand, and in a friendly manner, asked him to go on board, to which he very readily consented. Thus far matters appeared in a favourable train, and the natives did not seem much alarmed or apprehensive of hostility on our side; at which Captain Cook expressed himself a little surprized, saying, that as the inhabitants of that town appeared innocent of stealing the cutter, he should not molest them, but that he must get the king on board. Kariopoo sat down before his door, and was surrounded by a great crowd: Kanynah and his brother were both very active in keeping order among them. In a little time, however, the Indians were observed arming themselves with long spears, clubs, and daggers, and putting on thick mats, which they use as armour. This hostile appearance increased, and became more alarming, on the arrival of two men in a canoe, from the opposite side of the bay, with the news of a chief, called Kareemoo, having been killed by one of the



Discovery's boats, in their passage across: they had also delivered this account to each of the ships. Upon that information, the women, who were sitting upon the beach at their breakfasts, and conversing familiarly with our people in the boats, retired, and a confused murmur spread through the crowd. An old priest came to Captain Cook, with with a cocoa nut in his hand, which he held out to him as a present, at the same time singing very loud. He was often desired to be silent but in vain: he continued importunate and troublesome, and there was no such thing as getting rid of him or his noise; it seemed, as if he meant to divert their attention from his countrymen, who were growing more tumultuous, and arming themselves in every quarter. Captain Cook, being at the same time surrounded by a great crowd, thought his situation rather hazardous: he therefore ordered the lieutenant of marines to march his small party to the water-side, where the boats lay within a few yards of the shore: the Indians readily made a lane for them to pass, and did not offer to interrupt them. The distance they had to go might be about fifty or sixty yards; Captain Cook followed them, having hold of Kariopoo's hand, who accompanied him very willingly: he was attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. The troublesome old priest followed, making the same savage noise. Keowa, the younger son, went directly into the pinnace, expecting his father to follow; but just as he arrived at the water-side, his wife threw her arms about his neck, and, with the assistance of two chiefs forced him to sit down by the side of a double canoe. Captain Cook expostulated with them, but to no purpose: they would not suffer the king to proceed, telling him, that

he would be put to death if he went on board the ship. Kariopoo, whose conduct seemed entirely resigned to the will of others, hung down his head, and appeared much distressed.

While the king was in this situation, a chief, well known to us, of the name of Coho, was observed lurking near, with an iron dagger, partly concealed under his cloke, seemingly with the intention of stabbing Captain Cook, or the lieutenant of marines. The latter proposed to fire at him, but Captain Cook would not permit it. Coho closing upon them, obliged the officer to strike him with his piece, which made him retire. Another Indian laid hold of the serjeant's musket, and endeavoured to wrench it from him, but was prevented by the lieutenant's making a blow at him. Captain Cook, seeing the tumult increase, and the Indians growing more daring and resolute, observed, that if he were to take the king off by force, he could not do it without sacrificing the lives of many of his people. He then paused a little, and was on the point of giving his orders to reembark, when a man threw a stone at him; which he returned with a discharge of small shot, (with which one barrel of his double piece was loaded). The man, having a thick mat before him, received little or no hurt: he brandished his spear, and threatened to dart it at Captain Cook, who being still unwilling to take away his life, instead of firing with ball, knocked him down with his musket. He expostulated strongly with the most forward of the crowd, upon their turbulent behaviour. He had given up all thoughts of getting the king on board, as it appeared impracticable; and his care was then only to act upon the defensive, and to secure a safe embarkation for his small



small party, which was closely pressed by a body of several thousand people. Keowa, the king's son, who was in the pinnace, being alarmed on hearing the first firing, was, at his own entreaty, put on shore again; for even at that time, Mr. Roberts, who commanded her, did not apprehend that Captain Cook's person was in any danger: otherwise he would have detained the prince, which, no doubt, would have been a great check on the Indians. One man was observed, behind a double canoe, in the action of darting his spear at Captain Cook, who was forced to fire at him in his own defence, but happened to kill another close to him, equally forward in the tumult: the serjeant observing that he had missed the man he aimed at, received orders to fire at him, which he did, and killed him. By this time, the impetuosity of the Indians was somewhat repressed; they fell back in a body, and seemed staggered: but being pushed on by those behind, they returned to the charge, and poured a volley of stones among the marines, who, without waiting for orders, returned it with a general discharge of musketry, which was instantly followed by a fire from the boats. At this Captain Cook was heard to express his astonishment: he waved his hand to the boats to cease firing, and to come nearer in to receive the marines. Mr. Roberts immediately brought the pinnace as close to the shore as he could, without grounding, notwithstanding the showers of stones that fell among the people; but Mr. John Williamson, the lieutenant, who commanded in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of Captain Cook, withdrew his boat further off, at the moment that every thing seems to have depended upon the timely exertions

of those in the boats. By his own account, he mistook the signal: but be that as it may, this circumstance appears to me, to have decided the fatal turn of the affair, and to have removed every chance which remained with Captain Cook, of escaping with his life. The business of saving the marines out of the water, in consequence of that, fell altogether upon the pinnace; which thereby became so much crowded, that the crew were, in a great measure, prevented from using their fire-arms, or giving what assistance they might have done, to Captain Cook; so that he seems, at the most critical point of time, to have wanted the assistance of both boats, owing to the removal of the launch. For notwithstanding that they kept up a fire on the crowd from the situation to which they removed in that boat, the fatal confusion which ensued on her being withdrawn, to say the least of it, must have prevented the full effect, that the prompt co-operation of the two boats, according to Captain Cook's orders must have had, towards the preservation of himself and his people. At that time, it was to the boats alone, that Captain Cook had to look for his safety; for when the marines had fired, the Indians rushed among them, and forced them into the water, where four of them were killed: their lieutenant was wounded, but fortunately escaped, and was taken up by the pinnace. Captain Cook was then the only one remaining on the rock: he was observed making for the pinnace, holding his left hand against the back of his head, to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musket under the other arm. An Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity; for he stopped once or twice, as if undetermined to proceed. At last he advanced



advanced upon him unawares, and with a large club, or common stake, gave him a blow on the back of the head, and then precipitately retreated. The stroke seemed to have stunned Captain Cook: he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron dagger. He then fell into a bite of water about knee-deep, where others crowded upon him, and endeavoured to keep him under: but struggling very strongly with them, he got his head up, and casting his looks towards the pinnacle, seemed to solicit assistance. Though the boat was not above five or six yards distant from him, yet from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems, it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water: he was, however, able to get his head up once more, and being almost spent in the struggle, he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it, when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They hauled him up lifeless on the rocks, where they seemed to take a savage pleasure in using every barbarity to his dead body, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage.

I need make no reflection on the great loss we suffered on this occasion, or attempt to describe what we felt. It is enough to say, that no man was ever more beloved or admired: and it is truly painful to reflect, that he seems to have fallen a sacrifice merely for want of being properly supported; a fate, singu-

larly to be lamented, as having fallen to his lot, who had ever been conspicuous for his care of those under his command, and who seemed, to the last, to pay as much attention to their preservation, as to that of his own life.

If any thing could have added to the shame and indignation universally felt on the occasion, it was to find, that his remains had been deserted, and left exposed on the beach, although they might have been brought off. It appears, from the information of four or five midshipmen, who arrived on the spot at the conclusion of the fatal business, that the beach was then almost entirely deserted by the Indians, who at length had given way to the fire of the boats, and dispersed through the town: so that there seemed no great obstacle to prevent the recovery of Captain Cook's body; but the lieutenant returned on board without making the attempt. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this painful subject, and to relate the complaints and censures that fell on the conduct of the lieutenant. It will be sufficient to observe, that they were so loud, as to oblige Captain Clerke publicly to notice them, and to take the depositions of his accusers down in writing. The Captain's bad state of health and approaching dissolution, it is supposed, induced him to destroy these papers a short time before his death.

It is a painful task, to be obliged to notice circumstances, which seem to reflect upon the character of any man. A strict regard to truth, however, compelled me to the insertion of these facts, which I have offered merely as facts, without presuming to connect with them any comment of my own: esteeming it the part of a faithful historian, "to extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in malice."



## P O E T R Y.

## ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By the Rev. T. WARTON, B. D. Poet-Laureat.

“ D E A R to Jove, a genial isle,  
 “ Crowns the broad Atlantic wave ;  
 “ The seasons there in mild assemblage smile,  
 “ And vernal blossoms clothe the fruitful prime :  
 “ There, in many a fragrant cave,  
 “ Dwell the Spirits of the brave,  
 “ And braid with amaranth their brows sublime.”  
 So feign’d the Grecian bards, of yore ;  
 And veil’d in Fable’s fancy-woven vest  
 A visionary shore,  
 That faintly gleam’d on their prophetic eye  
 Through the dark volume of futurity :  
 Nor knew, that in the bright attire they dress’d  
 Albion, the green-hair’d heroine of the West ;  
 Ere yet she claim’d old Ocean’s high command,  
 And snatch’d the trident from the Tyrant’s hand.

Vainly flow’d the mystic rhyme !  
 Mark the deeds from age to age,  
 That fill her trophy-pictur’d page :  
 And see, with all its strength, untam’d by time,  
 Still glows her valour’s veteran rage,  
 O’er Calpe’s cliffs, and steepy towers,  
 When stream’d the red sulphureous showers,  
 And Death’s own hand the dread artillery threw ;  
 While far along the midnight main  
 Its glaring arch the flaming volley drew ;  
 How triumph’d Elliott’s patient train,  
 Baffling their vain confederate foes !  
 And met the unwonted fight’s terrific form ;  
 And hurling back the burning war, arose  
 Superior to the fiery storm !

Is there an ocean, that forgets to roll  
 Beneath the torpid pole ?  
 Nor to the brooding tempest heaves ?  
 Her hardy keel the stubborn billow cleaves.



The rugged Neptune of the wintry brine  
 In vain his adamant breast-plate wears :  
 To search coy Nature's guarded mine,  
 She bursts the barriers of th' indignant ice ;  
 O'er sunless bays the beam of Science bears :  
 And rousing far around the polar sleep,  
 Where Drake's bold ensigns fear'd to sweep,  
 She sees new nations flock to some fell sacrifice,  
 Shee speeds, at GEORGE's sage command,  
 Society from deep to deep,  
 And zone to zone she binds ;  
 From shore to shore, o'er every land,  
 The golden chain of commerce winds.

Mean time, her patriot-cares explore  
 Her own rich woof's exhaustless store ;  
 Her native fleece new fervour feels,  
 And wakens all its whirling wheels,  
 And mock's the rainbow's radiant dye :  
 More wide the labours of the loom she spreads,  
 In firmer bands domestic commerce weds,  
 And calls her Sister-isle to share the tie :  
 Nor heeds the violence that broke  
 From filial realms her old parental yoke !

Her cities, throng'd with many an Attic dome,  
 Ask not the banner'd bastion, massy-proof ;  
 Firm as the castle's feudal roof,  
 Stands the Briton's social home.—  
 Hear, Gaul, of England's liberty the lot!—  
 Right, Order, Law, protect her simplest plain ;  
 Nor scorn to guard the shepherd's nightly fold,  
 And watch around the forest-cot.  
 With conscious certainty, the swain  
 Gives to the ground his trusted grain,  
 With eager hope the reddening harvest eyes ;  
 And claims the ripe autumnal gold,  
 The meed of toil, of industry the prize.  
 For our's the King, who boasts a parent's praise,  
 Whose hand the people's sceptre sways :  
 Ours is the Senate, not a specious name,  
 Whose active plans pervade the civil frame :  
 Where bold debate its noblest war displays,  
 And, in the kindling strife, unlocks the tide  
 Of manliest eloquence, and rolls the torrent wide.

Hence then, each vain complaint, away,  
 Each captious doubt, and cautious fear !  
 Nor blast the new-born year,  
 That anxious waits the spring's flow-shooting ray :



Nor deem that Albion's honours cease to bloom.  
 With candid glance, th' impartial Muse  
 Invok'd on this auspicious morn,  
 The present scans, the distant scene pursues,  
 And breaks Opinion's speculative gloom :  
 Interpreter of ages yet unborn,  
 Full right she spells the characters of Fate,  
 That Albion still shall keep her wonted state :  
 Still, in eternal story, shine,  
 Of Victory the sea-beat shrine ;  
 The source of every splendid art,  
 Of old, of future worlds the universal mart.

## P E R S I A N S O N G.

By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

SWEET Maid, if thou wouldst charm my sight,  
 And bid these arms thy neck enfold,  
 That rosy cheek, that lily hand,  
 Would give thy poet more delight,  
 Than all Becara's vaunted gold,  
 Than all the gems of Samarcand.  
 Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,  
 And bid thy pensive heart be glad.  
 Whate'er the frowning zealots say,  
 Tell them their Eden cannot shew  
 A stream so clear as Rœnabad,  
 A bower so sweet as Mosellay.  
 Oh ! when these fair perfidious maids,  
 Whose eyes our secret haunts infest,  
 Their dear destructive charms display ;  
 Each glance my tender breast invades,  
 And robs my wounded soul of rest,  
 As Tartars seize their destin'd prey.  
 In vain with love our bosoms glow,  
 Can all our tears, can all our sighs,  
 New lustre to those charms impart ?  
 Can cheeks where living roses blow,  
 Where Nature spreads her richest dyes,  
 Require the borrow'd gloss of art !  
 Speak not of fate—ah !—change the theme,  
 And talk of odours, talk of wine,  
 Talk of the flowers that round us bloom ;  
 'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream !  
 To love and joy thy thoughts confine,  
 Nor hope to pierce the sacred gloom.

Beauty



Beauty has such resistless power,  
 That even the chaste Egyptian dame  
 Sigh'd for the blooming Hebrew boy ;  
 For her how fatal was the hour,  
 When to the banks of Nilus came  
 A youth so lovely and so coy.

But ah ! sweet maid, my counsel hear,  
 (Youth should attend when those advise  
 Whom long experience renders sage,)  
 While music charms the ravish'd ear,  
 While sparkling cups delight our eyes,  
 Be gay, and scorn the frowns of age.

What cruel answer have I heard !  
 And yet, by Heaven, I love thee still :  
 Can aught be cruel from thy lip ?  
 Yet say, how fell that bitter word  
 From lips which streams of sweetness fill,  
 Which nought but drops of honey sip ?

Go boldly forth, my simple lay,  
 Whose accents flow with artless ease,  
 Like Orient pearls at random strung ;  
 Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say ;  
 But, oh ! far sweeter, if they please  
 The nymph for whom these notes are sung.

#### SONG, in the COMEDY of the HEIRESS.

**F**OR tenderness fashion'd, in life's early day,  
 A parent's soft sorrows, to mine led the way ;  
 The lesson of pity was caught from her eye,  
 And ere I knew language, I spoke with a sigh.  
 The nightingale plunder'd the mate-widow'd dove,  
 The warbled complaint of the suffering grove ;  
 To youth, as it ripen'd, gave sentiment new :  
 The object still changing, the sympathy true.  
 Soft embers of passions yet rest in their glow ;  
 A warmth of more pain may this breast never know !  
 Or if too indulgent the blessing I claim,  
 Let the spark drop from reason, that weakens the flame.

#### ODE to PHILLIS.

[From HORACE, Book IV. Ode XI. by Miss SEWARD.]

**S**WEET Phyllis leave thy quiet home,  
 For, lo ! the ides of April come !  
 Then hasten to my bower ;



A cask of rich Albanian wine,  
In nine years mellowness, is mine,  
To glad the festal hour.

My garden herbs, in fragrance warm,  
Our various chaplets wait to form,  
My tender ivies grow,  
That, twining in thy amber hair,  
Give jocund spirit to thine air,  
And whiteness to thy brow.

My walls with silver vessels shine ;  
Chaste vervain decks the modest shrine,  
That longs with crimson stains  
To see its foliage sprinkled o'er,  
When the devoted lamb shall pour  
The treasure of his veins.

Each household girl, and menial boy,  
From room to room assiduous fly,  
And busy hands extend ;  
The numerous fires are quiv'ring bright,  
And, rolling from their pointed height,  
The dusky wreaths ascend.

Convivial rites in mystic state,  
Thou, lovely nymph, shalt celebrate,  
And give the day to mirth,  
Which this love-chosen month divides ;  
This day that deck'd its blooming ides  
With dear Mæcenæ's birth.

O ! not by me my natal star  
Is half so priz'd !—Then, nymph, prepare  
To grace its sacred dawn ;  
A wealthier maid, in glitt'ring chains,  
Thy noble Telephus detains,  
From humble thee withdrawn.

IMITATION of HORACE, Book II. Ode xvi. by Mr.  
HASTINGS, on his Passage from BENGAL to ENGLAND.

[From the 2d Vol. of the ASSYLUM for FUGITIVE PIECES.]

FOR ease the harrafs'd seaman prays,  
When Equinoctial tempests raise,  
The Cape's surrounding wave ;  
When hanging o'er the reef he hears,  
The cracking mast, and sees or fears,  
Beneath, his watry grave.



For ease, the flow *Maratta* spoils,  
And hardier *Sic* erratic toils,

While both their ease forego ;  
For ease, which neither gold can buy,  
Nor robes, nor gems, which oft belie,  
The cover'd heart, bestow ;

For neither gold, nor gems combin'd,  
Can heal the foul, or suffering mind,  
Lo! where their owner lies,  
Perch'd on his couch! Distemper breathes,  
And Care like smoke, in turbid wreathes,  
Round the gay ceiling flies.

He who enjoys nor covets more,  
The lands his father held before,  
Is of true bliss possess'd :  
Let but his mind unfetter'd tread,  
Far as the paths of knowledge lead,  
And wise, as well as blest.

No fears his peace of mind annoy,  
Lest printed lies his fame destroy,  
Which labour'd years have won ;  
Nor pack'd committees break his rest,  
Nor avarice sends him forth in quest  
Of climes beneath the sun.

Short is our span, then why engage  
In schemes, for which man's transient age,  
Was ne'er by fate design'd ;  
Why slight the gifts of Nature's hand,  
What wanderer from his native land,  
E'er left himself behind?

The restless thought, and wayward will,  
And discontent attend him still,  
Nor quit him while he lives ;  
At sea, care follows in the wind,  
At land, it mounts the pad behind,  
Or with the post-boy drives.

He who would happy live to day,  
Must laugh the present ills away,  
Nor think of woes to come ;  
For come they will, or soon or late,  
Since mix'd at best is man's estate,  
By Heaven's eternal doom.

To ripen'd age Clive liv'd renown'd,  
With lacks enrich'd, with honours crown'd,  
His valour's well-earn'd meed ;  
Too long, alas ! he liv'd to hate  
His envied lot, and died, too late,  
From life's oppression freed.



An early death, was Elliott's \* doom,  
 I saw his op'ning virtues bloom,  
 And manly sense unfold ;  
 Too soon to fade ! I bade the stone,  
 Record his name \* 'midst Hordes unknown,  
 Unknowing what it told.

To thee, perhaps, the fates may give,  
 I wish they may, in health to live,  
 Herds, flocks, and fruitful fields ;  
 Thy vacant hours in mirth to shine,  
 With these the muse already thine,  
 Her present bounties yields.

For me, O Shore, I only claim,  
 To merit, not to seek for fame,  
 The good and just to please ;  
 A state above the fear of want,  
 Domestic love, Heaven's choicest grant,  
 Health, leisure, peace, and ease.

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, by the Rev.  
 T. WARTON, B. D. Poet Laureat.

WHEN Freedom nurs'd her native fire  
 In ancient Greece; and rul'd the lyre;  
 Her bards, disdainful, from the tyrant's brow  
 The tinsel gifts of flattery tore;  
 But paid to guiltless power their willing vow:  
 And to the throne of virtuous kings,  
 Tempering the tone of their vindictive strings,  
 From truth's unprostituted-shore,  
 The fragrant wreath of gratulation bore.  
 'Twas thus Alceus smote the manly chord;  
 And Pindar on the Persian lord  
 His notes of indignation hurl'd,  
 And spurn'd the minstrel-slaves of eastern sway,  
 From trembling Thebes extorting conscious shame;  
 But o'er the diadem, by Freedom's flame  
 Illum'd, the banner of renown unfurl'd:  
 Thus to his Hiero decreed,  
 'Mongst the bold chieftains of the Pythian game,  
 The brightest verdure of Castalia's bay;  
 And gave an ampler meed

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\* Mr. Elliott died in October 1778, in his way to Naugpore, the capital of Mood-ajee Boosla's dominions, being deputed on an embassy to that prince, by the governor-general and council; a monument was erected to his memory, on the spot where he was buried; and the Marattas have since built a town there, called Elliott Gunge, or Elliott's town.



Of Pisan palms, than in the field of Fame  
 Were wont to crown the car's victorious speed :  
 And hail'd his scepter'd champion's patriot zeal,  
 Who mix'd the monarch's with the people's weal ;  
 From civil plans who claim'd applause,  
 And train'd obedient realms to Spartan laws.

And he, sweet master of the Doric oat,  
 Theocritus, forsook awhile  
 The graces of his pastoral isle,  
 The lowing vale, the bleating cote,  
 The clusters on the sunny steep,  
 And Pan's own umbrage, dark and deep,  
 The caverns hung with ivy-twine,  
 The cliffs that wav'd with oak and pine,  
 And Etna's hoar romantic pile :  
 And caught the bold Homeric note,  
 In stately sounds exalting high  
 The reign of bounteous Ptolemy :  
 Like the plenty-teeming tide  
 Of his own Nile's redundant flood,  
 O'er the cheer'd nations, far and wide,  
 Diffusing opulence, and public good :  
 While in the richly-warbled lays  
 Was blended Berenice's name,  
 Pattern fair of female fame,  
 Softening with domestic life  
 Imperial splendour's dazzling rays,  
 The queen, the mother, and the wife !

To deck with honour due this festal day,  
 O for a strain from these sublimer bards !  
 Who free to grant, yet fearless to refuse  
 Their awful suffrage, with impartial aim  
 Invok'd the jealous panegyric Muse ;  
 Nor, but to genuine worth's severer claim,  
 Their proud distinction deign'd to pay,  
 Stern arbiters of glory's bright awards !  
 For peerless bards like these alone,  
 The bards of Greece, might best adorn,  
 With seemly song, the Monarch's natal morn ;  
 Who, thron'd in the magnificence of peace,  
 Rivals their richest regal theme :  
 Who rules a people like their own,  
 In arms, in polish'd arts supreme ;  
 Who bids his Britain vie with Greece.



An Irregular FRAGMENT, found in a dark Passage in the TOWER.

[From the 2d Volume of Miss WILLIAMS'S POEMS.]

RISE, winds of night! relentless tempests, rise!  
 Rush from the troubled clouds, and o'er me roll;  
 In this chill pause a deeper horror lies,  
 A wilder fear appals my shudd'ring soul.—  
 'Twas on this day, this hour accurst,  
 That nature starting from repose  
 Heard the dire shrieks of murder burst—  
 From infant innocence they rose,  
 And shook these solemn towers!—  
 I shudd'ring pass that fatal room  
 For ages wrapt in central gloom;—  
 I shudd'ring pass that iron door  
 Which Fate perchance unlocks no more;  
 Death smear'd with blood o'er the dark portal lower,  
 How fearfully my step resounds  
 Along these lonely bounds:  
 Spare, savage blast! the taper's quiv'ring fires,  
 Deep in these gath'ring shades its flame expires.  
 Ye host of heav'n! the door recedes—  
 It mocks my grasp—what unseen hands  
 Have burst its iron bands?  
 No mortal force this gate unbarr'd  
 Where danger lives, which terrors guard—  
 Dread powers! its screaming hinges close  
 On this dire scene of impious deeds—  
 My feet are fix'd!—Dismay has bound  
 My step on this polluted ground—  
 But lo! the pitying moon, a line of light  
 Athwart the horrid darkness dimly throws,  
 And from yon grated window chafes night.—  
 Ye visions that before me roll,  
 That freeze my blood, that shake my soul!  
 Are ye the phantoms of a dream?  
 Pale spectres! are ye what ye seem?  
 They glide more near—  
 Their forms unfold!  
 Fix'd are their eyes, on me they bend—  
 Their glaring look is cold!  
 And hark!—I hear  
 Sounds that the throbbing pulse of life suspend.  
 “No wild illusion cheats thy sight  
 “With shapes that only live in night—



- “ Mark the native glories spread  
 “ Around my bleeding brow!  
 “ The crown of Albion wreath’d my head,  
 “ And Gallia’s lilies twin’d below—  
 “ When my father shook his spear,  
 “ When his banner fought the skies,  
 “ Her baffled host recoil’d with fear,  
 “ Nor turn’d their shrinking eyes:—  
 “ Soon as the daring eagle springs  
 “ To bask in heav’ns empyreal light,  
 “ The vultures ply their baleful wings,  
 “ A cloud of deep’ning colour marks their flight,  
 “ Staining the golden day:—  
 “ But see! amid the rav’nous brood  
 “ A bird of fiercer aspect soar—  
 “ The spirits of a rival race,  
 “ Hang on the noxious blast, and trace,  
 “ With gloomy joy, his destin’d prey;  
 “ Inflame th’ ambitious wish that thirsts for blood,  
 “ And plunge his talons deep in kindred gore.  
 “ View the stern form that hovers nigh,  
 “ Fierce rolls his dauntless eye  
 “ In scorn of hideous death;  
 “ Till starting at a brother’s name,  
 “ Horror shrinks his glowing frame,  
 “ Locks the half-utter’d groan,  
 “ And chills the parting breath:—  
 “ Astonish’d nature heav’d a moan!  
 “ When her affrighted eye beheld the hands  
 “ She form’d to cherish rend her holy bands.  
 “ Look where a royal infant kneels,  
 “ Shrieking, and agoniz’d with fear,  
 “ He sees the dagger pointed near  
 “ A much-lov’d brother’s breast,  
 “ And tells an absent mother all he feels:—  
 “ His eager eye he casts around;  
 “ Where shall her guardian form be found,  
 “ On which his eager eye would rest!  
 “ On her he calls in accents wild,  
 “ And wonders why her step is slow  
 “ To save her suff’ring child!—  
 “ Rob’d in the regal garb, his brother stands  
 “ In more majestic woe—  
 “ And meets the impious stroke with bosom bare,  
 “ Then fearless grasps the murd’rer’s hands,  
 “ And asks the minister of hell to spare  
 “ The child whose feeble arms sustain  
 “ His bleeding form from cruel Death.—



“ In vain fraternal fondness pleads,  
 “ For cold is now his livid cheek,  
 “ And cold his last expiring breath :  
 “ And now with aspect meek,  
 “ The infant lifts his mournful eye,  
 “ And asks with trembling voice, to die,  
 “ If death will cure his heaving heart of pain—  
 “ His heaving heart now bleeds—  
 “ Foul tyrant ! o’er the gilded hour  
 “ That beams with all the blaze of power,  
 “ Remorse shall spread her thickest shroud ;  
 “ The furies in thy tortur’d ear  
 “ Shall howl, with curses deep, and loud,  
 “ And wake distracting fear !  
 “ I see the ghastly spectre rise,  
 “ Whose blood is cold, whose hollow eyes  
 “ Seem from his head to start——  
 “ With upright hair, and shiv’ring heart,  
 “ Dark o’er thy midnight couch he bends,  
 “ And clasps thy shrinking frame, thy impious spirit rends.”  
 Now his thrilling accents die—  
 His shape eludes my searching eye—  
 But who is he, convuls’d with pain,  
 That writhes in every swelling vein ?  
 Yet in so deep so wild a groan,  
 A sharper anguish seems to live  
 Than life’s expiring pang can give :—  
 He dies deserted and alone—  
 If pity can allay thy woes  
 Sad spirit they shall find repose—  
 Thy friend, thy long-lov’d friend is near !  
 He comes to pour the parting tear,  
 He comes to catch the parting breath—  
 Ah heaven ! no melting look he wears,  
 His alter’d eye with vengeance glares ;  
 Each frantic passion at his soul,  
 ’Tis he has dash’d that venom’d bowl  
 With agony, and death.

But whence arose that solemn call ?  
 Yon bloody phantom waves his hand,  
 And beckons me to deeper gloom—  
 Rest, troubled form ! I come—  
 Some unknown power my step impels  
 To horror’s secret cells—  
 “ For thee I raise this sable pall,  
 “ It shrouds a ghastly band :  
 “ Stretch’d beneath, thy eye shall trace  
 “ A mangled regal race :



- " A thousand suns have roll'd, since light  
 " Rush'd on their solid night—  
 " See, o'er that tender frame grim famine hangs,  
 " And mocks a mother's pangs!  
 " The last, last drop which warm'd her veins  
 " That meagre infant drains—  
 " Then gnaws her fond sustaining breast—  
 " Stretch'd on her feeble knees, behold  
 " Another victim sinks to lasting rest—  
 " Another, yet her matron arms would fold  
 " Who strives to reach her matron arms in vain—  
 " Too weak her wasted form to raise,  
 " On him she bends her eager gaze;  
 " She sees the soft imploring eye  
 " That asks her dear embrace, the cure of pain—  
 " She sees her child at distance die—  
 " But now her steadfast heart can bear  
 " Unmov'd, the pressure of despair—  
 " When first the winds of winter urge their course  
 " O'er the pure stream, whose current smoothly glides;  
 " The heaving river swells its troubled tides;  
 " But when the bitter blast with keener force,  
 " O'er the high wave an icy fetter throws,  
 " The harden'd wave is fix'd in dead repose."—  
 " Say who that hoary form? alone he stands,  
 " And meekly lifts his wither'd hands—  
 " His white beard streams with blood—  
 " I see him with a smile, deride  
 " The wounds that pierce his shrivel'd side,  
 " Whence flows a purple flood—  
 " But sudden pangs his bosom tear—  
 " On one big drop of deeper dye,  
 " I see him fix his liaggard eye  
 " In dark, and wild despair!  
 " That sanguine drop which wakes his woe—  
 " Say, spirit! whence its source."—  
 " Ask no more its source to know—  
 " Ne'er shall mortal eye explore  
 " Whence flow'd that drop of human gore,  
 " Till the starting dead shall rise,  
 " Unchain'd from earth, and mount the skies,  
 " And time shall end his fated course."—  
 " Now th' unfathom'd depth behold—  
 " Look but once! a second glance  
 " Wraps a heart of human mold  
 " In death's eternal trance."  
 " That shapeless phantom sinking flow  
 " Deep down the vast abyss below,  
 " Darts, thro' the mists that shroud his frame,  
 " A horror, nature hates to name!"—

" Mortal,



“ Mortal, could thine eyes behold  
 “ All those fullen mists enfold,  
 “ Thy sinews at the sight accurst  
 “ Would wither, and thy heart-strings burst;  
 “ Death would grasp with icy hand  
 “ And drag thee to our grisly band—  
 “ Away! the fable pall I spread,  
 “ And give to rest th’ unquiet dead—  
 “ Haste! ere its horrid shroud enclose  
 “ Thy form, benumb’d with wild affright,  
 “ And plunge thee far thro’ wastes of night,  
 “ In yon black gulph’s abhorr’d repose!”—  
 As starting at each step I fly,  
 Why backward turns my frantic eye,  
 That closing portal past?—  
 Two fullen shades half-seen advance!—  
 On me, a blasting look they cast,  
 And fix my view with dang’rous spells,  
 Where burning phrenzy dwells!—  
 Again their vengeful look—and now a speechless—

\* \* \* \* \*

Part of an ODE to SUPERSTITION, published with  
some other POEMS.

ON yon’ hoar summit, mildly bright  
 With purple ether’s liquid light,  
 High o’er the world, the white rob’d Magi gaze  
 On dazzling bursts of heavenly fire,  
 And wildly start at each blue blaze,  
 Each flame that flits with adverse spire.  
 But say what sounds my ear invade?  
 From Delphi’s venerable shade?  
 The temple rocks, the laurel waves!  
 “ The God! the God!” the Sybil cries.  
 Her figure swells! she foams, she raves!  
 Her figure swells to more than mortal size!  
 Streams of rapture roll along,  
 Silver notes ascend the skies.  
 Wake, Echo, wake and catch the song,  
 Oh, catch it, e’er it dies.  
 The Sybil speaks, the dream is o’er,  
 The holy harpings charm no more.  
 In vain she checks the God’s controul,  
 His madding spirit fills her frame,  
 And moulds the features of her soul,  
 Breathing a prophetic flame.



The cavern frowns ! its hundred mouths uncloſe,  
 And, in the thunder's voice, the fate of empire flows.  
 Mona, thy Druid rites awake the dead !  
 Rites thy brown oaks would never dare  
 E'en whisper to the idle air ;  
 Rites that have chain'd old Ocean on his bed.  
 Shiver'd by thy piercing glance,  
 Pointleſs falls the hero's lance.  
 Thy magic bids th' imperial eagle fly,  
 And mars the laureate wreath of victory.  
 Hark, the bard's ſoul inſpires the vocal ſtring !  
 At ev'ry pauſe dread Silence hovers o'er :  
 While murky night fails round on raven wing,  
 Deepening the tempeſt's howl, the torrent's roar ;  
 Chas'd by the morn from Snowdon's awful brow,  
 Where late ſhe ſat and ſcowl'd on the black wave below.  
 Lo, ſteel-clad War his gorgeous ſtandard rears !  
 The red-croſs ſquadrons madly rage,  
 And mow thro' infancy and age ;  
 Then kiſs the ſacred duſt and melt in tears.  
 Veiling from the eye of day,  
 Penance dreams her life away ;  
 In cloyſter'd ſolitude ſhe ſits and ſighs,  
 While from each ſhrine ſtill ſmall reſponſes riſe.  
 Hear with what heart-felt beat, the midnight bell  
 Swings its ſlow ſummons thro' the hollow pile !  
 The weak wan votariſt leaves her twilight cell,  
 To woo with taper dim, the winding iſle ;  
 With choral chantings vainly to aſpire  
 Beyond this nether ſphere, on rapture's wing of fire.

We have been favoured, by the AUTHOR, with the following elegant  
 Tribute to the Memory of the late Lady JERNINGHAM. A few  
 Copies of it, only, have been printed, at the Solicitation of ſeveral  
 of her Friends.

LINES written in the ALBUM,  
 At COSSEY HALL, NORFOLK, by Mr. JERNINGHAM.

**T**HOU, to whoſe ſacred page the parting gueſt  
 Conſides the workings of his grateful breaſt,  
 With awful pleaſure o'er thy form I bend  
 My gift to bring—as brother, gueſt, and friend.  
 Farewell, ye ſhades ! (ah ! not to ſame unknown)  
 Where Elegance has rear'd her Attic throne :  
 Whoſe beauties, to the pure of taſte addreſs'd,  
 In Nature's charms munificently dreſs'd ;  
 Whoſe ſoft amenity, with grace combin'd,  
 Diſplay the emblem of the maſter's mind ;

Farewell



Farewell!—Say, shall I not regret the bow'r  
 Where social intercourse endear'd the hour;  
 Where she, whose footsteps bless this sylvan seat,  
 The pride and mistress of this calm retreat,  
 Her soul illum'd with Wisdom's piercing beam,  
 Sheds o'er the converse her enlight'ning gleam?  
 By native Taste, that sure directress, led,  
 She stores her talents at the fountain-head.  
 So the bright sun-flow'r, on the cultur'd plain,  
 Aspires impatient o'er her sister train,  
 Unfolds her bosom at the dawn of day  
 To catch the radiance of the solar ray.

Ye scenes o'er which I cast a ling'ring view,  
 O'er which affection breathes a warm adieu,  
 That hour I now recall with pleasing pain,  
 Which gave your beauties to my wish again:  
 Yet then, as I approach'd your smiling shore,  
 Prompt expectation gladly flew before:  
 Wing'd with gay hope, as nearer still I drew,  
 Hills, plains and woods assum'd a brighter hue:  
 Soft-wreath'd in lilac vestment, laughing May  
 With hailing aspect met me on the way:  
 The various vale with eager steps I press'd,  
 Praise on my tongue, and transport in my breast:  
 O'er each lov'd spot I sent a fond survey,  
 Where in the morn of life I wont to stray;  
 The winding walks by memory endear'd,  
 Where with the growing plants my youth was rear'd,  
 Embow'ring shades, in whose deep gloom immers'd,  
 Reflection fed me, and the Muses nurs'd,  
 And, screening from my view ambition's sky,  
 Pour'd other visions on my raptur'd eye.

Yet, Album, ere the willing task I leave,  
 Warm from the heart these closing lines receive.  
 'Twas at the hour to contemplation due,  
 When evening meekly from the world withdrew,  
 Beneath an aged oak, in pensive mood,  
 I Sorrow's solitary captive stood;  
 When, from the rifted trunk's obscure recess,  
 A voice breath'd forth in accents of distress;  
 "Where! where is she! of mild and rev'rend mien,  
 "Once the lov'd mistress of this sylvan scene?"—  
 "Fall'n—fall'n—fall'n—fall'n"—a distant voice replied:  
 The branches shook, as if to sense allied;  
 Wild Terror flung his strong enchantment round,  
 And evening hurried into night profound!

Now fond remembrance turns a willing fight,  
 To dwell on gayer scenes of past delight,  
 Pleas'd to behold her, midst the polish'd train,  
 With grace, with dignity, her part sustain.



To mild festivity by nature prone,  
 With inbred wit peculiarly her own,  
 Prompt ev'ry sportive incident to seize,  
 Diffusing pleasure with a careless ease;  
 Of pow'r to charm invincibly possess'd,  
 Unfelt she glided into every breast.  
 There are, who, fram'd with an enlighten'd taste,  
 High on the critic form by judgment plac'd,  
 Who (marking well her sense with strength combin'd,  
 The scintillations of her playful mind,  
 An aptitude that never lost its aim)  
 With brilliant Sevigné inwreath her name.

To discontent, the vice of age, unknown,  
 Her chearfulness maintain'd its envied throne:  
 The gay, the old, the learned, and the young,  
 And they whose heart pure elegance had strung,  
 By the soft pow'r of her enchantment won,  
 Would oft the glare of throng'd assemblies shun,  
 To court her ready wit's enliv'ning beam,  
 And bask beneath its undulating gleam.

Yet oft from these unnotic'd would she steal,  
 To soothe the bed-rid stretch'd on Torture's wheel,  
 To smooth the furrow on Misfortune's brow,  
 To warm the timid and exalt the low,  
 With lenient hand administer relief,  
 And close the bleeding artery of grief.

Ah, ever dear! ah, venerable shade!  
 Indulge this honour by Affection paid.  
 Enthron'd in bliss, ah! yet forbear to shun  
 This holy tribute from a zealous son.  
 'Twas mine, attendant on thy evening ray,  
 To watch the sun-set of thy blameless day;  
 To see thee, weary of th' unequal strife,  
 Shed the faint glimm'rings of exhausted life,  
 And (heavenly moralist, sublimely great!)  
 At the dread opening of thy future state,  
 Teach by example, to thy latest breath,  
 Meekness in pain, and fortitude in death.

### INVOCATION to RETIREMENT.

[From a poetic EPISTLE to a CURATE, by JOSIAH THOMAS, A. B.]

**R**ETIREMENT, hail!—thy hospitable shade,  
 By blundering Pride injuriously pourtray'd,  
 Demands my verse—could gratitude inspire  
 The sage's wisdom, or the poet's fire,  
 How would the Muse th' immortal theme prolong,  
 And bless thy fond encomiast and the song!

Retirement,



Retirement, hail ! though ridicul'd by Pride,  
 Sublime th' associates in thy bower abide.  
 Sublime thy joys, however disavow'd  
 By Instinct's herd, the profligate and proud.

Though round thy bower no pompous buildings stare,  
 Nor Taste's capricious vanities be there ;  
 Within the sweet recess Truth loves to dwell ;  
 And meek Simplicity adorns the cell :  
 Learning the volume of the world displays,  
 Blaz'ning the wonders of the SIRE OF DAYS :  
 Genius, with eye undazzled by the sun,  
 Traces each footstep where Old Time has run :  
 Science the exhaustless universe explores,  
 Dives to the bottom, to the summit soars :  
 There Contemplation by sage Wisdom led,  
 " Holds her high converse with the mighty dead."   
 While fair Content and Peace, congenial powers,  
 Crown with delight the consecrated hours.

Retirement, hail ! beneath thy fostering care  
 The Muse first gives her callow wing to air ;  
 To thee the liberal Arts their lustre owe,  
 Plants, that reward the soil wherein they grow.

From thee the POET—whose illumin'd page  
 Glows, like the Sun, above the wrecks of age :  
 From thee the SAGE—whose meditative mind  
 Prescribes the Laws that civilize mankind :  
 From thee th' HISTORIAN—whose sagacious pen  
 To man inculcates his first study, MEN :  
 From thee the keen PHILOSOPHER—whose eye  
 Darts through the glooms that shroud futurity :  
 From thee, Retirement ! ALL their glories claim ;  
 Thine the first triumphs in the fields of fame.

BLEST is his lot, from Vice, from Folly free,  
 Whose tranquil passions are arrang'd by thee !  
 To him, though Faction's discontented rout  
 Pronounce destruction—while themselves are out ;  
 Though counties, with endemic frenzy curs'd,  
 Contend and war which cypher shall be first,  
 To him the clamour but one sorrow brings,  
 That men should madden for such idle things.—

When, darting radiance o'er the brightening sky,  
 The sun renews his race : or while, on high  
 The dewy clouds involve the morning ray,  
 As loth to yield their station to the day,  
 How sweet the opening morn !—the genial hour,  
 RETIREMENT ! calls thy votary from thy bower,



To meet fair health upon the mountain's side :  
 There, while blue mists the lower vallies hide,  
 Health and her rose-lipt zephyrs meet, to pay  
 Their balmy fragrance to the new-born day.

When Evening hovers, in her noiseless car,  
 Upon the shadowy bosom of the air,  
 What time the star, that bids the dews arise,  
 Drinks the last radiance of the western skies,  
 And Nature breathes refresh'd—quick let my feet,  
 Retirement! hasten to thy lov'd retreat :  
 There, while each passion calm'd, and wish refin'd,  
 Expand the heart, and elevate the mind ;  
 Let Fancy bear me to th' immortal clime,  
 Where POESY, above the moon sublime,  
 With Inspiration dwells—Or, let me hold  
 Converse with sages of the years of old ;  
 And gleaning ev'ry truth and moral art,  
 Treasure the living harvest in my heart.

#### STANZAS on FUTURE FAME.

[From FORDYCE'S POEMS.]

**A**H me! what countless myriads lie entomb'd,  
 To deep forgetfulness for ever doom'd,  
 Who once adorn'd life's active stage,  
 Who shone the wonders of their age,  
 And hop'd posterity to charm,  
 By their atchievements to disarm  
 Time's ruthless all-opposing force,  
 And give their fame an endless course!  
 No more, alas! are heard the high acclaims  
 That promis'd to transmit the glory of their names.  
 Those very names have long on earth been lost :  
 In solemn silence sunk their loudest boast!  
 Soon were their gaudy ensigns torn ;  
 Soon were their gilded scutcheons worn ;  
 Their marble monuments no more  
 Are seen to tell they liv'd before :  
 All, all is vanish'd like a dream.  
 Yet pride still hopes to be the theme  
 Of praise unwearied to the wond'ring world ;  
 Nor fears to be forgot, when from its confines hurl'd!  
 While you are acting your allotted part,  
 Well-tim'd applause, no doubt, will cheer the heart,  
 Your languid powers demand such aid ;  
 Without it virtue soon would fade.



Virtue, alas! is weak at best,  
 And slight her hold upon the breast.  
 Self-love could ne'er content the mind :  
 She seeks the sanction of her kind.  
 But when Heav'n's awful verdict once is past,  
 What can avail to her Fame's fondest, loudest blast ?

Or grant its notes could pierce the ear of Death ;  
 They could not yet restore the vital breath,  
 Or call forth pleasure in the tomb,  
 Or change or fix your final doom.  
 The world's joint plaudit still were vain :  
 Each soul would in the place remain,  
 Assign'd her by the Judge supreme,  
 Whose approbation, or whose blame,  
 Must stamp the colour of her fate,  
 In that untry'd, unseen, and dread eternal state.

VIRTUE and ORNAMENT: an ODE to the LADIES.

[From the same Publication.]

**T**HE diamond's and the ruby's rays  
 Shine with a milder, finer flame,  
 And more attract our love and praise  
 Than beauty's self, if lost to fame.

But the sweet tear in pity's eye  
 Transcends the diamond's brightest beams ;  
 And the soft blush of Modesty  
 More precious than the ruby seems.

The glowing gem, the sparkling stone,  
 May strike the sight with quick surprise ;  
 But Truth and Innocence alone  
 Can still engage the good and wise.

No glitt'ring ornament or show  
 Will aught avail in grief or pain :  
 Only from inward worth can flow  
 Delight that ever shall remain.

Behold ye fair, your lovely queen !  
 'Tis not her jewels, but her mind ;  
 A meeker, purer, ne'er was seen ;  
 It is her virtue charms mankind !



## PROLOGUE to the HEIRESS.

By the Right Hon. RICHARD FITZPATRICK.

AS sprightly sun-beams gild the face of day,  
 When low'ring tempests calmly glide away,  
 So when the poet's dark horizon clears,  
 Array'd in smiles, the Epilogue appears.  
 She of that house the lively emblem still,  
 Whose brilliant speakers start what themes they will;  
 Still varying topics for her sportive rhymes,  
 From all the follies of these *fruitful* times;  
 Uncheck'd by forms, with flippant hand may cull,  
 Prologues, *like Peers*, by privilege are dull.  
 In solemn strain address th' assembled pit,  
 The legal judges of dramatic wit,  
 Confining still, with dignify'd decorum,  
 Their observations – to the play before 'em.

Now when each bachelor a helpmate lacks,  
 (That sweet exemption from a *double tax*)  
 When laws are fram'd with a benignant plan  
 Of lightning *burdens* on the married man,  
 And Hymen adds one solid comfort more,  
 To all those *comforts* he conferr'd before;  
 To smooth the rough laborious road to fame,  
 Our bard has chosen—an *alluring name*.  
 As wealth in wedlock oft is known to hide  
 The imperfections of a homely bride,  
 This tempting title, he perhaps expects,  
 May heighten beauties—and conceal defects:  
 Thus Sixty's wrinkles view'd through Fortune's glass,  
 The rosy dimples of Sixteen surpass:  
 The modern Suitor grasps his fair one's hand,  
 O'erlooks her person, and adores—*her land*;  
 Leers on her houses with an *ogling eye*,  
 O'er her rich acres heaves an *am'rous* sigh,  
 His *heart-felt* pangs through groves of—*timber* vents,  
 And runs distracted for—*her three per cents*.

Will thus the poet's mimic Heiress find,  
 The bridegroom critic to *her* failings blind,  
 Who claims, alas! his nicer taste to hit,  
 The lady's portion paid in *sterling* wit?  
 On your decrees, to fix her future fate,  
 Depends our *Heiress* for her whole estate:  
 Rich in your smiles, she charms th' admiring town;  
 A very *bankrupt*, should you chance to frown:  
 O may a verdict given in your applause,  
 Pronounce the prosp'rous issue of her cause,  
 Confirm the name an ancient parent gave her,  
 And prove her HEIRESS of—the *Public favour*.

EPILOGUE



## EPILOGUE to the HEIRESS.

THE Comic Muse, who here erects her shrine,  
To court your offerings, and *accepts* of mine,  
Sends me to state an anxious author's plea,  
And wait with humble hope this court's decree.

By no prerogative will she decide,  
She vows an English jury is her pride.  
Then for our HEIRESS—forc'd from finer air,  
That lately fann'd her plumes in Berkeley-square;

Will she be *helpless* in her new resort,  
And find no friends about the Inns of Court?

Sages, be candid, though you hate a knave,  
Sure, for *example*, you'll a *Rightly* save.

Be kind for once, ye *clerks*—ye sportive Sirs,  
Who haunt our theatres in boots and spurs,

So may you safely press your nightly hobby,  
Run the whole ring—and *end* it in the lobby.

Lovers of *truth*, be kind, and own that *here*,  
That love is strain'd as far as it will bear.

Poets may write—*Philosophers* may dream—

But would the *world* bear truth in the extreme?

What, not one *Blandish* left behind! not one!

Poets are mute, and painters all undone:

Where are those charms that nature's term survive,

The maiden bloom that glows at *forty-five*?

Truth takes the pencil—*wrinkle*—*freckles*—*squint*,

The whole's transform'd—the devil's in't,

Dimples turn scars, the smile becomes a scowl!

The hair the ivy-bush, the face the owl.

But shall an *author* mock the flatterer's pow'r?

Oh, might you all be *Blandishes* this hour!

Then would the candid jurors of the pit,

Grant their mild passport to the realms of wit;

Then would I mount the car where oft I ride,

And place the favour'd culprit by my side.

To aid our flight—one fashionable hint—

See my authority a Morning Print—

“We learn”—observe it ladies—“France's Queen,

“Loves, like our own, a heart-directed scene;

“And while each thought she weighs, each beauty scans,

“Breaks, in one night's applause, a score of fans!”

[Beating her fan against her hand.

Adopt the mode, ye belles—so end my prattle,

And shew how you'll out-do a Bourbon rattle.



## AN ITALIAN SONG.

[ From an ODE to SUPERSTITION, &amp;c. ]

**D**EAR is my little native vale,  
The ring-dove builds and warbles there ;  
Close by my cot she tells her tale  
To ev'ry passing villager.  
The squirrel leaps from tree to tree,  
And shells his nuts at liberty.

In orange groves and myrtle bowers,  
That breathe a gale of fragrance round,  
I charm the fairy-footed hours  
With my lov'd lute's romantic sound ;  
Or crowns of living laurel weave,  
For those that win the race at eve.

The shepherd's horn at break of day,  
The ballet danc'd in twilight glade,  
The canzonet and roundelay  
Sung in the silent green-wood shade ;  
These simple joys, that never fail,  
Shall bind me to my native vale.

DOMESTIC



## DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1786.

THE year 1786 hath not been remarkable, either for the number or value of its theological productions. We meet with a few, however, which may afford us desirable aid in our critical enquiries; or which claim our notice from the pious and benevolent intentions with which they were published, and the respectable characters of their authors. In this number we find "The Holy Bible; containing the Books of the Old and New Testaments, carefully printed from the first Edition, (compared with others) of the present Translation: with Notes, by the right reverend father in God, Thomas Wilson, D. D. lord Bishop of Sodor and Man; and various renderings, collected from other Translations, by the reverend Clement Crutwell, the Editor," three volumes quarto. The character of the venerable prelate is easily discovered in the manner and spirit with which this work is executed. He was distinguished, during a very long life, by the excellence of his heart, and his endeavours to be useful to mankind, more than by the splendor of genius, or profound literary acquirements. That reader, therefore, will be disappointed, who expects to meet in these volumes with much critical information, or new and ingenious expositions of difficult passages of scripture. The good

1786.

bishop's notes were chiefly intended by him for the familiar explanation, or practical improvement of the sacred writings, while he read them daily in his family; and, for that purpose, they were written by him in the margin of his Bible, as they were at different times suggested by his own mind, or collected from the writings of others. It will not then excite any surprize, that sometimes they should appear rather fanciful and incongruous; and defective in that degree of reasoning and evidence, by which we wish all interpretations of scripture to be attended. Nor can we avoid lamenting, notwithstanding all our prejudices in favour of the bishop, that any sentences should be found in his remains, which the candid and liberal spirit of an improving age must condemn. Mr. Crutwell, to whom the revision and publication of this work was entrusted by the late Dr. Thomas Wilson, the son of the bishop, hath greatly increased its value, by inserting in the margin, various renderings of particular passages, drawn from a great number of translations and versions of the Bible. These renderings, together with the biographical sketches of several of our translators and commentators, which are given us in the preface, do honour to the industry and good sense of the editor, and will render



this part of the work not unacceptable to the biblical scholar and critic.

Dr. Hodgson, principal of Hertford College, Oxford, hath acquired deserved praise, by his endeavour to illustrate the meaning and beauty of "Solomon's Song," which he hath "translated from the Hebrew." Our author designedly avoids all disquisition respecting the supposed mystical sense of this antient poem. His object is, to give such an exact and literal translation of it, illustrated by parallel passages from antient authors, as shall render the allegories with which it abounds, clear and intelligible; while, at the same time, it preserves the distinguishing brilliancy of eastern imagery and composition. This task he appears to have executed with considerable success. His Version is rendered with judgment and fidelity; and, in many places in which it differs from our common translation, very happily elucidates the sense and elegant simplicity of the original. The critical notes, likewise, by which Dr. Hodgson justifies his variations and amendments, carry with them equal marks of his ingenuity, and acquaintance with oriental literature.

The "Prospectus of a new Translation of the Holy Bible, from corrected Texts of the Originals, compared with the ancient Versions: with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Observations, by the rev. A. Geddes, LL.D." is a publication which hath very much engaged the attention, and raised the expectation of the learned. And the liberal candid spirit with which it is written, together with the satisfactory testimonies which it affords to the extensive abilities of the author, entitle it to general appro-

bation and encouragement. This work consists of an account of the state of the original text; of the various editions of the Bible in different languages, with their different characters, and of the method which he intends to follow in his own edition. This account is, in general so perspicuous and impartial; and the principles on which he proposes to proceed, are so fair and reasonable, that we sincerely wish him success in his very laborious and very important undertaking. Dr. Geddes, if we mistake not, is of the communion of the church of Rome. We rejoice to find, that all denominations of Christians seem willing to concur in clearing the sacred text from those corruptions and absurdities, which the negligence or ignorance of transcribers had gradually introduced. It is an omen favourable to the general diffusion of knowledge and truth. We are happy, likewise, in reflecting, that the spirit of the times is, at length, become so tolerant, that the attempt of our author will not excite an illiberal jealousy in the most confirmed protestant: that the character under which he describes a faithful translator, is no longer considered as to be appropriated to any one of the various sects which prevail among Christians; but, that in all of them the man may be found, who shall be "unwedded to any system; and forgetting that he belongs to any society of Christians, be extremely jealous of his most rational prepossessions; keep all theological consequences as far out of his sight as possible, and investigate the meaning of his original by the rules only of a sound and sober criticism."

To the list of writers who have come forward as advocates for re-

vealed



vealed religion, the present year has added the name of Dr. Beatie. His "Evidences of the Christian Religion, briefly and plainly stated, in two vols." seem to have been intended by him, chiefly, for the use of persons who have little leisure for enquiry; or who, from the indolence of their disposition, would sooner become infidels, than undergo the fatigue of laborious discussion. We could have wished however, that the respectable talents of our author had not been confined to the production of loose and almost independent essays on a subject to which he could have done such ample justice. This method of detailing the arguments in favour of our holy religion, though it may adapt them to particular descriptions of readers, yet it weakens their strength and energy, and lessens the power with which, in their regular connected form, they force conviction on the mind. We must, nevertheless, do our author the justice to acknowledge, that as far his method would admit of it, he hath stated several of the evidences of the christian religion with novelty and address. Such inaccuracies and mistakes as a careful revision will easily point out, will, doubtless, meet with his correction in future editions; and the work become, what Dr. Beatie wishes it to be, "useful to youth at their first entrance into the world."

Dr. Priestley, who is indefatigably zealous in the pursuit of whatever he deems to be truth, and who has a gauntlet for every opponent, hath, in his "Letters to the Jews," called out new combatants into the field of controversy. The singular oppressions by which that ancient people have been marked, and their dispersion over almost every part of the globe, he attributes to their re-

jection of Jesus as the Messiah; he, therefore, wishes them to enter on amicable discussion of their objections against Christianity, and of the evidences by which it is supported. We cannot sufficiently praise the admirable temper which appears in these letters. It is mild and affectionate; and well calculated to call forth a spirit of cool and deliberate investigation. We need not say that, in the hands of so able a disputant, the arguments in favour of our author's side of the question, lose nothing of their weight and force. Those, however, who differ from Dr. Priestley in his views of christian doctrine, will not thank him for relinquishing at the beginning of the controversy, the supposed superiority of Jesus to human beings, and the doctrine of his miraculous conception. And there are others who will think, that the prospect with which he flatters the Jews, of a splendid temporal kingdom, under a prince of the house of David, is rather the creature of a luxuriant fancy, than drawn from any of the representations or prophecies of the sacred writings. But independently of the peculiar opinions of our author, we rejoice that by the present publication, the attention of the ingenious and learned among the Jews, is likely to be directed to an enquiry into the scriptural character of the Messiah, and the claims of Jesus Christ. And we hope to find their writings on this subject, dictated by the same liberal candid spirit which these letters discover.

To the unwearied zeal which gave rise to the last article, are we to ascribe the same author's "History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ, compiled from original Writers; proving that the Chris-



tian church was at first Unitarian; in four vols. 8vo." These volumes contain an enlarged and very ample discussion of a subject, to which Dr. Priestley had before called the attention of the public in his History of the Corruptions of Christianity. The first part of the present work contains the history of opinions which preceded the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and prepared the way for it. Under this division, a particular account is given of the principals of the Gnostics, which they borrowed from the eastern philosophy, and of the Platonic Christians; to the mixture of whose systems, our author, in his second part, attributes the doctrines of the pre-existence of Christ, and of the equality of the three persons of the Trinity. The third part consists of an history of the Unitarian doctrine, which is traced, on the authority of the sacred books, from Moses to Jesus Christ and his apostles; and after their times, from the earliest remains which we have of the first christians, and the subjects which were chiefly controverted by the different sects of whom we have any certain information. To this history is added an account of the rise of Arianism, and of the other opinions which bear any relation to the Trinitarian and Unitarian controversies; of the remains of the eastern and Platonic philosophy in the creeds of the modern Christian sects; and of the present state of the controversy respecting the person of Christ. We may hesitate at embracing the opinions of Dr. Priestley; and even doubt of the real importance of these historical enquiries to the establishment of that hypothesis for which he contends. But we cannot doubt of the goodness of his motives; of the fairness with which he hath re-

presented the passages which he hath adduced from ancient writers; or withhold our praise from him on account of the great labour and attention which he hath bestowed on the present publication. Neither can we do less at the same time, than admire the boldness with which he courts and provokes opposition, and offers what he hath written to the most rigorous examination; declaring his readiness to answer at the bar of the public, any important questions upon the subject, when properly put to him. It would seem to arise from a perfect conviction that, although in some trifling instances he may have been inadvertent, or mistaken, his leading position cannot be invalidated by his most learned and ingenious adversaries.

We were mistaken, when we gave it as our opinion in a former Register, that the contest between Dr. Horsley and Dr. Priestley was, probably, at an end. The former gentleman hath again entered the lists, by "Remarks upon Dr. Priestley's second Letter to the Archdeacon of St. Alban's, with Proofs of certain Facts asserted by the Archdeacon." He takes care, however, to excuse his long silence by declaring, that he considered Dr. Priestley as an "indifferent antagonist," whose "book abounds with new specimens of confident ignorance;" and of his "incompetency to write on the subject;" and his satisfaction that he was at liberty to "indulge his indolence, without seeming to desert his cause;" and that his sole reason for now troubling the public, is to establish some facts, which had been too peremptorily denied, and to vindicate his character from aspersions which had been too inconsiderately thrown out. The facts

which



which he wishes to prove are, Origen's want of veracity in disputation; the existence of orthodox Hebrew Christians in Judea, after the time of Adrian; and the decline of Calvinism, amounting almost to a total extinction of it amongst English dissenters. On the two former topics, his reasonings are deserving the attention of Dr. Priestley, and will, doubtless, meet with it: what he hath said on the latter, is considered by those who are best acquainted with the state of the dissenters in England, to be totally void of truth. We will not express what we felt from the haughty and virulent language which disgraces the present publication. It affects, not the matter in dispute, but the character of Dr. Horsley, as a gentleman, and as a christian. Should the contest become personal, our readers will not expect that we shall take any farther notice of it.

What we have said in the former article, respecting the state of the English dissenters, has been ably and satisfactorily confirmed by a pamphlet, entitled "the Calvinism of Protestant Dissenters asserted; in a Letter to the Archdeacon of St. Alban's: by Samuel Palmer, Pastor of the Independent Congregation at Hackney;" in which the author, with considerable advantage, exposes the weak grounds on which Dr. Horsley had built his declaration, and fully establishes the principle for which he contends.

The clergymen and lay gentlemen who formed themselves into a society, in Essex-street, for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of the scriptures, have, since we took notice of their publications, added three new numbers to their "Commentaries and Essays." Their 3d number contains "A new Trans-

lation of Isaiah, i. 12. with Notes, supplementary to those of Dr. Louth, Bishop of London, and containing Remarks on some Parts of his Translation and Notes: together with a Criticism on Gen. iv. 26." The new translation of Isaiah is the production of the same able pen to which we were indebted for a very rational and excellent criticism on the 53d chap. of the same prophet, in a former number. The observations on Gen. iv. 26. throw considerable light on a passage which, as it stands in our present translation, has afforded much room for the conjectures of different commentators. N<sup>o</sup> IV. contains "critical notes on many passages of the Old Testament," which will be found exceedingly useful to the biblical scholar; and "an enquiry into the evidence which points out Christ to have been only a creature of the human race, invested with extraordinary powers from God; as it arises from his own declarations, and those of his apostles and evangelists." In the latter tract, the principal arguments in favour of the Socinian hypothesis, are deduced from illustrations of the different texts relating to the person and character of Christ in the gospel and epistles. N<sup>o</sup> V. contains observations on parts of the viii. xi. and xii. chapters of Daniel;" which will afford desirable aid in elucidating the dark language of the prophetic writings: and, also, "a gleanings of remarks on Mr. Travis's Attempt to revive the exploded Text of 1 John, chap. v. verse 7," which, by unquestionable authorities, justifies the censure we formerly passed on that illiberal and injudicious performance.

In the "Four Dialogues on the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, &c. by E. W. Whitaker, Rector of St.



Mildred's and All Saints Canterbury," the author enters the lists in support of the Athanasian doctrine, in opposition to the dangerous and formidable Dr. Priestley. The two first dialogues are employed in explaining and justifying the commonly received opinion; and the third in endeavouring to prove, that it is the doctrine not only of the new but also of the Old Testament. The fourth dialogue treats on the subject of the atonement. Learning and candour, whatever the sentiments be in support of which they are engaged, are entitled to our respectful attention and notice. Had the author of the present dialogues a just claim to the former qualification, he would not have asserted, that those who do not find a Trinity in the conjunction of the plural Elohim with a singular verb, must be ignorant of the general principles of grammar. Had he been a candid, modest writer, he would have hesitated in accusing his respectable antagonist of "unblushing obstinacy" in maintaining points which have been repeatedly confuted; of "entire unskilfulness" in a language which he pretends to render with critical exactness; and in calling in question the sincerity and uprightness of his views.

The writer of "A Defence of the Doctrine, and eternal Sonship of our Lord Jesus Christ, as revealed in the Scriptures, in opposition to a late Scheme of temporal Sonship," who signs himself a Baptist, contends with zeal, and at the same time with candour and moderation, for what appears to him to be a fundamental truth of the gospel. What gave occasion to this pamphlet was an opinion amongst some of his brethren, that the filial relation of Jesus Christ to the Father

did not take place 'till the time when he was born of a woman. Against this notion he supports the more orthodox one, that the second person in the Trinity existed in the filial relation from all eternity. And we must do our author the justice to acknowledge, that he seems well acquainted with the arguments which can most forcibly be adduced in favour of his hypothesis; and that he delivers his ideas as distinctly and intelligibly, as the nature of such a mysterious and incomprehensible subject would admit of.

Mr. Toulmin's "Short Essay on Baptism; intended to elucidate the Question respecting the extent and Perpetuity of it's Obligations," is written with the same perspicuity and liberality which we have noticed and praised in some of his former publications. Our theological readers need not to be informed, that Mr. Emlyn, and since his time, several other writers have expressed their doubt, whether baptism was enjoined to be continued to the descendants of christian parents; or, whether it was not solely intended for profelytes to christianity. This doubt he combats with ingenuity and sound argument; and satisfactorily establishes the opinion, that baptism was intended to be of general obligation, and to be perpetually kept up in the christian church. We make no observations on his connecting his reasoning so much with his principles in favour of adult baptism; since we apprehend that the question cannot, in the least, be affected by any peculiarity of sentiment respecting the subjects of the rite.

Mr. Dore's "Letters on Faith," contain many rational and useful observations. In the three first letters



letters he treats of the nature, the grounds, and the effects of faith: in which, if his definitions and illustrations are not always metaphysically accurate, his meaning is expressed with sufficient perspicuity, and his conclusions are, in general, just and unexceptionable. The fourth letter is on the reasonableness of our faith in Christ, and contains a brief and well connected summary of the arguments in favour of his being the Messiah. The next letter is on the importance of faith in Christ; together with various and useful views of the resources which it affords the mind in affliction and distress. To these letters succeed some miscellaneous observations of a religious and practical tendency. What we are much pleased with, in reading this little performance is, the benevolent catholic spirit of the author, who appears anxious, not so much to make proselytes to any particular opinions, as to strengthen the great principles of religion, and to excite a rational, dispassionate temper in enquiries after truth.

Of a very different complexion and character are the "Dissertations on the Origin, Nature, and Pursuits of Intelligent Beings, and on Divine Providence, Religion, and religious Worship, &c. by J. L. Holowell, F. R. S." These dissertations contain a strange unnatural compound of oriental and christian theology. Mr. Holowell supposes that the earth and the whole planetary system were created for the residence of rebellious angels, who were cast out of heaven, and who are condemned to remain in them, as in a probationary state, under the forms of men and different animals, subject to a continued transmigration in the line of their respective species, 'till the consum-

mation of all things, when they shall regain their former dignity and happiness. The most ambitious and malignant of these spirits, he considers as having animated the various tribes of priests and pretended "men of God," who, under different forms of religion, have "obtained dominion over ninety-nine hundred parts of this habitable globe." But, we cannot attempt to follow the author through his rambling and inconsistent theory. What appears to be his principal and avowed object is, to expose the various "sects assuming the name and title of christians, without possessing one jota of the genuine spirit of christianity, either in sentiment, purity of worship, or discipline;" and to recommend a plan for the reformation of the church and national worship, on the curious mixed principles which he has adopted. We cannot but acknowledge, that in reading these dissertations we meet with many traces of good sense and information; but the foundation of the author's theory is so strange and hypothetical, his creed so complex and questionable, and his extravagancies are so numerous, that we cannot give his work the sanction of our recommendation, either as an entertaining or useful performance.

"A Chinese Fragment; containing an Enquiry into the present State of Religion in England, &c." appears to have been written with the good intention of pointing out and correcting the vices and follies of the age, and of recommending a more general attention to the true spirit and practice of religion. But we apprehend, that the author, by overcharging his picture of the Times, hath rendered it so unnatural and disgusting as to destroy



all proper effect. The censure which he passes on different orders and professions, is too general and indiscriminate; and his view of modern principles and manners too bigotted and gloomy. It is not improbable therefore, that his labours, though they frequently discover marks of ability, and acquaintance with our best writers, will meet with the fate to which trite and vague declamations are commonly consigned.

The benevolent and useful plan of establishing Sunday Schools in different parts of the kingdom, hath met with a public advocate and supporter in the respectable bishop Porteus. In "A Letter to the Clergy of the diocese of Chester, &c." He warmly recommends an attention to those excellent institutions, which, from their origin, have been attended with considerable success. Among other considerations, he urges very forcibly, the facility of supporting them, not more than five pounds being necessary for the annual instruction of twenty children; the small degree of learning proposed to be taught in them, which will neither indispose nor unqualify the learners for the most laborious employments; the habits of attention and industry they will occasion; and the spirit of devotion which they will imperceptibly cherish and encourage in minds of the young. These considerations, together with his seasonable advices relating to their establishment and conduct, will, we doubt not, meet with proper regard, and produce good effects in every part of the kingdom.

The "Six Letters to a Friend on the Establishment of Sunday Schools, by Philip Parsons, A. M. Minister of Wye, in Kent," are, likewise, deserving of recommend-

ation, from the rational liberal spirit in which they are written, as well as from the serious, useful addresses to parents and to children, which they contain.

The misrepresentations which were industriously propagated, by the bigotted among the Roman Catholics, respecting the motives on which Mr. Wharton quitted their communion, have engaged the rev. John Hawkins, who is himself a convert from popery, to publish "An Appeal to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition, in Support of the Doctrines contained in a Letter to the Roman Catholics of Worcester, from the late Chaplain of that Society, &c." This volume is a sensible, cool, and dispassionate vindication of the principles of the reformation, and of the conduct of Mr. Wharton in embracing them. In the postscript, which is of considerable length, we are presented with quotations from the Fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers; whose testimony, of such acknowledged weight with his opponents, is with great fairness adduced in support of our author's opinions. His reasonings on this ground, are well worth the serious perusal of those in the Romish church, who are not determined against enquiry, and who are open to conviction. But what particularly pleases us in the present publication, is Mr. Hawkins's testimony to an important fact, of which from his education and connections he is fully competent to judge; that in the persuasion which he hath quitted, "there has been a secret reformation in faith as well as discipline, long, though secretly, gaining ground." We have not the least doubt of the truth of this representation. And we rejoice in our conviction, that the enlightened mem-  
bers



bers of the church of Rome reject, with indignation and contempt, the extravagant opinions; that indulgence and absolution can be extended to unrepented, or to "future crimes;" that it is "lawful, or at least dispensable, to break their faith with heretics; that they still believe the pope to be infallible and impeccable; or that, without any restrictions or exception, they refuse the possibility of salvation to all who dissent from their religious tenets."

The "Sacra Privata; or Private Meditations and Prayers of Bishop Wilton, &c." have been extracted and abridged from a large collection of his tracts, and adapted to general use. The principal excellence of these devotional pieces arises from the spirit of fervent piety which dictated them, and which they are calculated to excite and strengthen in others. Should another edition of this little publication be called for, we doubt not but that the editor will render it still better adapted to general edification; by some farther abridgements and alterations, the propriety of which his own good sense will easily point out.

In our account of the sermons of the year 1785, we overlooked two volumes of "On Various Subjects, and preached on several Occasions, by the late rev. Thomas Franklin, D. D. chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, &c." The merits of our author, as an elegant scholar and critic, were well known in the literary world, and procured him no small share of respect. And his discourses on Relative Duties, which were published under his own inspection, recommended themselves by their perspicuity and elegance, and a spirit of animated piety. It

does not appear, that the sermons which compose the present volumes were ever designed by the Dr. for publication. From the form and disposition of their materials, it would seem that they were intended for the common uses of the pulpit. It will not therefore, be expected, that they should be equally excellent and perfect with those which were finished by his own hands. But if they are not distinguished by any marks of superior merit, by a brilliancy of imagination, or an originality and depth of thought, they are, nevertheless, written with great ease, simplicity, and seriousness; their subjects, in general, are calculated to engage attention to the preacher, and they may be perused in the closet, by well disposed readers, with edification and improvement.

Among the sermons of the year 1786, produced by the clergy of the established church, those "preached before the honourable Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple, by the late William Stafford Done, D. D. Prebendary of Lincoln, and Archdeacon of Bedford," are entitled to our respectful notice. The following account of them by the editor, the rev. R. Shepherd, archdeacon of Bedford, conveys a just idea of the rank which they are entitled to hold among pulpit performances. "The nature of the discourses now offered to the public, is happily adapted to the audience before whom they were preached; men of learning, who are in the constant habit of pursuing arguments, of detecting falsehood, and investigating truth. They are chiefly argumentative; and if the arguments appear sometimes too abstracted, even when most abstruse, they discover in the author, a full possession of his



his subject. They are always ingenious; and if not always new, his method of producing them makes them peculiarly his own. There is a singularity in the style, which every reader may not approve; but those who knew him best, know it is not laboured or affected; it was the language of his familiar Letters, and in some measure, even of his ordinary conversation."

Mr. Hoole's "Sermons, preached in the Parish Church of St. Alban, Wood-street," are also deserving of public acceptance, as sensible, rational, and useful compositions. Our author's subjects are the principal points of natural and revealed religion; on which his sentiments are liberal and just, and delivered in language that is easy and agreeable. He does not affect any peculiarity or novelty of thought, or the ornaments of modern rhetoric; but appears desirous of impressing on the minds of his readers, the importance of serious truths, rather than of exciting their admiration of his talents and ingenuity, or of entertaining and pleasing their fancy.

On Mr. Rudd's "Sermons on religious and practical Subjects," we may, in general, bestow a similar character with that which we have drawn in the preceding article. The author is sensible and ingenious; his style is correct and animated; and his views of Christian doctrine are moderate and unexceptionable. We must, however, withhold our praise from the language, in which he speaks of a celebrated advocate for the doctrine of materialism. It will be called the language of bigotry, or of contempt. The former, our author would be ashamed of using; the latter, no one can be justified in

applying to so distinguished a character.

Mr. Davy's "System of Divinity, in a Course of Sermons, on the Being and Attributes of God; on some of the most important Articles of the Christian Religion, in connection; and on the several Virtues and Vices of mankind," is composed of selections from the works of different authors, which our editor hath the merit of having chosen and arranged with judgment and ability. He is "no way ambitious to say new things, but principally careful to enforce, in a more useful way, old Truths, and to bring together in one body, the detached works of the best authors; that what hath hitherto been the entertainment of a few only, might be set forth for the benefit of the world at large; and every one be supplied with a system of practical divinity, in every way suited to the advancement of family devotion." Compilations of this kind have, on former occasions, met with the approbation of the public. And we doubt not but the labours of Mr. Davys will be followed by the success which he wishes for, as the present collection appears well calculated for acceptance and usefulness.

Dr. James Ogilvie, who hath published a volume of "Sermons on various Subjects," had been obliged to resign a preferment which he enjoyed in Virginia, before the late troubles broke out, and to fly to England for shelter, from the terrors of proscription. The sufferings which he met with, induced the benevolent parishioners of Egham, where he officiated as a curate, to suggest to him the idea of the present publication. And we are glad to find, from the very respectable list of subscribers to these



these sermons, that their friendly interference is likely to prove advantageous to our author. The subjects on which he treats, are such as respect the best interests of mankind; his manner is animated and agreeable; and the lessons which he inculcates, instructive and edifying. His style and language indeed, may admit of frequent corrections; but the mention which he makes in his preface, of a melancholy event in his family, and the ill state of his health and spirits, sufficiently apologizes for trifling imperfections.

The posthumous sermons of "Dr. James Paterson, one of the Clergymen of St. Paul's English Episcopal chapel in Aberdeen," have been published for the benefit of his surviving relations, whose circumstances are exceedingly narrow and circumscribed. We sincerely recommend these sermons, not only to those who have hearts to feel for the distresses of worthy characters, who have seen better days, but to all lovers of rational, manly piety. The different consequences of virtue and vice are represented in them, in a striking point of view; and the great truths of Christianity inculcated in a manner that is unaffected, clear, and forcible. And though they may not have been intended or prepared by the author for the public eye, they will do no injury to his memory and character as a well informed and useful minister of the Gospel.

Puddicombe's Sermons are loose, puerile compositions, replete with extravagance and rhapsody. How widely do those writers depart from the true dignity of pulpit eloquence, who aim more at fascinating the imagination than persuading and convincing the minds of their readers!

Mr. Newton, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, hath published two volumes of sermons under the title "Messiah. Fifty expository Discourses, on the Series of scriptural Passages, which form the Subject of the celebrated Oratorio of Handel, &c." The author of these sermons is one of that class of divines, who, in the abundance of their spiritual humility, have appropriated to themselves the name of "awakened clergy," — a cant phrase, intended to convey the same idea with the term "gospel preacher," among enthusiasts and fanatics. The religious sentiments therefore, which occur in these volumes, and what Mr. Newton calls the "improvement" of his discourses, will be principally acceptable to those who are of a methodistical cast. Indeed, none but such as are of a mystical turn of mind, will relish his attempt to spiritualise innocent amusements, and to draw an analogy between "musical sounds and sentimental feelings." As compositions, these, discourses are not in the least entitled to our praise. They are vague and declamatory; abound in repetitions; and their language is frequently incorrect and mean. Neither do we think that the selection of texts in Handel's Messiah, was judiciously fixed upon by our author, from which to "exhibit the principal outlines of the Saviour's character and meditation, in a regular series of discourses." The choice, however, in consequence of the musical performances in Westminster Abbey, was popular and well timed; and he might fairly and honestly take advantage of these circumstances, to engage the attention of his congregation, and of the public, to the important subjects which they comprehend.

In



In mentioning such sermons of the English dissenters, and Scots clergy, as have come to our hands, we shall begin with Dr. Price's "on the Christian Doctrine, as received by the different Denominations of Christians, &c." The first of these sermons successfully maintains the truly liberal and just sentiments, "that Christians of all parties, however they may censure one another, or whatever opposition there may seem to be in their opinions, are agreed in all that is essential to christianity, and with respect to all the information which it is its principal design to communicate;" and that there is but one thing fundamental, which is "an honest mind." The four following discourses are employed in representing the Calvinistic and Socinian tenets, respecting the person and character of Jesus Christ, with the Doctor's reasons for rejecting them; and in stating and defending the Arian doctrine, which he adopts. These representations the author hath given with the utmost fairness and impartiality; and his reasonings in favour of his own hypothesis are delivered with a spirit of modest diffidence and candour, of which there are but few instances among polemics. The other sermons in this volume are on the security and happiness of a virtuous course, the goodness of God, and the resurrection of Lazarus. Those on the security and happiness of a virtuous course are peculiarly excellent. Though the subject is common, the arguments in favour of virtue, and the dissuaves from vice, are represented in a manner so striking and forcible, that we receive new pleasure from every perusal of them. The sermons on the goodness of God, are of a metaphysical nature, and are admirably adapted to coun-

teract the poison contained in Hume's Posthumous Dialogues. In the sermon on the resurrection of Lazarus, the credibility of that miracle is ably defended, and the remarkable consequences of it pointed out and illustrated. The truly christian temper with which these sermons are written, and their tendency to disseminate principles of moderation and philanthropy, shed the greatest honours on the declining years of their venerable author, and will do essential service to the cause of genuine religion.

Mr. Robinson's "Sixteen Discourses on several Texts of Scripture, &c." were delivered by him, extempore, to plain and illiterate audiences in the villages near Cambridge, and are printed, as nearly as can be recollected as they were spoken. "The propriety of every action," the author observes in his preface, "depends on circumstances, and nobody can judge of the fitness or unfitness of a subject, or a part of a subject, or a manner of treating of it, except they who know all the circumstances, for the same method in different circumstances would be unedifying, if not impertinent and rude." Keeping this just remark in view, we shall not expect to meet in this volume with extraordinary marks of ability or genius, but with easy familiar discourses, on useful topics, adapted to the situations and understandings of plain common hearers. Such is the character of the productions before us; which are recommended, at the same time, by the candid spirit which they breathe, united to a becoming earnestness of manner, arising from the preacher's sincere desire of doing good. *asked*

Dr. Hunter continues his plan of "Sacred Biography," which came under



under our notice in a former register. In a third volume he treats of the history of Moses, the astonishing and miraculous incidents of his life, and the important events in the Jewish history which took place under his legislation. These discourses, like our author's former ones, are lively, perspicuous, and energetic: and though we cannot accede to all his opinions, we recommend this additional volume as abounding in useful remarks, and pious reflections, and well adapted to answer the purposes of popular eloquence.

The "Sermons by Samuel Charters, Minister of Wilton," contain many solid and useful observations, but delivered in an unusual style, which is not likely to recommend them to public acceptance. They are composed very much of short sentences, conveying hints and ideas, on which the author probably enlarged in the pulpit, but which, from the press, give them an indigested and unfinished appearance. They are, however, sensible and serious, if not perfect and elegant compositions; and to the attentive, thinking reader will afford pleasure and improvement.

The two volumes of Sermons by the late Mr. Thomas Gordon, minister of the gospel at Speymouth, are plain, and chiefly practical discourses, which the author was induced to prepare for publication, from a hope and conviction that they would be useful. The spirit of fervent piety which they discover, and the liberal catholic dispositions which they recommend, leave us no room to doubt but that this hope will be fulfilled.

As the plan which we are obliged to adopt, will not permit us to take particular notice of the single ser-

mons of the year, we shall content ourselves, as usual, with selecting a few out of the number of such as may be thought deserving of a distinct consideration. Among these we must not overlook a Sermon preached at St. Alphage, Canterbury, by Dr. Horne, dean of Canterbury, and president of Magdalen College, Oxford, recommending the excellent institution of Sunday-schools. This sermon is a sensible, serious, and forcible appeal to the public spirit of those who wish well to the community in which they live. The corrupt state of manners among our commonalty, is described in it with great truth and justice, and many useful and striking observations are made by the preacher, which, as they are founded in reason and nature, carry with them the force of very powerful arguments in favour of the object which he recommends. Of the excellent manner in which these observations are delivered, let the reader judge. "At the moment in which I am speaking," says he, "not less than one hundred thousand pupils are said to be in training under its care. There may soon be ten times that number; and if it finally succeed with half these, five hundred thousand honest men and virtuous women, duly mingled in the mass of the community, will make a great alteration." "An evil generation passes away; and therefore, if proper care be taken, it may be succeeded by a good one. Else were the case of the world lamentable indeed. With old offenders little can be done. Hard labour, spare diet, and, above all, solitude, might do something. And the experiment, it is greatly hoped, will be made. But, in general, if the husbandman has in vain dug about the trees in his garden, and

taken



taken every other step necessary for their improvement; his method must be to train up younger and better plants, which may answer the end of their plantation, and bear fruit, when the others shall no longer be suffered to cumber the ground."

Dr. Priestley's sermon on "the Importance and extent of Free Enquiry in Matters of Religion, &c." is a rational and dispassionate defence of an unrestrained and diligent investigation of truth. To this succeed observations on the state of free enquiry in this kingdom; on Mr. White's Remarks on Socinianism, in his sermons at the Bampton Lecture; on Mr. Howe's discourse on the abuse of the talent of disputation in religion; and on an anonymous pamphlet called "Primitive Candour." It is almost needless to say, that in this sermon the reader will meet with proofs of the same ability and shrewdness, as are discoverable in all the productions of our author. With respect to the great object of this publication, we have no doubt of the advantages which must arise to the cause of truth and valuable knowledge, from inculcating the liberal principle for which he contends. Nor can we forbear transcribing a passage, in which, by a beautiful comparison, he endeavours to strengthen the hands of those who labour in the same cause with himself; while he quiets the apprehensions of such men as may be possessed of true candour, but yet imagine, that the spirit of enquiry may be carried too far, and rendered subservient to the interests of enthusiasm or irreligion. "The friends of free enquiry and truth" says he, "may rest satisfied, that as every effort which has hitherto been made to bear down the cause

for which they contend, has in reality served to promote it, so also will every future effort that can be made for the same purpose. The cause of truth may be compared to an engine, constructed so as to be put in motion by the tide, and which is kept in its proper movement whether the water flow in or flow out. Nothing here is wanting but *motion*, it being impossible for that motion, from whatever quarter it arise, to operate unfavourably."

Dr. Kippis's "Sermon preached at the Old Jewry, on Account of a new Academical Institution, among Protestant Dissenters, for the Education of their Ministers and Youth," is a sensible and animated discourse, on a subject of great importance, on which he hath evidently thought with great attention, delivered his opinion with judgment and liberality, and in a style that is peculiarly neat and pleasing. The design of this new institution was undertaken, as we are given to understand, by some of the most respectable characters among the regular dissenters; and has been carried on with an unusual spirit and liberality, that do them the greatest honour. From the account which we have of the plan, and of the views of it's supporters, we look upon the date of such an establishment, as forming an important æra in the history of the dissenters. And we consider the exertions made on this occasion, to be favourable omens to the interests of free enquiry, rational religion, and sound philosophy. The manly, pious sentiments at the conclusion of this sermon, will not be unacceptable to our readers. "Whatever may be the issue with regard to the scheme now undertaken, for the honour of God and the welfare of our fellow-creatures;



creatures; whatever may be the state of things among protestant dissenters; this is our consolation, that the universe is under the direction of supreme wisdom and benevolence; and that under his direction, the cause of truth, christianity, and freedom, cannot finally perish. Perhaps it may revive even in our hands: but should that not be the case, it will rise with new lustre among other bodies of men, and in other forms of society. The spirit of enquiry is gone forth; the human faculties are in motion; the good seed hath been sown; and though for a time, it may be trodden down and depressed, it will break through all obstructions, and spring up to a glorious harvest. With such a prospect before us, we may rest satisfied and happy; rejoicing if God shall, in any measure, make us the instruments of service to the church and the world; and being persuaded, should that honour be denied us, that our humble endeavours to be useful will not be forgotten in the great day of retribution."

Under the head of Metaphysics, we do not recollect any work, that deserves particular notice, excepting "The Elements of the Science of Ethics, on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, by John Bruce, A. M. Professor of Philosophy, and Fellow of the Royal Society at Edinburgh." The author of the present treatise endeavours to reduce the science of morals to the same certainty that attends other sciences, and to establish it on the basis of observation and experiment. After enquiring into the proper objects of philosophy, he devotes the first part of his work to the history of ethics, as an art, and as a science, and of the progressive improvements made

in it, both by ancient and modern moralists. In this part he discovers an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the tenets of the different schools among the Greeks, and the best modern writers from Hobbes to Dr. Smith. In the second part he treats of the principles of natural philosophy; in which he is not so clear and accurate as we could wish when insisting on the necessity of method in the study of nature, and in establishing what he calls the method of science, which is nearly the same with the analytic method of the old schools. It is in his third part that Mr. Bruce delivers his particular theory; and endeavours, from the regular appearance of certain phenomena which address the moral faculty, to establish fixed and determinate laws of ethics. That our author discovers great learning and ingenuity in this laborious performance, and is entitled to deserved praise, we readily admit: but we cannot think that he hath been successful in removing the difficulties to which the science of morals hath been subject. We hope, however, that he will persevere in the same line of study; and that we shall be able to congratulate the public on the advantages which they may derive from his future labours. He will not take it amiss, if at the same time we express our wish, that he would not be indifferent as to the elegance and propriety of his language and expression. We have no doubt of his abilities or taste; we wish only to excite his attention and care.

In turning our attention to objects of government and law, we received much satisfaction and pleasure in the perusal of Herrenschwand's treatise on "Modern political Oeconomy." The object of this work is to explain the ge-

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neral causes that tend to affect the population of countries, as originating from different systems of political oeconomy. Our author divides the whole human race into three distinct classes, viz. those who live by hunting, by grazing, or by cultivating the soil; and considers the degrees of population, of which each of these three divisions are susceptible. The different systems of policy adopted by those who have cultivated the soil, he reduces to three in number; the first of which he calls "a System of Absolute Agriculture, such as was that of ancient Rome. The second is a System of Agriculture relative, founded on a System of Slavery, as was that of Lacedemon. The third is a System of Agriculture relative, founded on a System of Manufactures; which is that of the Nations of modern Europe." Each of these systems our author particularly considers, as well as their respective advantages and defects. It is to the consideration of his third system, that the greatest part of his work is appropriated; in which he takes a wide and extensive range, and introduces a number of political speculations and disquisitions on the interest of money and circulation, the national debt, and the means of reducing it, the inconveniencies of war, division of land, and the population connected therewith, the commerce of grain, luxury, proportional prices of commodities, encouragement of marriage, machines, division of labour, &c. &c. which will be found to be ingenious and highly interesting to the reader. The author's arrangement of his materials is clear and distinct, his style simple and easy, and his reasonings, in general, fair and conclusive. But we do not bestow our praises on his

performance without any exception or reserve. Notwithstanding his good sense, he is rather too much addicted to system and hypothesis; and has evidently been misled in some parts of his reasoning, by taking principles and facts for granted, which, without much difficulty, might be proved to be erroneous. His work, however, is a valuable and entertaining present to the public; and we are happy to find that he intends publishing a series of treatises on the same subject.

The "Thoughts on the Mechanism of Societies, by the Marquis de Caux, F. R. S. &c." are chiefly employed about the situation of this country, and our public debts. Instead of finding any ground for despondency or alarm, on attending to the state of our finances, he contends, that the nation is at least twice as rich as at the beginning of the century; that the liquidation of our debts would be in the highest degree impolitic and injurious; and that even the carrying on of the war without taxes, would have proved more hurtful, than the burthens of which we now complain. The marquis is a lively and spirited writer; and we have been pleased and improved by many of his remarks; but we cannot recommend his work as a judicious performance on the subject of political oeconomy. It should seem, that the author is to be admired, rather for a brilliancy of talents, and glow of fancy, than for a turn of mind adapted to close and accurate investigation. For a specimen of his manner of writing, we refer our readers to an extract from his Apology for Luxury, which we have given among our miscellaneous papers.

Of a very different and superior character



Character are the "Two Discourses delivered at public Meetings of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, at Berlin, on the Population of States in general, and that of the Prussian Dominions in particular, and on the true Riches of States and Nations, &c." by the Baron de Hertzberg. In the first discourse we have a most pleasing account of the judicious and effective measures adopted by the king of Prussia, to increase the population of his dominions; which has been already doubled in his hereditary kingdom, and trebled by the increase of his territories. The proof of the latter assertions, the baron establishes by a series of incontrovertible facts. In his second Discourse he shews that the principal foundations of the prosperity of a state, consist in good agriculture, national industry, and the ballance of commerce; which balance will always be in favour of the nation whose commodities are the necessities of life, and against the nation whose different kinds of merchandize consist only of articles of luxury. In support of these positions, he discovers the abilities of a profound politician and well-informed historian. In these Discourses, we meet with much useful information and sound reasoning. The objects which are discussed in them, are interesting to all states and kingdoms; and the political lessons which may be drawn from them, deserving of their practice. We should be glad to see more of the baron's valuable papers in an English dress; and we think the public much indebted to Dr. Towers, for his faithful and just translation of those before us.

Mr. Howlet, in his "Enquiry into the Influence which Inclosures have had upon the Population of

England," contends, in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Price, and others, that they are highly favourable to population. In order to establish his point, he compares the state of population, during two different periods of five years each, in several parishes lately inclosed, with that in others, in the same counties, which have not been inclosed; and he corroborates his comparative statement by the returns of militia men for the county of Rutland, consisting of 56 or 57 parishes, of which ten have been inclosed within the last 25 years. Without entering into the question whether the evidence on which he founds his reasoning is decisive and satisfactory, we think, that brought forwards as it is, with Mr. Howlet's usual ability and shrewdness, it carries considerable weight with it, and deserves a careful investigation. To a second edition which has been published within the year, there has been added an Appendix, containing a letter from the rev. I. C. Woodhouse, rector of Donington, in Shropshire; giving an account of the state of population in that parish, for near one hundred years past, with judicious remarks and observations, which are favourable to the idea which Mr. Howlet hath entertained.

The author of "Cursory Remarks on Inclosures, &c." which appear to be the genuine productions of a farmer, takes the opposite side of the question, and endeavours to prove that the most pernicious and destructive consequences must arise from the inclosing of common-fields. His great argument against such a practice is, that it necessarily and inevitably tends to the depopulation of a country. The accounts, however, which the baron Hertzberg gives of the



means made use of by the king of Prussia, to increase the population of his dominions, will lead many of the readers of the present pamphlet to conclude, that the author's argument is founded rather on ancient and popular prejudice than on the sure basis of observation and experiment.

Mr. Knox hath published a second edition of his "View of the British Empire, more especially of Scotland, &c." in 2 vols.; which is so much enlarged, that it may almost be considered as a new work. In this edition he hath given a more comprehensive detail of the ancient and present state of North Britain, in what relates to commerce, navigation, fisheries, manufactures, and agriculture; to which he hath added a number of miscellaneous subjects. The earnestness and fervor which mark the writings of our author, seem well adapted to excite a spirit of national improvement; and with these sentiments of their utility, we heartily recommend the present volumes to the acceptance of the public. What renders this recommendation peculiarly seasonable, is the late incorporation, by act of parliament, of the British society for extending the fisheries, and improving the coasts of this kingdom, &c. from whose exertions, very essential benefits are expected to arise to the state, as well as to individuals.

The same author hath published a pamphlet called "Observations on the Fisheries," which is an abridgement of what is contained in the volumes just mentioned, intended for a more general circulation and perusal. He hath, likewise, drawn up "A Discourse on the Expediency of establishing Fishing Stations in small Towns in the Highlands of Scotland, and the He-

bride Islands," which hath been printed at the expence of the Highland Society in London, for the information of the public, and the members of that society in particular.

Dr. M'Farlan's "Tracts on Subjects of National Importance, &c." consist of two discourses which were read before the Royal Society of Scotland. The first, which is on "the Advantage of Manufactures, Commerce, and *Great Towns*, to the Population and Prosperity of a Country," contains many just and pertinent remarks; together with the opinions of the best modern writers who have treated on these subjects, illustrated in a manner that may be exceedingly useful to such as have not leisure or ability for much reading or reflection. The second discourse, mentions the "Difficulties stated to a proposed Assessment of the Land Tax;" suggesting, at the same time, another subject of taxation, not liable to the same objections. This new subject is a tax upon stock; which the author affirms to be entirely consistent with the spirit and design of the land tax, as originally imposed. And we must do him the justice to acknowledge, that his reasonings on the propriety of such a substitute for a very unequal and partial tax, are not only plausible, but intelligent and weighty; and that they are worthy the attentive consideration of those who employ their thoughts on objects of government and finance.

Mr. Holwell, in his "New Experiment for the Prevention of Crimes, &c." suggests the fanciful proposal, that the king should institute an order of virtue, to be conferred on all such persons as should deserve it; that the insignia of it should be a gold medal, to be worn suspended on



on the outer garment; and that the grand juries should be obliged to present the good as well as the bad, at the several assizes, in order to find out the proper subjects of such a distinction. His other propositions are better calculated to engage serious attention: as when he pleads that assistance should be allowed, at the expence of the state, to honest and worthy families, struggling under difficulties, and for the encouragement of matrimony among the poor. But even such salutary proposals, for promoting the strength and good order of our country, will, we fear, meet with no better reception from our public characters, than the most wild and visionary projects. The author's concluding reflections, on the shameful inequality of our criminal laws, are founded on equity and good sense; and it may be worth the while of the legislature, to make trial of some of the alterations and reforms which he recommends.

Mr. Zouch's "Hints respecting the Public Police," appear to have been dictated by a laudable and well-directed zeal for the reformation of public manners. They are founded in good sense, a just knowledge of human nature, and a spirit of genuine humanity; and will, doubtless, be respectfully received by his brethren on the bench.

Mr. Barret, in his "Essay towards establishing a System of Police, &c." proposes a national saving of four millions per annum, from adopting the plan which he recommends. But this object, great and desirable as it undoubtedly is, would be no compensation for the introduction of a system, which is rather adapted to a despotic than to a free country. We had better continue to suffer the evils arising from a licentious abuse of liberty,

than give the sanction of law to dangerous encroachments on her sacred privileges.

The Author of "A Dissertation on the Poor Laws," who calls himself "a Well-wisher to Mankind," undertakes to show, that those laws are so absurd and impolitic in their nature, and so liable to perpetual and glaring abuses, that they do actually promote those very evils which they were intended to remedy. Our limits will not allow us to mention, particularly, the methods which he proposes for the correction of this great evil: the principal of them are, that the relief which is given to the poor should be limited and precarious; that the friendly societies of the poor, where each person subscribes a trifle monthly, in order to obtain relief when unable to work, should be pushed as far as they will go, and be made universal; and that the most vigorous measures should be adopted by the legislature for increasing the quantity of food in the kingdom. Notwithstanding that we do not, in every instance, feel the force of our author's reasoning, yet we are fully convinced of the truth of his leading position, and anxiously expect the time when these ineffective statutes shall undergo a parliamentary revision.

From an "Essay on Parish Workhouses; with some Regulations proposed for their Improvement, by Edmund Gillingwater, Overseer of the Poor, at Harleston, Norfolk," we derive farther evidence of the pernicious tendency of our present system of poor laws. He appears to be well acquainted with the subjects on which he treats; and censures, with great justice, the flagrant mismanagement under which the interests of the poor, and in theirs, the interests of the community at



large are conducted. But we cannot think that the regulations and amendments, which he proposes, would produce a reformation adequate to the wishes of our worthy author. They appear to us to be only temporary expedients. It is on a total alteration, and entire change of system, that we found our expectations of effectual relief.

Mr. Acland's "Plan for rendering the Poor independent of public Contributions," is a benevolent proposal for checking the increase, and diminishing the weight of the poor's rates, which are become almost an intolerable burthen. This Plan is formed "on the basis of the friendly societies, commonly called clubs. It forms all the members of society (excepting such as are therein excepted) into one general club, which is subdivided into twelve different classes of persons, who are all, under certain circumstances, to receive, as a matter of right, a different allowance, according to their different contributions; in case they shall stand in need; but otherwise, the contributions of the richer subscribers to go in aid of the poorer ones, and afford them a better provision for all their wants." Mr. Acland seems to have been influenced by the purest and best of motives; and whether his ideas be adopted by the legislature, or not, his endeavours to become essentially useful, entitle him to the thanks of his country. With respect to the general principle, and practicability of the plan itself, it can require no stronger testimonial to the public, than what is conveyed in the approbation of Dr. Price. In a letter to the author, he says, "it seems to me that your plan has a tendency to do the greatest good, by affording, in the best manner, the most agreeable and useful relief

to the poor; by encouraging frugality, industry and virtue, among them; and by promoting the population of the kingdom, and removing many of the evils which attend our present poor laws. I will add what appears to me a further recommendation of it, that it will substitute in the room of the present dangerous plans of the friendly societies scattered throughout the kingdom, ONE GENERAL PLAN of the same kind, well-formed, substantial, and permanent."

Mr. Gale, in an "Essay on the Nature and Principles of Public Credit, &c." employs himself in pointing out the state of the public debts of this kingdom, and in proposing a plan for their gradual payment. Of the principle of this plan, and of its merits, when compared with the method of redemption adopted by government, we shall enable our readers to form some judgment, by inserting our author's own account of it. He proposes, first, to convert the public debts into a five per cent. stock, by offering to the creditors, a certain proportion of such five per cent. stock, in exchange for their present stocks and annuities. Secondly, to secure the new stock from a reduction of interest; by making it liable only to a periodical tender for its redemption, equal to the annuity. Thirdly, to provide for the conveniencies of those to whom the periodical redemption might be inconvenient, by allowing a suspension of the tender on certain fixed principles. Fourthly, to provide for the conveniencies of those whose situations and circumstances might be such as to require temporary annuities for lives or years; by allowing a transcription of the redeemable stock into such temporary



ty annuities, on certain fixed principles, according to their respective values. Fifthly, to give a farther general encouragement for the conversion of the debt; by granting a preference, in all future loans, to the holders or proprietors of the new stock."

The author of "The Present State of Great Britain considered, and the National Debt discussed, &c." estimates the population of this country at seven millions. From this number he deducts three millions for women and children, two millions for labourers and artizans, one million for petty shopkeepers, sailors, soldiers, and servants. On the respective incomes of the remaining million, consisting of nobility, gentry, considerable tradesmen, manufacturers, and farmers, he proposes to lay a tax of five per cent. With the product of this tax, together with five per cent. on the value of all foreign goods imported on foreign bottoms, after abolishing the land-tax, and abrogating the laws of custom and excise, this writer is certain of paying off the national debt in four years; one hundred millions excepted, reserved as a fund for marriage settlements, the property of widows and orphans, and for monied interest attached to government.

Earl Stanhope, whose abilities as a calculator are well known, hath published "Observations on Mr. Pitt's Plan for the redemption of the national Debt," in which he states several objections to the scheme of the minister, and compares it with one offered by himself. His objections are, that the commissioners appointed by Mr. Pitt's bill, may, by the power which it gives them, become stockjobbers, and make fortunes by gambling in the funds, to the prejudice of their

trust; that by a rise in the price of the funds, the redemption will be made at great advancements, above the natural average prices; and that the fund established is not rendered unalienable, but is exposed to the depredation of any future minister, for new exigencies, or new schemes. The plan which our noble author proposes is, to reduce the capital of the three per cents, which is no less a sum than 186 millions, by inviting the holders of such stock to convert them into four per cents, under a promise of priority of redemption; which he considers as an advantage sufficiently great to induce the holders of the present three per cents to make this conversion. This method the noble lord contends, is not only the cheapest method of redeeming the whole public debt, but the quickest in its operation, requiring only 51 years, while that of the minister takes up 68.

The author of "A Short Answer to Earl Stanhope's Observations, &c." enters into a close and particular examination of the noble lord's objections; to which he replies with much shrewdness, and with equal asperity of language. Instead of the advantages ascribed to his lordship's plan, the present writer endeavours to show, that it is founded upon false hypotheses, and supported by erroneous calculations; that it is at once romantic and expensive; impossible to be carried into execution, and highly injurious to the public, if it could be adopted.

Lord Newhaven, in "A Short Address to the Public," offers two schemes to their consideration, for the redemption of the national debt. In the first, he supposes the annual income of Great Britain, in lands, houses, and personal proper-



ty, to amount to one hundred millions. On this principal he supposes one per cent to be charged annually; which, after paying the interest of our present national debt, and the charges of management, would leave a surplus sufficient, in a short time, to disencumber us of the heavy load. In his second scheme, in order to show the practicability of reducing our public debt, he supposes that there are in Great Britain two millions of persons capable of paying 12l. 10s., or one million capable of paying 25l., or five hundred thousand persons capable of paying 50l., or two hundred and fifty thousand, capable of paying 100l., or one hundred and twenty-five thousand capable of paying 200l., per annum; any of which numbers, at their respective rates, would be able to pay off two hundred millions in eight years.

In conformity with the spirit of lord Newhaven's plan, sir Francis Blake, in his pamphlet called "The Efficacy of a Sinking Fund of one Million per Annum considered," endeavours to prove, that the only way of liquidating the public debt, is by dividing it among the people in general, according to the properties which they possess. Every other scheme he considers to be visionary and ineffectual, and, therefore, equally reprobates the plans of Mr. Pitt and lord Stanhope.

In a subsequent publication, the same author contests "the propriety of an actual payment of the public debt," declaring it to be his idea, that it has been the means of introducing much wealth, of which the stream would not otherwise have flowed into these parts. That it is now the means of detaining wealth, of which we cannot retain the use in any other way. And that when reviewed in this

light, any diminution of its bulk would be seen and felt as a diminution of strength; and so, by parity of reasoning, its total extinction would not only be injurious, but might prove fatal to this country.

Mr. Barfoot, in his "Two Letters addressed to Mr. Pitt, for obtaining an equal System of Taxation, and for reducing the national Debt," entertains nearly the same idea with lord Newhaven, and sir Francis Blake, with respect to the practicable means of paying it off. His opinion respecting taxation, will be found coincident with that of most of his readers, viz. that the taxes on the necessaries of life should be reduced, and the deficiency of the revenue supplied by additional imposts on luxury.

Schomberg's "Treatise on the Maritime Laws of Rhodes," may be considered as an appendix to his Historical and Chronological View of Roman Law, which we noticed in our Register of last year, and is a farther evidence of the author's learning and ingenuity, and extensive acquaintantance with the civil law. The Rhodians, though not the first navigators, were unquestionably the first legislators of the sea. And though it is impossible to fix the precise time when their sea laws were compiled, their opinion seems not an improbable one, who date their origin from the time when Rhodes first acquired the superiority on the seas, which was about nine centuries before the Christian æra. In reading Mr. Schomberg's Treatise on them, we have received much information and pleasure; as well as from the collateral circumstances which he introduces, when pointing out their reception and influence in every naval and commercial country. After their operation among the Romans,

and



and the destruction of their empire, he has traced out their remains in the Pandects; shewn the revival of them in the Amalfitan Tables; the *Consolato del Mare*; the Laws of Oleron, enacted by Richard the First, which are the basis of the present maritime laws of England; the Wisbuy Code; and the Laws of the Hanse-towns. From the specimens which the present and our author's former performance have given of his abilities, and manner of writing, we look forwards, with much pleasure, for the remaining part of his plan, which he hath promised to the public.

Mr. Pickering in his "Discourse on the Use and Doctrine of Attachments," contends, that the practice which he reprobates, and under which he has been a sufferer, is an oppressive exertion of the power of the courts, and repugnant to the spirit of *Magna Charta*. His treatise is written with the animation and freedom of a man who is jealous of his privileges, and who is well acquainted with the laws and constitution of his country. And we shall be glad to see the subject, to which he here calls the public attention, more amply discussed, as it respects the regular distribution of justice, and the essential interests of the community.

Among the articles under the head of Law, which will be valuable to professional men, we must not omit to mention, that there hath been published, during the present year, a continuation of the valuable edition of "The Statutes at Large, from the twentieth of George the Third, to the twenty-fifth, inclusive; to which is prefixed a Table of Titles of all the public and private Statutes, during that Time, with a copious Index."

In the same class we find Cook's

"Compendious System of the Bankrupt Laws," which will be principally acceptable on account of its bringing into one point of view all the separate acts concerning bankrupts, which form but one system of law; and on account of the instructions, given in the appendix, for procuring and carrying on the business of a commission, together with a great variety of useful precedents.

Sheridan's "Present Practice of the Court of King's Bench," will also be found to possess the merit of being a better guide to the practice of that court than any of the former publications on the subject, which we have met with.

In giving our account of the Mathematical productions of the year, our first attention is due to Dr. Hutton's "Tracts, Mathematical and Philosophical." The first, second, and third of these Tracts, contain remarks on the nature of series, and their summation, together with new methods of finding the sum of numeral infinite series, whose terms are alternately plus and minus, and of summing a very slowly converging series, where the signs are all positive. It is not possible to give an abridgment of our author's methods. They appear to us, however, to be exceedingly useful, as well as curious; and adapted to facilitate the labours of the mathematical student. The fourth Tract is an investigation of some general rules for extracting any root of a given number; which possesses higher claims to excellence than any of the ingenious theorems with which we had before been acquainted. The fifth Tract is a new method of determining the roots of higher equations. The sixth is a demonstration of the truth



of the Newtonian binomial theorem, in the general case of fractional exponents. The seventh Tract will be peculiarly acceptable to geometers, on account of the demonstrations which it contains of some curious properties of the sphere. The eighth tract is a solution of a problem to divide a circle into any number of parts, which shall be as well equal in area as in circumference. The last tract contains a description and result of several experiments made at Woolwich, for the sake of improving the theory of gunnery. From these experiments many conclusions are drawn by Dr. Hutton, from which the natural Philosopher may derive information, as well as the mathematician. They appear to have been made with the greatest attention and accuracy, and do equal honour to the ingenuity and judgment of the learned author.

The public is, likewise, much indebted to Dr. Hutton for "The Compendious Measurer; being a brief, but comprehensive Treatise on Mensuration and Practical Geometry," which will be found concise and perspicuous, and sufficient for the information and use of artists who may not be adepts in the theory of mensuration. To this useful performance are prefixed two introductory treatises, containing an explanation of what the student should be acquainted with in decimal and duodecimal arithmetic, and in geometrical definitions and constructions. The small number of rules with which Dr. Hutton burthens the learner's memory, and the pertinent examples by which they are illustrated, delivered in plain and familiar language, are a sufficient recommendation of this excellent compendium.

Dr. Hutton's "Key to his Arithmetic," will also be an accept-

able present to those teachers of that science who make use of his work, as it will enable them the more readily to examine the solutions of their pupils, and to discover any errors which they may have committed.

"The Rudiments of Mathematics; designed for the use of Students at the Universities, &c. by W. Ludlam, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge," is a short elementary treatise, which is highly deserving of the patronage of the public. The author begins with explaining the doctrine of vulgar fractions, and the elements of algebra; which he hath done in a manner that will be found uncommonly easy and satisfactory to the learner. His Remarks, likewise, on the first six Books of Euclid, will be useful, in rendering young students acquainted with the intention and design of that author; and his illustrations of trigonometry, in elucidating that important branch of pure mathematics.

[In speaking of the Philosophical productions of the year, we must, as usual, begin with the Transactions of the Royal Society; and their annual volume is, in many respects interesting and useful. The Series of Experiments on the Powers of different Fluids, as Conductors of Heat, by sir Benjamin Thomson, are extremely curious: much remains to be done; but he has clearly shown, that a vacuum conducts heat more imperfectly than common air, which of itself, performs the office slowly and incompletely. Moist air has a powerful effect; and, what is more extraordinary, air rarefied considerably, differs little in its conducting power from the atmospheric air, in its usual state. The author means,



we find, to pursue his enquiries. Of the coldness of the air in its natural state, and how much may really be effected by frigorific mixtures, we have a very satisfactory account, in the experiment on freezing mixtures, by Mr. Macnab. Mr. Cavendish has detailed them very advantageously; and as they were suggested by him, he was certainly best fitted for the office of historian. Many facts, relating to the congelation of acids, and the appearance of their ice, are contained in this paper, which add greatly to our knowledge of these subjects; but we cannot enter on particulars. We may add, that the greatest artificial cold produced, was  $-78\frac{1}{2}$ ; and one morning the natural cold was  $-50$ . To ascend to the other extremity of the scale, we must next observe, that Mr. Wedgwood has given us some additional observations on his thermometers, and some directions for making them more exact measures of the higher degrees of heat. In the same collection, the New Experiments on the ocular Spectra of Light and Colours, by D. Darwin, are very important. The spectra are those appearances which occur after any person has been looking attentively on bodies in various circumstances, and the eyes are closed. The author explains them with much philosophical precision, though he sometimes rests on a foundation not usually allowed by physiologists, viz. a contraction of the nervous fibres of the retina. Mr. Herchell, with his eyes open, continues to extend his discoveries; but he has thought it necessary, at last, to take some notice of the general opinion, that vision was indistinct, when the optic pencils were less than the 40th or 50th part of an inch. He could see clearly,

when the pencil was only  $\frac{1}{21734}$  part of an inch. The whole appeared to depend on the proportion between the focal length of the object glass, and its aperture. He has this year added a thousand new nebulae to his catalogue; and having now proved, that he ought to see, we hope that he will still continue his observations, and discoveries. Assistance, in this line, is derived also from other sources; for in the same volume of the Transactions, we receive Mr. Smeaton's description of Mr. Hinkey's very accurate method of graduating astronomical instruments. Messrs. Goodriche and Pigott have extended their observations on variable stars. Mr. Pigott has ascertained the latitude and longitude of York; and given us his observations on the transit of mercury at Louvain. Mr. Maskelyne has advertised us of the expected return of the comet of 1532 and 1661, in the year 1788, and calculated the causes of acceleration or retardation, that may affect it. We may probably expect it early next year; and its appearance will establish the opinion of the comet of the two former periods being the same, while its absence will destroy it, and in some degree effect the system of the periodical recurrence of these excentric planets.

The labours of the Royal Society are not confined to the heavens only: on the earth, we have sir William Hamilton's journey to Albruzzo, his voyage to the island Ponza, and the particulars of the present state of mount Vesuvius. The most striking part of this article is that, which relates to basaltic, and the author's arguments, in proof of their being volcanic productions, which chemists of eminence have denied. A clear and  
philos.



Philosophical description of those vast ranges of columns on the northern coast of Ireland, we have received from Mr. Hamilton, in his Letters on the northern coast of the county of Antrim. Water is no less destructive than fire: a late subsidence of the ground near Folkstone, in consequence of the slow effects of percolating water, is well described in the annual volume. The description of the petrifications of St. Peter's mountain, near Maestricht, by Mr. Camper, contains an account of marine exuviae, deposited there, in consequence of some former convulsion. The large fossil bones probably belong to the genus *delphinus*. We must not leave this collection, without mentioning the description of a new electrical fish, discovered in the East Indies, of the genus *Tetrodon*, and of Mr. Cavallo's experiments, on the supposed magnetical power of brass.

The other publications on Natural Philosophy are very few. We have received the 2d volume of Mr. O'Gallagher's "Essay, on the Investigation of the first Principles of Nature," which is as inaccurate and as incomplete as the first; and an excellent "Introduction to Astronomy" by Mr. Bonnycastle.

The works, which have appeared, during the last year, in Natural History, are nearly connected with those of Natural Philosophy. Mr. Whitehurst's 2d edition of his "Enquiry into the original State and Formation of the Earth" is much enlarged, and contains many new facts, as well as important observations. Mr. Buffon's "Second Supplement" which is now first translated, and added to the second edition of Mr. Smellie's translation, relates chiefly to the general history. It is, of

course, very miscellaneous; but it is also very interesting. Though these philosophers differ from each other, they differ still more from Dr. Toulmin, who has republished an old book, with a new title, to prove the world eternal. It is now called the "Eternity of the World," and is a diffuse relation of the phenomena, which the author supposes will support it. Mr. Forster leaves every speculation of this kind, and is contented with relating the history of the discoveries and voyages made in one part of the world, viz. the North. It is a curious and ingenious compilation, lately translated into English, though the author supposes too often, that traffic and discoveries were carried on by the medium of sea voyages, and neglects the communications by land. Of the "Balloon Excursions," this new mode of conveyance which our ancestors were little acquainted with, we have had a few specimens, viz. Mr. Baldwin's whimsical work, styled "Airopaidia," and a "Journal" by Mr. Blanchard.

Of the more particular descriptions of natural objects, we should mention Mr. Miller's very splendid work: six numbers are published; some of which appeared in the course of the year: it is entitled "Various Subjects of Natural History, wherein are delineated, Birds, Animals, and many curious Plants." To the botanist, the name of Miller is dear, and in his natural history, designed as a supplement to his botany, he probably will not be less successful. We regret that Ellis's "Natural History of many curious and uncommon Zoophytes," did not receive his last cares. Dr. Solander however arranged the plates, and added descriptions to many, in which they were wanted. They were at last published in the



the year whose productions, we are now examining, and form a valuable addition to our stock. Of Mr. Martin's "Observations on marine Vermes, Insects, &c." we have seen but one fasciculus: probably no other has been yet published. This number shows him to be an attentive enquirer, and a minute observer. From an accident, we formerly omitted to notice his "Aurelian's Vade Mecum." It is an useful pocket companion to the admirer of the beauties of these humble insects. An account of some minute British shells, by Mr. Lightfoot, is inserted in the Philosophical Transactions. In this year too, Mr. Bolton has described the British ferns, in an accurate and useful tract, entitled, "*Felices Britannicæ*;" and Mr. Dickson has published a "Fasciculus of the Cryptogamic Plants" of our own country, which contains species hitherto pretty generally unknown, and described with much precision. The late discoveries of the fructification of these plants add a fresh lustre to the system of Linnæus; and it is remarkable, that it was announced to the Petersburg Academy, to whom Linnæus's "Dissertation on the Sexes of Plants" was first sent, in consequence of a prize being offered for the best essay on that subject. This dissertation has lately been translated by Mr. Smith, the purchaser of the Linnæan collection. We must not omit a short essay on the propagation and dispersion of animals and vegetables, in answer to the doctrine of self-production, a doctrine once held by the divines and fathers of the church, by the celebrated and truly religious Mr. Evelyn, and therefore certainly not to be charged with impiety.

The Chemical works of this period are not numerous. Dr. Wat-

son has published his concluding volume, which has increased our regret, that his delicacy should lead him to think this method of amusing himself, and instructing the world, inconsistent with the decorum of his episcopal character. The "Essays" are, as usual, neat, elegant, and amusing. Dr. Priestley, in his humbler station, and amidst his theological contests, still continues his enquiries in this line. He has published a third volume of "Experiments and Observations on various Branches of Natural Philosophy," which, like his former publications contains some new information. In the Aerial Chemistry, of which Dr. Priestley was one of the fathers, Dr. Higgins has added somewhat to our knowledge, in his work intitled "Experiments and Observations relating to acetous Air, fixable air, dense inflammable Air, &c." In another branch of this science, we have appropriated to ourselves the additional labours of the Swedish chemists. Bergman and Scheele had before, in part, appeared in English; but we have now received one of the most important essays of Bergman's third volume, which the translators of the former volumes seem to have forgotten, viz. that on elective attractions; and the same translator, Mr. Beddoes, has collected the scattered fragments of the able and industrious Scheele. From these gentlemen we received the first intelligence of a new species of air, viz. hepatic air; but we can, with pleasure, observe, that we have added to their enquiries. Mr. Kerwan's "Experiments on hepatic Air," in the last volume of the Philosophical Transactions, contain some judicious and accurate experiments, which have much improved our acquaintance with this subject; and Dr. Watson's "Observations on the Sulphur Wells of Harrow-



rowgate," in the same collection, have also elucidated it.

Chemistry is never so advantageously employed as when called in to the assistance of the arts of domestic operations, and of medicine. On the two first of these subjects, this year, gives us few opportunities of enlarging. Imison's "School of Arts," and Baverstock's "Hydrometrical Observations and Experiments on the Brewery," two works of no great importance, are the only ones that we perceive on the list. In medicine, we must mention an improved edition of Lewis's "Dispensatory," and a work of a similar kind, on the foundation of Lewis, but with more copious additions, published at Edinburgh. These are both works of consequence; but this department, will admit of still higher improvement. In the Medical Chemistry, we have also received Dr. Skeete's "Experiments and Observations on the red and quilled Peruvian Bark," and Dr. Leigh's "Experimental Enquiries into the Properties of Opium." These are two dissertations, which obtained the prize offered by the Harveian society, at Edinburgh, and they are promising specimens of a more advantageous harvest in maturer years. In enquiries of this kind, and in all pharmaceutical operations, Mr. Blizard has shown, that there is much danger from copper and bell-metal; and Dr. Elliot, in an ingenious paper in the Philosophical Transactions, has guarded us from the uncertainty of the commonly established affinities of bodies, when the operations are carried on in spirits of wine. It must be by courtesy only that we can introduce Mr. Barker's "Treatise on the Cheltenham Waters" in this place, because he thinks chemistry useless, in ascertaining their ingre-

dients; but we cannot introduce it in our Medical article, because it contains no information of that kind; it is perhaps sufficient to have mentioned this whimsical and trifling work. The observations, concerning the medical virtues of wine, and Dr. Fowler's "Medical Reports of the Effects of Arsenic" are connected both with chemistry and medicine. The latter shows that arsenic, in small doses, may be given internally; and that it is of service in intermittents. This was before known, but the medicine had not been, of late, employed by regular physicians.

If Dr. Fowler has attempted to revive one medicine, not commonly employed, Mr. Nevins has been engaged in a similar task. He wishes to recommend a quantity of crude mercury, designed to act from its bulk and weight, to remove obstructions in the ileus. The practice had, we understand, been relinquished, from its danger and inefficacy; and this author does not contribute to remove our apprehensions or to increase our confidence. Dr. Wall's "Clinical Observations on the Use of Opium in low Fevers," is a work of greater importance. It points out the proper use of a medicine, probably useful in some epidemics. It is the object of Dr. Withers in his "Treatise on the Asthma," to recommend a medicine, not hitherto employed in that disease, viz. the flowers of zinc. This work is, in no other respect, of consequence; and in that, we must leave the examination to experience. The recommendation of single remedies, and the enquiries after specifics, too often end in indolence and quackery. Dr. Adair, in his "Medical Cautions," a miscellaneous work, will perhaps agree with us, in this opinion. He has  
drawn



drawn his pen, against a host of quacks, and the ineffective sisterhood, which he calls Lady-doctors and nurses, not the only old women of the faculty. With equal sarcasm, and more wit, Dr. Moore, in his "Medical Sketches," contributes to eradicate some mistaken notions, and to weaken the influence of quackish practitioners, however dignified with titles. His work, which contains an introduction to physiology and the practice of medicine, is a very pleasing one. The author of, "A Letter to a Physician in the Country, on Animal Magnetism," is an acute observer, and an ironical writer, inferior perhaps in abilities to Dr. Moore; but equal to him in his antipathy to these irregular practitioners.

Of the more important practical works, which are few in number, we must mention Dr. Blake's "Observations on the Diseases of Seamen," which his station as physician to the fleet, in the West Indies, suggested. It contains many valuable observations. Dr. Trotter's "Observations on the Scurvy, particularly as it appeared in Negroes," is a work also dictated by faithful observation. It is intended to support the humoral system, in opposition to Dr. Millman's Treatise. Rollo's "Observations on the acute Dysentery," is another work by an actual observer, in a climate favourable to the disease, and, with the others, is a slight compensation for the miseries and distresses of war, by accumulating remarks, which may relieve disease in other situations. Of the translations in this department we can say little. Dr. Moffat's "Translation of Aretæus" is an imperfect performance; and Dr. Swediaur's "Translation of Dr. Millman's Animadversions on the Nature and Cure of Dropsies," though well exe-

cuted, scarcely adds to the stock of Domestic Literature, as the work was, before, our own.

To the assistance which has been given by observation, theory, as may be expected, cannot add considerably. "A Treatise on the Gout," containing a theory of that disease, is spoken of very differently. We apprehend however, that some essential mistakes in the chemical department, greatly weaken the author's superstructure. Dr. Arnold's "Observations on the Nature, &c. of Insanity" are continued, and a second volume, chiefly containing the remote causes, is now added. The author's object is, at last, completed, and we find, that we are to expect no more. The second volume is, we think, greatly superior to the first. Lynn's "Singular Case of a Lady, who had the Small-pox during Pregnancy," contributes to support an important physiological position, that in small-pox, the blood is not so much impregnated with the virus as to affect the foetus, till the pustules are turned. There are however many similar facts. Dr. Colignon's "Miscellaneous Works" are scarcely of a medical kind; but their contents approach more nearly to physiological than to any other enquiries. The remarks are often neat and elegant, but sometimes not accurate.—We should next speak of Anatomy, if the publications of the year gave us any opportunity; but the only part of the human anatomy illustrated, is the change by disease, in the relation of the dissection of a person who died in consequence of an extraordinary and very extensive interseption, mentioned in the Philosophical Transactions. Dr. Monro's "Structure and Physiology of Fishes explained," belongs to comparative anatomy, and is a great and an important



portant work, defective only in the engravings.

Yet, perhaps, Mr. Blizzard's "Lecture on the large Blood-vessels of the Extremities," ought not entirely to be passed over. It does not profess to contain any thing new, but was designed to instruct the scholars of the maritime school, to point out the course of the vessels, and to direct where a pressure may be applied with advantage in emergencies. On Surgery, and some of its branches, we have received some important works. Dr. White has collected the general practice into one volume, called the "Present Practice of Surgery," which Mr. Bell has extended to six; but Dr. White's work is greatly inferior to Mr. Bell's, whose annual volume, the 4th, appeared with its usual regularity, executed with the care and ingenuity which distinguished the former volumes. In this year, Mr. Hunter has published his long expected volume, on the Venereal Disease, which, on good authority, we can say, contains much valuable information. On a similar subject, we may mention Dr. Turnbull's "Enquiry into the Origin and Antiquity of the Venereal Disease;" and remark, that Mr. Samwell, in his "Narrative of the Death of Captain Cook," endeavours to show, that it was endemial at the Sandwich Islands, previous to the visits of the English navigator.

In Agriculture, we have little more to do than to transcribe the titles of the several works, which have been published, for few of them rise so high as to merit praise, and, perhaps, none sink so low as to be despised. The best work, that we have seen, is Mr. Culley's "Observations on Live-stock." It is the performance of a plain man, inti-

mately acquainted with his subject. We have seen also Mr. Horne's "Description and Use of a new invented Sowing Machine," which promises to be very useful. The other publications, in this department, are Mr. Twamley's "Draining exemplified," "Frazer's Certain Arrangements, in civil Polity, necessary for the farther Improvement of Agriculture," Mr. Brocque's affected "Description of certain Methods of planting, training and managing Fruit-trees, Vines," &c. with "Letters to a young Planter on the Management of Sugar Plantations." These works scarcely deserve any particular notice; but we ought not to conclude, without the annual tribute of applause to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, whose 4th volume show, that they are by no means inattentive to the proper objects of their institution.]

We cannot take our leave of this department, without giving our opinion of "A System of Mechanics; being the Substance of Lectures upon that Branch of Natural Philosophy, by the reverend T. Parkinson, M. A. Fellow of Christ's College Cambridge." Notwithstanding the author's modest declaration in his Preface, that he claims little other merit for his performance, than what is due to a selection made from a multitude of books, in order to facilitate the progress of a student; we think it is entitled to a respectable rank among publications of a similar nature. His Introductory Observations on the Phenomena of Nature, and the Rules of Philosophizing, are just and satisfactory; and his frequent corrections of the errors of preceding authors, by which their readers have been puzzled and misled, shew him to be well acquainted



quainted with the subjects of his lectures. Upon the whole, we look upon Mr. Parkinson to be a safe and intelligent guide, by whose distinct and familiar directions, the ignorant and uninformed may find their way to the temple of Philosophy.

Among the Historical productions of the year, we shall assign the first place to Dr. Gillies's "History of Ancient Greece," as it is a work from which the friends of the author had led the public to entertain very considerable expectations. The first chapter of this work contains a view of the progress of civilization and power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War. The second is employed in a Dissertation on the Religion, Government, Arts, Manners, and Character of the early Greeks. In the third we have an account of the return of the Dorians to Peloponnesus, under the conduct of the Heraclidæ; of the Eolic, Ionic, and Doric migrations; of the establishment of colonies in Thrace, Macedonia, Africa, and Magna Grecia; of the abolition of monarchy in Greece; of the Amphictyonic council; the oracle of Delphi; the Olympic games; and the Spartan laws. The fourth chapter is dedicated to the history of the Messenian war, and the subjugation of Messenia to the Spartan government. The fifth comprizes an account of the northern republics of Greece; of the Grecian colonies; of the first sacred war; and of the Restoration of the Pythian games, and gymnastic exercises. The sixth chapter contains an Essay on the Grecian bards, heroic and lyric poetry, and the lyric poets. In the seventh chapter Dr. Gillies gives an account of the progress of the Ionians in arts and

arms, the wars between the Lydians and the Persians, and the end of the Lydian Empire. The three following chapters continue the history of Greece, during the celebrated period of the Persian War, and until the distribution of Alexander's conquests among his successors; after which the work is closed with a review of the state of arts, learning, and philosophy, at the time of the death of Alexander. With respect to the character of this performance, we may observe, that the author, in general, has drawn his materials from the best sources of information; and in the accounts which he gives of the Grecian Philosophy, and of the characters of the poets and others, hath adopted the opinions of the most approved writers upon the subject. But he hath betrayed an unwarrantable fondness, when in want of proper authorities, for deviating into the dangerous wilds of hypothesis and conjecture; and a credulity unbecoming a philosophical historian, in repeating, as history, the fabulous stories scattered through the writings of the poets, respecting the Colonization of Greece from Egypt, the Argonautic expedition, and the wars of Thebes and Troy. In his account, likewise, of the religion and customs of the ancient Greeks, he appears to be carried too far by his imagination and fancy, when he attributes to them a more rational piety, and a purer and more refined morality, than were compatible with their rude uncultivated state of society and manners. The moral and political reflections which occur in this history are trite and common, rather than ingenious or profound. With respect to the style of Dr. Gillies, it is very unequal; sometimes chaste and beautiful; but frequently incorrect and exuberant, abounding



abounding in grammatical improprieties, and in meretricious ornaments which are unsuitable to the gravity of historical compositions. We think, however, that the author is entitled to praise for his labour in reducing "the scattered members of Grecian story into one perpetual unbroken narrative;" and that those of our readers who are unacquainted with the original historians of Greece, may derive from it much pleasure and useful information.

We shall, in the next place, introduce to the notice of our readers, "The History of Athens, politically and philosophically considered, with a View to the Investigation of the immediate Causes of Elevation and of Decline, operative in a free and commercial State. By William Young, esq." This work is divided into two parts. In the first part the author traces the population of Athens, and the progress of society, from the earliest periods to the close of the Persian wars. In the second he describes the decline of the Athenians from the administration of Pericles to the battle of Cheronea, and the subversion of the republic. In reciting the particulars of the Athenian history, Mr. Young hath shewn himself well acquainted with the ancient writers of Greece. His political and moral observations, are just and philosophical; and the spirit which appears in every part of his performance, is manly and liberal. But we do not think, that the analogy between the history of Athens and that of Britain, is sufficiently close and striking, for the purpose of political instruction. And we are sorry that we cannot bestow our praise on his work, with respect to the language and composition. The arrangement of it is far from being

perspicuous; and the author's good sense, and pertinent useful remarks, are often disgraced by a style and phraseology so impure, uncouth, and turgid, that it is with difficulty we can comprehend his meaning. Independently, however, of these imperfections, this history, though not a popular one, is possessed of sterling merit; and is accompanied by notes, which abound in much curious and useful learning.

In "The History of Wales, by the reverend William Warrington, Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of Besborough," we are presented, for the first time, with a complete view of the interesting facts which form the history of the ancient Britons. These our author, with great care and industry, hath collected from the most authentic sources, arranged them judiciously, and clothed them in an engaging and pleasing dress. In his first, second, and third books, Mr. Warrington hath given a concise but perspicuous view of the history of the Britons, before the retreat of the Romans; of their struggles in defence of their liberty and independence, till they were driven into Wales, Cornwall, and Arinorica; and of their wars with the Saxons, to the death of Roderic, near the end of the ninth century. This period, barren as it hath commonly been deemed of great and interesting events, he hath enlivened by a display of facts and particulars which have not been noticed by other historians, and by describing the modes of life, and private manners of the Welsh. In the fourth and fifth books, besides the circumstances of the history, which are admirably related by our author, we have a summary of the famous code of Howel Dha, prince of South Wales; together with an account



account of the civil jurisprudence of the Welsh, and their criminal law. The seventh and eighth books are rendered particularly interesting, by the pictures which the author hath drawn of the repeated efforts of a brave, but improvident and divided people, for the liberties of their country, and the rights of human nature. The ninth brings us to the entire conquest of Wales, in the time of Edward the First; at which period Mr. Warrington connects the Welsh history with that of England. We congratulate the public, that the first regular history of Wales has been undertaken by a person so well qualified for the task; and who, not being a native of that country, cannot be supposed to have written under the influence of an improper bias, or predilection. And we cannot but express our wish, that a writer who hath given such a specimen of his abilities and taste, in the line of historical composition, would extend his labours to other departments of that science.

In the 3d vol. of "State Papers, collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon," the public has received a very valuable historical and literary acquisition, abounding with interesting facts and anecdotes, with many of which our historians have been entirely unacquainted. In the editor's Preface we are informed, that a part of them contains "A Regular Series, scarcely broken by the loss of a single letter, of sir Edward Hyde's confidential correspondence with his bosom friend, secretary Nicholas, on the most secret topics respecting the king's business; particularly, from his arrival in France, after his escape from Worcester, till he fixed his residence at Cologne." To this it may be added, that the pre-

sent collection comes down to the return of Charles to his native kingdom. From such a source as that before us, we derive the most authentic and curious information respecting the character, professions, and views, of the principal persons who sustained parts in the political drama of the times; the anxieties and difficulties of the royalists; and the causes which gradually and silently operated in effecting the restoration. In an Appendix, we are presented with the life of lord Digby, and other biographical sketches, by our noble author, written with his usual vigour and animation of style, from which we received considerable pleasure and entertainment.

The volume of "Historical Tracts, by sir John Davies, Attorney General, and Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland," is composed of a curious and important treatise, entitled, a Discovery of the True Cause why Ireland was never brought under Obedience to the Crown of England; of two letters to the Earl of Salisbury, in 1607, and 1610, giving an account of the state of Ireland, and the plantation of Ulster; and of a Speech in 1613, tracing the ancient constitution of Ireland; which have been collected from the treasures of the British Museum. The two letters to the earl of Salisbury, will be found particularly interesting on account of the accurate local information which they convey, and the striking but just pictures which they draw of the barbarism and wretchedness of the inhabitants at those periods. To these tracts is prefixed a well-written Life of the Author.

Walker's "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," are chiefly to be valued from the accounts which



we meet with in them, of the state of ancient Irish music; and for some papers in the appendix containing curious anecdotes and historical disquisitions. On the history of the bards, of their education, employments, and privileges, he doth not seem to have thrown any new light; and with respect to his observations on the antient state of Ireland, and its early civilization and literature, it were to be wished that the proofs of them had been less equivocal. We leave it to Mr. Macpherson to contest with him the claims of Ireland to Fingal, Ossian, and the other heroes of "the Hall of Shells."

In captain Jonathan Scott's "Translation of the Memoirs of Eradut Khan, a nobleman of Hindostan, &c." we meet with interesting anecdotes of Aurungzebe, and his successors in the Mogul Empire, and curious specimens of the Oriental character and manners. Eradut Khan was personally concerned in most of the resolutions which took place during the period concerning which he writes; "what to others was known but by report, was planned and executed in his sight; and he was a sharer as well as spectator of the dangers and troubles which he has recorded." His relations, likewise, are drawn up with an ingenuousness and simplicity that are strongly characteristic of their veracity. These circumstances render his testimony peculiarly valuable, as it supplies us with the only account of those times that has any pretensions to authenticity. We hope that Mr. Scott, from the public reception of his present work, will be encouraged to arrange and translate the other authentic documents which he has in his possession, relating to the history of Dekkan, and the

continuation of the history of Aurungzebe, begun by Mr. Dow. Such labours of his will be generally entertaining and useful; and more especially so to those who are engaged in researches into Oriental history and literature.

Mr. Stanley's "Observations on the City of Tunis, and the adjacent Country, &c." is an accurate and entertaining description of a part of the world which is but seldom visited by modern travellers. With respect to the manners and customs of the inhabitants, they appear to be nearly similar with those of the Asiatic Turks. It is the account which he gives of the present state of the territories of ancient Carthage, and of the mutilated remains of ancient grandeur and magnificence, that will principally recommend his little work to the historian and classical reader.

Mr. Savary's "Letters on Egypt, &c." which we briefly mentioned in our catalogue of Foreign Literature for the year 1785, have, during the present year, been read with much avidity in an English translation. And we scarcely remember when we met with a more instructive and entertaining companion. The object of our traveller is to examine the monuments of past ages; to draw a parallel between the ancient and modern manners of the inhabitants of the country; and to describe its present situation, commerce, agriculture, and government. He sets out by giving us a general view of Egypt, and of the revolutions which it has undergone. After this he presents us, in several letters, with particular descriptions of the cities of Egypt, of the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake Moëris, the ruins of Thebes; and with lively and animated pictures of the peculiar manners



manners and customs of the Egyptians. In these descriptions he hath shewn himself to be well acquainted with the works of Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo; and is very circumstantial in comparing their accounts with his own observations, and in correcting the errors of modern travellers. He, likewise, pays particular attention to the worship of the ancient Egyptians, and their deities; and endeavours to corroborate their opinion who have contended, that the pretended deities of this people were no more than the names of the different attributes of one and the same supreme Being; or emblems, intended to express the phenomena common in that country, the influence of the heavenly bodies, and the bounties of nature. It is impossible for us to follow our lively and intelligent author, in his various researches and descriptions. We shall only observe, that his letters derive advantages from his acquaintance with the best classical and Arabic authors, his enthusiastic spirit of enquiry, his accuracy of discernment, and happy talent at delineation, that justly entitle them to the very favourable reception which they have met with from the public.

M. Ruffin's "Appendix to the Memoirs of Baron de Tott, &c." contain a satisfactory vindication of the representations of the Baron, from the remarks of M. de Peyssonnel, late French consul at Smyrna. But what chiefly engages our attention in this publication is, M. Venture de Paradis's curious historical memoir of the Druses; a people who inhabit mount Lebanon, of whom but very inaccurate and indistinct accounts have reached Europe. The entertaining parti-

culars of this people, singular in their manners, and their religious Creed, and who have maintained a considerable degree of liberty and independence, though surrounded with the slaves and supporters of Ottoman despotism, will be peculiarly acceptable to the English reader. To this memoir succeed, extracts from the religious books of Hamzah, the prophet of the Druses, and a literal translation of a catechism, containing their doctrines and tenets.

The "Sketches of the History of the Austrian Netherlands, &c." by James Shaw, are calculated to excite public attention, not only on account of their intrinsic merit, but because the part of Europe which they describe is become a considerable object of political speculation. After laying down, in a clear and accurate manner, the geography of the Austrian Netherlands, our author enters into their general history, since the age of Charlemagne. This is followed by an account of the constitution of each province; of their union under the house of Burgundy; of their commerce, manufactures, cities, agriculture, neighbouring states, religion, letters, arts, &c. To these sketches are annexed a detail of the misfortunes of Jacoba, countess of Hainault; of the ambitious designs of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy; and of the mild reign of Albert and Isabella. On the whole, we have been much pleased with the descriptions and observations of Mr. Shaw, and entertain no doubt of the industry and care with which he hath selected his materials. But we could wish that, in many places, he would correct his phraseology, and the construction of his language. As he hath, probably, de-



rived much of his information from foreign sources, he hath been too careless in adopting foreign idioms and phrases, which have deprived his style of that perspicuity and beauty, for which, otherwise, we should have been disposed to recommend it.

Dr. Forster's "History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North, &c." contains, besides many ingenious disquisitions, and entertaining remarks, a vast fund of geographical knowledge, collected, with great care and attention, from the best and most authentic sources. The general division of this work is into three books, which are again subdivided into several chapters, sections, &c. In the first book, we have an account of the voyages and discoveries made by the Phenicians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in which, as his materials were but scanty, he frequently indulges himself in roaming in the fields of fancy and conjecture. The second book contains an account of the discoveries made towards the North in the middle ages, by the Arabians; by the Saxons, Franks, and Normans; and by the Italians and some other nations. In this book we have a collection of many curious and important particulars; and among the rest, Alfred's Translation of Orosius, that real literary curiosity, and relations of voyages made to Norway, Greenland, and Winland, which he will have to be part of North America; for which we consider ourselves much obliged to Dr. Forster. The third book contains a summary of the different voyages made to the North in modern times, by the English, the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Danes, and the Rus-

sians, in which the author hath condensed the numerous books which treat of these voyages, with judgment and perspicuity. But though this work possesses great and unquestionable claims on our approbation, we do not pronounce it to be a faultless production. Though we admire the ingenuity discoverable in many of his conjectures and etymological enquiries, in the first book, we cannot say that his reasonings have always had force enough to make us converts to his opinion. Neither do we feel, in the same degree with our author, the weight of the authorities which he brings from ancient manuscripts, in support of the discovery of the ancient Winland.

From the perusal of Hamilton's "Letters concerning the northern Coast of the County of Antrim, &c." we have received much instruction and entertainment. They address themselves to the student in general history, to the antiquary, and the philosopher. In some of the first letters we have a particular and pleasing account of the island of Raghery, or Raghlin, of its productions, antiquities, and the simple innocent manners of its inhabitants. Mr. Hamilton next describes the salmon fisheries on the opposite coast; and presents us with historical accounts of the incursions of the Scots, and their first settlement in Ireland, which abound in many curious and interesting particulars. But his attention is principally engaged by the natural curiosities on the northern coast of Antrim; and particularly by the basaltic columns, commonly called the Giant's Causeway. After giving us the natural history, and an accurate analysis of these basaltes, he



he introduces his ingenious and satisfactory reasonings in favour of the volcanic theory, which has received so much support from Sir William Hamilton, and Mr. Faujas de St. Fond; and in answering such objections as have been made to it. We recommend this engaging and philosophical performance as calculated to afford pleasure and improvement to every description of readers.

In Hurlley's "Account of some natural Curiosities in the Environs of Malham, in Craven, Yorkshire," we have a particular, and not unpleasing description of some sublime natural scenery, in the centre of the kingdom, well worthy of the attention of travellers. To this description there is annexed an Appendix, containing useful directions to those who are disposed to visit these romantic situations; the height of some of the highest mountains in England and Scotland, with the heights of Mount Blanc, the Pike of Teneriffe, and Cotopaxi in Quito; and particulars of the life and genealogy of Lambert, the parliamentary general, which seem to be collected from the best authorities.

Dr. Anderson's "Account of the present State of the Hebrides, and Western Coasts of Scotland;" which escaped our notice, in its proper place, recommends itself by many important facts and useful observations, relative to the fisheries of this kingdom, and other considerable sources of national improvement. This account is the substance of a report made by the author to the lords of the treasury, and of the evidence which he gave before the committee of fisheries, after he had been employed by government in examining

these neglected parts of the British dominions. And it presents us with such a shocking picture of the melancholy poverty and wretchedness of great numbers of our fellow-subjects, who are capable of being rendered some of the most useful members of the community, as must interest the patriotic and feeling bosom to apply every possible remedy to so lamentable an evil. To this account is prefixed an Historical Introduction concerning the British Fisheries, in which Dr. Anderson takes up the subject from the earliest accounts; points out the circumstances and impediments which have prevented its success; and such regulations as are most likely to give full "employment to the industry of the people, augment the wealth of the nation, and add to the revenue and resources of the state." We have already seen that these important objects have engaged the serious attention of the legislature; and we doubt not but that the judicious remarks before us, will have considerable weight with the committee to whom they are referred.

"The History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland, by John Andrews LL. D." appears to be with great candour and impartiality, and to contain a judicious detail of the circumstances of the late war, drawn from the public prints, and the proceedings of the house of commons. Many of the political remarks which occur in it, are sensible and pertinent. And what he says on the views and motives that influenced the contending powers, in their various operations, seems on the whole, to have been dictated by a just knowledge of mankind, and deliberate, cool reflection.



The "Account of the gallant Defence made at Mangalore, against the United Efforts of the French, and the Nabob Tippo Sultan, &c." is a just tribute of respect to the bravery and good conduct of the late colonel John Campbell, major of the 42d regiment of foot, his officers, and the troops under his command, during the fatigues and distresses of a tedious and obstinate siege. The particulars of this account, many of which will be found exceedingly interesting, are drawn up in the form of a journal, in which all the operations and casualties are particularly specified; and the whole is recommended to the perusal of military readers, by a good plan and profile of the fort, exhibiting the attacks and batteries of the enemy.

The author of a tract called "The History of the Art of Engraving in Mezzotinto, &c." opposes the commonly received opinion that prince Rupert was the inventor of it. This honour he claims for colonel Siegen, a Hessian officer. And it appears to us, that the authorities, to which he refers, in investigating the subject, carry too much weight with them to be slightly rejected. In this ingenious performance the author considers and explains the mechanic process of this kind of engraving: its peculiar character and excellence; and the subjects which are best adapted to it. He hath added, likewise, an account of the principal artists in this branch, and a list of their works. And when we consider the high degree of perfection to which this art hath been carried in this country, and the many excellent copies of valuable pictures which our artists have produced, we may venture to pronounce, that this

little work, will be an acceptable present to the lovers of the arts; especially as we have no express treatise on the subject.

In mentioning the Biographical productions of the year, we shall assign the first place to the second volume of Strutt's "Biographical Dictionary; containing an Historical Account of all the Engravers, from the earliest period of the Art of Engraving, to the present Time, &c." Of the design, and the general execution of this work, we gave our opinion in our account of the Domestic Literature of the year 1785. And we are glad to have reason to conclude, from the appearance of this second volume, that the author hath met with that encouragement from the public, which his application and industry merited. We have again received much information and pleasure from the continuation of his Essay on the Art of Engraving, and the Account of its Origin and Progress, which are prefixed to this volume. These afford us sufficient evidence of the author's acquaintance with the subject on which he writes, and will be allowed to possess a considerable share of merit, notwithstanding that his style and manner of expression are liable to the same censure which our remarks on the former part of his work conveyed.

The "Historical and Critical Memoirs of the Life and Writings of M. de Voltaire, &c." translated from the French of Dom. Chaudon, form a very unequal and unfinished work, which does not seem to have just pretensions to the reception which it is said to have met with on the continent. It is rather a collection of the anecdotes respecting Voltaire, which have been re-  
tailed



tailed in different authors, than a regular account of his life. To have appreciated his literary abilities, and to have examined into his real opinions, would have been a proper employment for his biographer; and would not have precluded the recital of his witty epigrams and bon mots. It would, likewise, have carried with it the appearance of greater candour, if our author had not so servilely followed Voltaire's own representations of his quarrels with Rousseau, and Maupertuis, and of the circumstances of his disgrace at Berlin; as these are more than suspected to be exceedingly partial and unfair. And he would have deserved the thanks of his readers, if he had been more particularly attentive in exposing the pernicious tendency of many of the productions of his hero; together with the duplicity and profaneness of his character. We would not be understood as wishing to deprive M. de Voltaire, of his claims to extraordinary genius, and extensive abilities. We would not have a single action of his forgotten, that was humane or benevolent; and for many such actions he will be remembered with gratitude. But we could have wished that the veil had been more completely withdrawn from his imperfections, and essential failings, to counteract the dangerous and fashionable influence of his opinions and example. In this part of the duty of a good biographer, we think that our author hath greatly failed, and lost a favourable opportunity of blending the useful with the amusing. This volume is concluded with an "Abstract, Historical and Critical, of the Theatrical Works of Voltaire."

From Mrs Piozzi's "Anecdotes"

of Dr. Johnson, the public had been led to entertain very high expectations. Many years had the Doctor spent at the house of her former husband, Mr. Thrale, in the habits of undisguised and communicative friendship. And she was understood to possess abilities and materials which could enable her to gratify the public with many of the valuable observations, and profound disquisitions, by which his private conversation was distinguished. But we are obliged to acknowledge that although, from the perusal of the work before us, we have frequently received pleasure and entertainment, we have been likewise much disappointed and mortified. Many of the literary anecdotes which our authoress hath preserved, the poems, and bon mots, are new and curious. But whoever expects that he shall be able, from this work, to form a judgment of Dr. Johnson's abilities in argument, of his powers in general conversation, and of his manners in common life, will find himself greatly deceived. And it will be difficult for the reader, when he considers many of the anecdotes and speeches which are recorded, to persuade himself, that they can have been published by one who lived for twenty years in the strictest friendship with him, and who wishes to "warn her friends to virtue, even by the distant reflection of his glowing excellence." How unfortunate has it proved, that those who were the companions of Dr. Johnson, and who have undertaken to be his biographers, should seem as if they had made it the principal object of their injudicious performances, to expose the failings and weaknesses of their friend, rather than to preserve his



admirable strictures on men and manners, his critical remarks, and moral reflections! With respect to the general merits of the work before us, it is an irregular and desultory composition, in which the authoress hath shewn but little solicitude about method and arrangement. And the style of it, though sometimes elegant and beautiful, is frequently deformed by glaring inaccuracies and colloquial barbarisms.

Samwell's "Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook, &c." contains very serious and extraordinary information relating to that event, which hath remained, hitherto, uncontradicted. Of the nature of that information, our readers will be able to judge, from the extract which we have given among our Miscellaneous Papers. To this Narrative are added some interesting particulars of the life and character of that great nautical genius; and observations respecting the introduction of the venereal disease into the Sandwich Islands, in which he endeavours to refute the arguments of those who contend that it was received there from our people.

"The Life of Hyder Ally, &c." by Francis Robson, late captain in the honourable East India company's forces, has been published by the author, to vindicate the honour and character of his countrymen and fellow-soldiers, from the injurious misrepresentations and falsehoods, contained in a History of that Eastern chief, by a French officer. With this view he hath drawn up a plain, unadorned statement of facts, which he opposes to the unjust censures passed by that author on the conduct of the English in the East; which is followed

by a Narrative of the sufferings of the prisoners of war taken by Tip-poo Saib, and a Glossary of the Asiatic Terms which occur in the Narrative.

Under the head of Antiquities, Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum" will afford much information to the students in Topographical History. Our author was induced to engage in this work at the instigation of Dr. Pococke, bishop of Ossory and Meath; and he has laboured with indefatigable industry, in collecting and preserving the fragments of the History of Monachism, which, "like the edifices it once reared, is almost an heap of ruins." Sir James Ware first began a collection of this nature; whose work rather exhibited an outline of those monastic establishments in Ireland, than a particular account of their private history and property. In 1690 this work was enlarged by M. Allemande; and, several years afterwards, published in a different and imperfect form by Mr. Harris. The present performance is only an epitome of the records and documents which Mr. Archdall hath collected; and which, we hope, the encouragement of the public will enable him to deliver in a more extensive and perfect manner. This volume, however, conveys much information respecting the establishment, the revenues and peculiar situations of various institutions; with descriptions and engravings of the habits of the different orders. Such memorials as these are of national importance, and are interesting to our curiosity and to our feelings. And the philosophic mind cannot but receive pleasure from exploring any of the retreats of literature and science



ence during the barbarism which covered the middle ages of Europe.

Mr. Nichols's "*Bibliotheca Typographica Britannica*," hath been increased, during the present year, by the addition of ten numbers. These are, an historical Account of the Parish of Wymington, Bedfordshire, communicated by Oliver St. John Cooper, curate of Puddington, &c. the History and Antiquities of the three archiepiscopal hospitals; and other charitable foundations, at or near Canterbury, by the late John Duncombe, M. A. and the late Nicholas Battely, M. A. the editor of Somner's Antiquities, of Canterbury; a Short Genealogical View of the Family of Oliver Cromwell; a Sketch of the History of Bolsover and Peak Castles, Derbyshire, by the rev. Samuel Pegge; two Dissertations on the Brass Instruments called Celts, and other Arms of the Ancients found in this Island, by the rev. James Douglas, F. A. S.; Biographical Anecdotes of the rev. John Hutchins, author of the History of Dorsetshire; archbishop Sharpe's Observations on the Coinage of England, &c. with his Letter to Mr. Thoresby, 1698-9; and Remarks on the Progress of the Roman Arms in Scotland; &c. to which are added, a Map of Caledonia Vespasiana, by Richard of Cirencester; and an account of two Roman camps, in the county of Forfar, with the Via miliaris extending between them, by the rev. Mr. Jamieson, of Forfar. These pieces, as may be expected, possess different degrees of merit; and different degrees of entertainment, according to the subjects of them. The History of the Hospitals, and other charitable Foundations, at or near Canterbury, will be gratifying to the curiosity of most readers.

Mr. Douglas's Dissertations on the Arms of the Ancients, found in this Island, are learned and ingenious. But it has been from archbishop Sharpe's Observations on the Coinage of England, &c. that we have received the greatest information and pleasure. This tract is divided into four chapters; the two first of which treat of the silver and of the gold coins of England; the two last of the Scot's money, and of the Irish coins to king James II. inclusive. To these are added, tables of the coins of the several kings, &c. down to Charles II. with notes; and a list of medals, struck since the latter end of the reign of William III. to that of George II. inclusive. We have room only to observe, that this treatise will furnish the reader with much amusement, as well as very general satisfaction with respect to this branch of science.

Cardonnel's "*Numismata Scotiae*; or a Series of the Scottish Coinage, from the reign of William the Lion, to the Union," is divided by him into three parts, viz. the silver, gold, and billon or copper coin of Scotland. The collection of coins in this work is very numerous, and tolerably complete; and, in general, they are fully described, and accurately delineated. It will, therefore, be an acceptable publication to the medallist, and the collector of Scottish coins, especially as Anderson's *Diplomata* & *Numismata Scotiae*, and Snelting's valuable works are now but seldom to be met with. In an Appendix, the author hath selected abstracts from original records, and various acts of the Scottish legislature, relating to the coin.

Mr. Douglas hath published, during the present year, three Numbers of a Work called, "*Nenia Britannica*,"



Britannica, or an Account of some hundred Sepulchres of the Ancient Inhabitants of Britain," which the antiquary will consider to be valuable and important. These numbers are employed in the description of various instruments of war, domestic utensils, rings, gems, &c. found in several ancient tumuli, which have been opened by our author. Of these relics, and the tombs in which they were deposited, we have such accurate accounts, and plates etched by Mr. Douglas, as convey to us sufficiently distinct and just ideas of them. And many of the remarks which he hath suggested, are exceedingly curious and uncommon. We wait with pleasure, for the completion of this performance, which is intended to consist of twelve Numbers, on account of the advantages which it may afford us in illustrating historical records, and the manners of antiquity.

Of the same tendency with the article just mentioned, is the splendid and expensive work, in very large folio, with many fine plates, entitled "Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, applied to illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits, and Arts, at the different Periods from the Norman Conquest to the seventeenth Century, with introductory Observations." The present volume contains only the first part of the proposed plan, comprizing the four first centuries from the Norman conquest. Each century is illustrated by numerous plates of monuments, either of stone or brass, the greater part of which are executed by Mr. James Basire. To the publication of this work the author was excited by the much admired labours of Montfaucon, which, on a less extensive plan, it is intended to resemble. We should

be happy if we could indulge ourselves in the hope, that it would inspire other able antiquaries, to illustrate, on a similar scale, the other branches of our national antiquities. Such a work would be peculiarly proper in a country which can boast of the highest claims to excellence in the art of engraving; and, if engaged in with spirit, would certainly meet with the patronage of all men of science.

Captain Grose's "Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons, illustrated by Plates taken from the original Armour in the Tower of London, and other Arsenals, Museums, and Cabinets," is executed with the usual accuracy of that ingenious gentleman, and is an additional evidence of his extensive reading, and close study. The first part of his work is appropriated to defensive, the other to offensive arms. The descriptions which Mr. Grose hath given of these, are taken from the weapons themselves; his remarks relative to the etymology of their names, are curious and learned; and the historical accounts which he hath intermixed, will supply every class of readers with information and entertainment.

The "Military Antiquities respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the present Times," by the same author, do equal honour to his abilities, and will be peculiarly acceptable to gentlemen of his own profession. Of this work we have seen nine numbers, which have greatly raised our expectations of what are yet remaining to be published; more especially, as they will contain an account of the improvements in the art of war, and warlike instruments, which exist in the present times, and the gradual methods



thods by which they have been introduced.

"The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, by William Hutchinson, F. S. A. Vol. I." is a performance which does great credit to the industry and abilities of the author. This history commences at the time when the Romans were in possession of this district of Britain, and gives an account of the Druidical religion, the laws and manners of the Brigantes, and the introduction of Christianity; after which it is continued through the Saxon period, when the see of Lindisfarne was founded, which, afterwards, gave rise to that of Dunhelm, since called Durham, towards the close of the tenth century. To this history succeed the lives of the bishops of those sees, down to the accession of bishop Egerton, in the year 1771; and an account of the rights which they have claimed, in their double capacities of princes and barons. Mr. Hutchinson appears to have had access to a variety of valuable materials for his work, of a public and private nature, and the notes with which he hath illustrated them, are, many of them, curious and interesting. From the manner in which the present volume is executed, we may reasonably entertain great expectations of the next, which is to be devoted to the antiquities of the county palatine.

Mr. Alexander Campbell's Edition of "The History of Dover Castle, by the Rev. William Darell, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth," appears to be a faithful translation of the Latin original, which, to the lovers of antiquities, is a valuable publication. This work contains an account of that fortress from its

foundation by Julius Cæsar, until the reign of queen Elizabeth; and it is probable, that with respect to the facts which are related, the author enjoyed the best means of information, through the favour of his patron lord Cobham, who was the constable of that castle. This work is illustrated by ten views, and a plan of the castle, which are neat engravings.

Harrod's "Antiquities of Stamford, and St. Martin's," are compiled partly from the annals of the reverend Francis Peck, which are brought down no lower than the year 1461, and partly from other helps, which his own industry and the contributions of his friends supplied him with. The author is an intelligent and entertaining writer, and his work will be particularly acceptable in the neighbourhood where he resides.

Cordiner's "Remarkable Ruins and romantic Prospects in the North of Scotland, &c." are publishing in Numbers, of which seven only have come to our hands. Though his draughts and views do not discover a perfect acquaintance with the rules of perspective, yet they possess a considerable degree of merit; and we hope, that the public encouragement will enable him to complete his pleasing and curious publication. His subjects in natural history, and ancient monuments, appear to be accurately and faithfully delineated; and his language of description, if not always scientific, is sufficiently clear and intelligible.

In the number of books of Travels, those by the marquis de Chastellux, "in North America, in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782, translated from the French," though occasionally trifling and frivolous,



frivolous, are frequently spirited and entertaining. We may consider the author in the different capacities of a traveller, soldier, and natural historian. As a traveller, he gives us an account of every object which caught his eye, and of the numerous public and private characters to whom he was introduced during his stay on the continent. In this account we frequently meet with observations of importance on the state of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, the forms of their government, and the progress of the arts and sciences among them. But these are intermixed, at the same time, with details of uninteresting and trifling incidents, and the author's conversation with the innkeepers, their wives, their servants, &c. In his character as a soldier, the marquis delivers such reflections on the various dispositions of the armies, the situation of the camps, and the military operations, particularly the two great transactions at the Brandiwine and Saratoga, as leave us no room to doubt of his professional abilities, if we may be disposed to question the fairness and impartiality of his representations. As a natural historian, we find our author zealous in endeavouring to support the fanciful system of M. de Buffon. But when he is unconfined by the shackles of hypothesis, he is an intelligent as well as lively companion; and we are sometimes greatly entertained by his highly finished descriptions of the natural curiosities of the country. The translator, upon the whole, hath delivered the sense of his author with fidelity and elegance. The notes, however, which he hath added to his original, betray a glaring and unjustifiable partiality

towards the Americans, and such a rooted malignity and virulence against this country, as lead us to suspect his claim to the character which he assumes, of an English gentleman.

The marquis de Langle's "Sentimental Journey through Spain, &c." is an eccentric and lively performance, abounding in singular opinions and flashes of wit. We do not, indeed, meet with many judicious reflections on the state of Spain, or the manners of its inhabitants. The task of philosophic enquiry would have been an insupportable drudgery to a writer who wishes to recommend himself by continually saying brilliant things, and a peculiar originality of thought. To those who can be entertained by the productions of the Shandean school, the marquis will prove an amusing companion.

"A Trip to Holland," in two small volumes, is a performance which deserves to be rescued from the oblivion to which such works of the imagination are commonly consigned, and to be classed among sentimental travels and voyages. The present work, which is an attempt at the manner of Sterne, is one of the best imitations that we have seen of that humorous writer. Together with numerous and amusing eccentricities, the author presents us with several of the characteristic features of the Hollanders, delineated from the life; and the reader will receive more entertainment than he may probably expect from the observations on that phlegmatic people.

In giving our account of the Political Productions of the year, we shall endeavour to keep within the limits which we have been obliged



obliged to prescribe to ourselves under this head, and mention little more than the subjects discussed in them.

Among the publications on Indian Politics, we meet with "Memoirs relative to the State of India, by Warren Hastings, esq. late Governor General of Bengal." From the known abilities of the author, and his long administration of the affairs of the East, these Memoirs are rendered exceedingly interesting to the public. The accounts which he delivers of the actual state of Bengal at the time of his departure, are calculated to dispel the gloomy apprehensions which had been propagated in Europe, respecting the embarrassed state of the company's affairs. And the plan which he hath pointed out, as necessary to the future prosperity and existence of their Indian empire, hath been partly adopted by parliament, in their new arrangements, and the extensive powers granted to lord Cornwallis. How far Mr. Hastings displays the merit of his own government, and triumphs over his accusers, must be determined by another tribunal. In an appendix, is given "A Narrative of the Flight of Prince Jehander Shah, eldest Son of the Mogul Shah Allum, from his Father's Court at Dehly," written by the Prince in the Persian language, at the request of Mr. Hastings, and translated by captain Scott. The principal circumstances of this flight were mentioned in a letter from Mr. Hastings to the court of directors, which we noticed in our Register of last year.

The "Transactions in India, from the commencement of the French War in 1756, to the Conclusion of the late Peace in 1783," comprize the political events, re-

volutions, and treaties of alliance, which took place during a period of near thirty years. The manner in which they are related, convinces us, that the author is possessed of no mean abilities; and his reflections upon them are drawn up in animated and poignant language. But his conclusions would have had more weight, had the assertions on which they are founded, been more strongly supported by authorities. The evident design of this publication is to criminate the administration of Mr. Hastings.

With the same view was published "A Letter from Warren Hastings, Esq. with Remarks, and authentic Documents to support the Remarks," which drew forth "An Answer to the Anonymous Remarks, &c." both which pamphlets are written in the usual spirit of political disputation.

But the principal publications relative to the conduct of that gentleman, are those which exhibit the "Articles of Charge of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, against Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor-general of Bengal; presented to the House of Commons, on the 4th Day of April, 1786, by the Right Hon. Edmund Burke;" in four parts. In answer to these appeared "The Minutes of what was offered by Warren Hastings, Esq. at the Bar of the House of Commons, upon the Matter of the several Charges of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented against him in the year 1786." And, likewise, "Letters of Albanicus to the People of England, on the Partiality and Injustice of the Charges brought against Warren Hastings, Esq." As the merits of these several publications depend on the evidence of the facts to which they respectively appeal, it would be exceedingly



ceedingly unfair in us to give any opinion respecting them, while the validity of that evidence remains, as yet, undetermined by our highest court of judicature.

Mr. Brough, in his "Considerations on the Necessity of lowering the exorbitant Freight of Ships employed in the Service of the East-India-Company," proposes a plan, by which an annual saving may be made in this article of their expences, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. And that he may not be deemed a visionary projector, he offers, if the old ship-owners refuse to lower their present freights, to furnish the company with as many ships as their service can require, and to give the most ample security for the performance of his engagements. His plan is to employ ships of 500 or 600 tons, which, he contends, are better adapted to the Indian commerce, than the ships of 800 or 1000 tons, which are now used; or, if the company should persist in preferring the larger vessels, to fit them out in a manner that must necessarily secure the proposed saving, in the first instance, and gradually increase it to the amount of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds. Whether the whole of his plan be deemed politically right, or otherwise, Mr. Brough is undoubtedly entitled to the thanks of the proprietors, on account of his bold attempt to destroy a supposed injurious monopoly, and the reduction of freight which hath already taken place, in consequence of his proposal.

The author of "Considerations on the Freight and Shipping of the East India Company," takes up the cause of the old ship-owners, against the principle of Mr. Brough's proposal. He insists on the impos-

sibility of any saving being made in the article of freight, excepting on the ground of a total change of system; a change, at best infinitely hazardous, and which may prove ruinous to the strength and prosperity of the company. In support of his reasoning, he refers his readers to the issue of experiments, which have been tried by some of the ship-owners, and by the Company themselves.

"A Serious Address to the Proprietors of India Stock, and to all concerned in the Commercial Prosperity of Great Britain, &c." is likewise written with a view to prevent Mr. Brough's plan from being carried into execution. This author ridicules any idea of economy in the article of shipping employed by the company; and denies that the proposition of Mr. Brough can possibly produce the advantages which he promises: while he contends, that if any important saving can be effected, it must arise from building vessels of a larger size than those which are at present employed; which vessels may be so constructed, as to answer the purposes of ships of war of sixty guns.

"An Olio, as prepared on board an East Indiaman, &c." has the same object in view with the two last mentioned publications, and is not defective in shrewdness of argument, notwithstanding the whimsical style of the title page.

Mr. Baring, one of the directors of the East India company, published, in the beginning of the year, a pamphlet called "The Principle of the Commutation Act established by Facts," in which he lays before the public the progress of that plan, during the first year of its operation. From this account it appears, that the public gained,



gained, by lowering the duties, above two millions; the company above three hundred thousand pounds; and that a sum little short of two millions has been turned into the channel of the fair trader, which, otherwise, through the medium of the smugglers, would have been paid into the hands of foreigners. After mentioning these and other advantages which have followed the passing of that act, he concludes, that they "are of such magnitude and importance, as to satisfy every impartial person, of the beneficial consequences which must result from a general application of the same liberal principle to the duties still subsisting upon various branches of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain." Those who consider the situation in which Mr. Baring is placed, and his professional habits of calculation, will not dispute his qualifications to write on the subject before us.

The "Observations on the Commutation Project, by Thomas Bates Rous, Esq." are intended to shew that the scheme was unnecessary; that the reduction of the duties on tea would have been sufficient to have ruined the practice of smuggling, while the revenue would have been increased rather than injured; that the transfer of those duties to windows, is partial and oppressive; and that the project must be followed by the most pernicious consequences to this country. Mr. Rous is a sensible and ingenious speculator; and his pamphlet will be read with pleasure by those who may differ from him with respect to all his leading principles.

"The Commutation Act candidly considered in it's Principles and Operations, &c." by a Northumberland gentleman, was written

with the view of confuting the positions and reasonings of Mr. Baring. The grounds on which he opposes him are nearly similar with those occupied by Mr. Rous; but his observations are frequently more severe and declamatory, than liberal and conclusive. His arguments are sarcasm and irony.

"The Policy of the Tax upon Retailers considered; or, a Plea in favour of the Manufacturers," is the production of a sensible and well-informed writer, who insists on the unpopular opinion, that the public, instead of being injured, or oppressed, derives very considerable advantages from the Shop Tax. He hath collected the authorities of several political and commercial writers in support of the proposition, that in a populous and manufacturing country, retailers are an unproductive and detrimental class of men; and that regulations calculated to reduce their number, must tend to promote the national wealth and prosperity. There are few of his readers who will not agree with the author, that the number of shopkeepers throughout the kingdom is too great; but many of them will dispute with him on his idea of the operation of the tax, which they will consider as too speculative and hypothetical. Those who agree in opinion with this writer, will be highly pleased in being able to call to their aid such a powerful and ingenious advocate; while those who differ from him must own, that his arguments are deserving of respectful and deliberate attention.

Farmer Steady's "General Observations and Reflections on the Shop Tax, &c." contain plain, but sensible reasons to prove that it is partial and oppressive. But the proposition which he makes, to  
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convert that tax into a general house-tax, will not make him a popular author among the farmers. It will lead them to suspect, notwithstanding the name he assumes, that his personal interests are more nearly connected with the counter than the plough.

The author of "Considerations on the Attorney Tax; &c." after making use of a variety of just and forcible arguments to shew the partiality and absurdity of that tax, proposes, in the room of it, one more just in its principle, much more productive, and which may be collected without any additional expence. The plan which he offers is well worthy of the attention of the legislature; and to the change no liberal man of the profession will object, as it can only affect him in proportion to the extent of his business.

Of the few publications relating to Irish politics, which have been published during the present year, the most interesting that we have met with is "An Address to the Nobility and Gentry of the Church of Ireland, as by Law established; explaining the Causes of the Com-motions and Insurrections in the Southern Parts of this Kingdom, respecting Tythes, &c." This writer considers popery to be the root whence those insurrections sprung, and not any oppression or exaction on the side of the established clergy, or their proctors; and sounds the alarm to the friends of the establishment; the destruction of which, he says, is the object of those confederacies. He, therefore, warns them against condescending to "the most trifling compliances with the insolent factious demands and pretensions of a popish banditti, spirited up by agitating friars and

Romish missionaries, sent for the purpose of sowing sedition, as it would be as inconsistent with justice as with sound policy, and the safety of the state." Whether the representations of the author be just, respecting the causes of the disturbances in Ireland, and the views of their supposed projectors and abettors, we will not take upon ourselves to determine. But we have heard another tale; and shall probably have an opportunity, in a future volume, to refer our readers to such authentic documents and authorities, as will enable them to obtain satisfactory information on the subject.

The pamphlet called "The Present Politics of Ireland, &c." consists of three parts. The first is the very able letter of Mr. Hutchinson to his constituents at Corke, in which he justifies his conduct in voting for the bill relating to the commercial treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, by explaining the great and certain advantages which his country would receive from it. The second part is composed of the parliamentary debates in the Irish house of commons on the subject of that treaty, which have already been in the hands of our readers. In the third part we have Mr. Laffan's political arithmetic of the population, commerce, and manufactures of Ireland, with observations on the relative situation of Great Britain and that country; in which the author strenuously contests the principles of Mr. Orde's bill, as totally inconsistent with those fair terms of reciprocity of benefits, on which a treaty between the two kingdoms ought to be established. The editor of this collection, from his notes on Mr. Laffan's tract, ap-  
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appears to favour the side of the question which hath been taken by Mr. Hutchinson.

"A Candid Review of the most important Occurrences that took place in Ireland during the last three years, &c." is a well written publication, which describes the proceedings of the convention assembled in Dublin, in 1783 and 1784; the rise and progress of Mr. Orde's bill; the duke of Portland's reasons for opposing the twenty propositions sent from the commons to the lords of England; the proceedings of the Irish legislature on those propositions; Mr. Fox's ministerial character; the probable consequences of any proposition in the British parliament, tending to an union with the sister nation; and the present state of the press in Ireland. But though the author is a sensible writer, we do not engage ourselves to subscribe to the soundness of his political creed. And the members of the Irish convention, and those of the house of commons who opposed the commercial bill, will be disposed to refuse their testimony to the liberality and candour of this narrative.

Robinson's Treatise on "The dangerous Situation of England; or, an Address to the landed, trading, and funded Interests on the present State of Public Affairs," if it does not raise our opinion of the author as a profound politician, yet it engages us to give him credit for liberality and goodness of intention. To remedy or prevent the evils which we feel or apprehend, he proposes an equal representation of the commons in parliament, and that the kingdom of England and all its dependencies should have their ports open and free, without custom-house duties, drawbacks, or bounties, which he thinks would render this country the common

1786.

warehouse of the world. The revenues he would have raised by internal taxes and duties, and all monopolies and public companies totally abolished.

"The Letters of an Englishman; in which the Principles and Conduct of the Rockingham Party, when in Administration and Opposition, are impartially displayed," are the productions of a sensible and intelligent writer, and contain keen and severe strictures on the public conduct of the most distinguished leaders of that party, which are well calculated to excite pleasure or indignation in his readers, according to their political predilections.

Luson's "Inferior Politics," comprize several objects, which are arranged rather irregularly, but which have given him an opportunity of displaying marks of good sense, liberality, and benevolence. He principally employs himself in exposing the sources of the wretchedness and profligacy that prevail among the lower orders of people in this metropolis; and suggesting such remedies for these evils, as are worthy of public consideration. He also delivers some just remarks on the inconveniences, the absurdity, and the undistinguishing severity of our penal laws, and urges the necessity of attending more to the prevention than the punishment of crimes. An Appendix to this little work, contains a plan for the redemption of the national debt, which is very simple, and intelligible, but we have our doubts respecting its practicability.

The "Short Address to the Public, on the Pay of the British Army, by an Officer," is an able and pathetic appeal to the justice, humanity, and interests of the nation, respecting the various hardships under which the military labour,

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At the revolution, when the present pay of a soldier was fixed, it was equal to his necessities, and would furnish him with some of the conveniencies of life: but at present, in consequence of the great decrease of the value of money, it will not furnish him with one comfortable meal. And a subaltern officer's pay is equally inadequate to his necessary expences, exclusive of the appearances which he is obliged to keep up. From these considerations, he reasons judiciously and forcibly, on the equity and policy of granting them some relief, equal to the compensation which the other servants of the state have received, either by an increase of the salaries or the perquisites of their situations. The method which he proposes is, to cause a pound and a half of bread to be delivered gratis to every common soldier daily, and a trifling addition of pay to be made to the officers, which would not greatly increase the army expences.

The author of "An Address to the Right Honourable the First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, &c." warmly opposes the coppering of ships which are intended to lie in ordinary, as what tends to render them universally leaky, and mere coffins in which to bury the seamen who are sent out in them. He recommends also, the building of 74 gun ships, instead of those carrying only 64, and different methods for speedily manning 120 sail of the line. If the author wished that his advice should meet with attention, he hath taken a very extraordinary method to insure the approbation of the noble lord, in telling him that he is gloomy, inactive, and obstinate; undeserving of the honours by which he hath been graced, and

unfit to fill the place which he occupies.

Under the head of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature, we feel ourselves happy in congratulating the public on the abilities, and persevering industry of Dr. Woide, one of the librarians to the British Museum, who hath published a facsimile copy of the Alexandrian M S. of the New Testament. In a learned Introduction, the Editor, after mentioning the motives which induced him to engage in such a laborious work, gives, in different sections, a history of this MS.; an account of its present state and appearance; the arguments for its antiquity, in which the objections of Wetstein are particularly considered, and satisfactorily answered; its merits; a collation of a part of it with the best Italian copies; and an account of the circumstances attending the progress of this edition. Of this very valuable work we can only say, that it possesses every internal mark of fidelity; that the transcript made by Dr. Woide's own hand, was twice carefully collated with the original; that he hath preserved the exact proportions of the letters in the M S.; that he superintended the founding of the types; and that it hath undergone, not only his own critical and minute inspection, but that of Dr. Butler, the present bishop of Oxford, and Mr. Harper of the Museum. And with respect to the introductory sections we must acknowledge that they exhibit as striking proofs of Dr. Woide's erudition and judgment, as the completion of such a difficult undertaking does of his unwearied diligence. Such a work as the present, will be peculiarly acceptable to Christians of every age and nation, as it preserves a faithful image of the



the most authentic original of their sacred books; and it is no small honour to our own country, that it has met with encouragement and support from such a numerous list of subscribers.

The public is also much indebted to Dr. Morell, for his accurate and perspicuous Translation of "The Epistles of Lucius Annæus Seneca, &c." The excellence of these Epistles, in a moral view, hath always been justly acknowledged. And, notwithstanding that the systems of the moderns teach the subject of ethics more clearly and intelligibly, still the perusal of these ancient lessons of wisdom, will always be pleasing and useful, on account of the elegant and pointed manner in which they are delivered. And by no person could the translation of them have been undertaken with greater prosperity than by Dr. Morell, who was a veteran in classical learning, and by the bent of his studies, well qualified for the difficulties of such a task, and to preserve the peculiar manner of his original. The notes which accompany this translation are chiefly intended to render it more intelligible to the English reader. To this work is prefixed the life of Seneca, taken principally from Lipsius, and extracts relating to the character and writings of Seneca, from Tacitus, the Preface of sir Roger L'Estrange to the Translation of Seneca's Morals, and from a Letter of Lord Bolingbroke to Dr. Swift.

Polwhele's "Translation into English Verse, of the Idyllia, Epigrams, and Fragments, of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, with the Elegies of Tyrtæus," is recommended to us by the general ease and harmony of the versification, the fidelity and spirit with which

some of the best pieces of his originals are rendered, and the critical and learned observations which occur in the notes. Sometimes, indeed, his language is more refined than is consistent with the simplicity of pastoral poetry, or is warranted by his original. Considering, however, the great difficulty that must attend the translation of Theocritus, whose style is a mixture of elegance and clownishness, Mr. Polwhele is entitled to a considerable share of commendation.

"The Rape of Helen, from the Greek of Coluthus, with Miscellaneous Notes," is a translation of a work which, though not destitute of imagery and of striking expressive epithets, displays no great degree of merit. It was written during the sixth century, which was no favourable æra for poetic genius. With respect to the translation before us, we cannot speak in the highest terms either of its accuracy or harmony. The Notes, however, which accompany it, are proofs of the author's labour and ingenuity, and will be found useful in illustrating the original, which is evidently mutilated and corrupt.

"Delectus Sententiarum & Historiarum, in Usum Tironum accommodatus," deserves to be recommended, on account of the care with which the author hath selected his materials, from the purest classical writers, and from such as are of a good moral tendency.

Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley," form a very ingenious and valuable publication, which opens a new field to grammarians and lexicographers, and will prove of essential service to the interests of English literature. The leading position of his work, which he clearly and satisfactorily establishes



is, that particles or indeclinable words (as they have been called) such as conjunctions, prepositions, and adverbs, are the signs of other words: that they are merely abbreviations contrived for dispatch of language; and that the source of all the errors into which grammarians have been led, ariseth from considering them as the signs of ideas, or the signs of things. This work consists of ten chapters; the first of which is employed on the division or distribution of language, in which the author justly exposes the mistakes into which grammarians and philosophers have fallen, in endeavouring to enumerate the distinct parts of speech. The second contains some ingenious observations on Mr. Locke's Essay. The third chapter treats of the parts of speech, of which Mr. Tooke considers two sorts only to be necessary for the communication of our thoughts; nouns and verbs. The fourth and fifth chapters he devotes to the noun, the article, and interjection. The four following chapters, the substance of which appeared in a letter from the author to Mr. Dunning, in the year 1778, treat of the word *that*; of conjunctions; of the etymology of the English conjunctions; and of prepositions. The work concludes with a chapter on adverbs, which he calls the common sink and repository of all heterogeneous unknown corruptions. Through these chapters we have followed our sensible author with much pleasure and improvement; and have been witnesses of the decisive victories which he hath gained over grammarians and etymologists, to whom we had been accustomed to yield almost implicit submission. We could have wished, however, that he had been not quite so severe, upon their mis-

takes and errors. As Mr. H. Tooke calls the present treatise only Part I. we are in anxious expectation of being favoured with his farther researches into this curious and intricate subject.

Dr. Towers's "Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson," is principally devoted to a review of his literary character, and a criticism on his writings; on which account we have assigned it a place in this department of our register. And in this view, it will be allowed to contain many judicious, candid, and liberal remarks, on the genius, principles, and works of that extraordinary man. His prejudices and imperfections are treated with sufficient tenderness; and the astonishing vigour of his mind, and the excellences of his different productions, are displayed and commended, with a precision and warmth which do great credit to the abilities and impartiality of our essayist.

The "Essay on the Pre-eminence of the Comic Genius, &c." deserves to be rescued from the oblivion to which critiques on dramatic performances are commonly consigned, on account of the many sensible observations, and the marks of an elegant and just taste, by which it is distinguished: but with the competition in which the author places two of our actresses, who are deservedly favourites with the public, we have nothing to do.

Johnson and Steevens's Edition of "The Plays of William Shakspeare," hath undergone a third impression, revised and augmented by Mr Reed of Staples Inn. Of all the numerous commentaries on our immortal poet, which have been increased to a formidable number, but which have done credit to the

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industry and penetration of their authors, we cannot but consider this as the best. Besides judicious omissions, our present editor hath improved the work by valuable communications from sir William Blackstone, sir Joshua Reynolds, Messrs. Henley, Henderson, Monck Mason, Steevens, Tyrwhitt, and Malone; and by valuable observations and notes of his own, which are founded on a diligent perusal of the old writers, and a careful attention to the customs, manners, and language of the times in which Shakspear lived. To the enthusiastical admirers of our favourite bard,—and who is not an enthusiastical admirer of him?—these communications will prove an invaluable present. But we are sorry to observe, that the mechanical execution of this valuable work hath been so negligently performed. With respect to the paper, the type, and the typographical errors, a very blameable indifference hath been shewn. Of these imperfections we hope, that we shall have no reason to complain in that grand Edition which is announced to be printed from this copy, and to be adorned with the choicest productions of our most eminent artists.

Mr. Wheatley's "Remarks on some of the Characters of Shakspear," though imperfect and unfinished, contain sufficient evidences of the author's ingenuity and taste, and leave us to regret that his design was not completed. It was proposed by him, to trace the different appearances of the same passion, in the characters of Richard the Third and Macbeth, according to the different circumstances in which they were placed, and the different dispositions from which it received its direction. And as far as our author hath gone, he hath discover-

ed considerable critical penetration, and an intimate acquaintance with the human heart.

The author of "Macbeth reconsidered," differs in opinion from Mr. Wheatley, in his remarks on that "great bad man." He had attributed to him resolution, but not intrepidity. To this character the present writer thinks that he hath strong claims, as he is drawn in the representations of Shakspeare; and he supports his opinion with considerable ability.

During the present year there hath been published a new edition of "the Tatler, with Illustrations, and Notes, Historical, Biographical, and Critical." For the valuable improvements attending this edition, the public is indebted to the care and attention of Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore. These consist, principally, of anecdotes respecting the triumvirate of wits, Steel, Swift, and Addison, and the other less considerable persons who were writers in the Tatler, or whose characters were represented in it under fictitious names. But besides the entertainment which these will afford us, the present publication will be found exceedingly useful, on account of the literary information which abounds in the notes. We are surprised, however, that a work which possesses such evident marks of great labour and assiduity, should be left, in a material respect, more defective than the former editions, by the omission of an Index.

"Sylva, or The Wood; being a Collection of Anecdotes, Dissertations, Characters, Apophthegms, Original Letters, Bons Mots, and other little things," is a miscellaneous and unequal work; but which possesses very considerable merit, and by which we have been highly



entertained. The Author appears to be a person of just discernment, and much acquired knowledge; and many of his observations are evidently the result of experience and an acquaintance with the world. Sometimes indeed, his turns of thought are strange and peculiar; and his language is coarse and incorrect. And we think that he hath departed from the liberality by which his papers are generally distinguished, when he passes an indiscriminate censure on all who express their wishes for a reform of political and ecclesiastical abuses. But, on the whole, we may venture to recommend the *Wood*, as a collection of just and striking remarks, and curious quotations, which are calculated at once for amusement and instruction.

The *Poetical History* of the year, were we to mention every publication in verse, or rhyme, with which the press hath teemed, would comprehend a vast variety of articles. But we shall only give an account, in our usual compressed form, of such of them as have superior claims to our commendation or notice. In this number are the "Poems by Helen Maria Williams, in two vols." This work consists, partly, of a republication, with corrections and improvements, of some pieces which had obtained for our poetess a considerable share of reputation; and, partly, of some new pieces, which entitle her to rank among the most favoured children of the Muses. An *American Tale*; a *Hymn to Sensibility*; *Queen Mary's Complaint*; and *Euphelia*, an *Elegy*, are eminently pathetic and beautiful. But the part of an *Irregular Fragment* found in a dark passage in the Tower, is a most exquisite production; and shews how capable she is of rising

to dignified excellence, when she chooses to enter the regions of imagination and passion. This piece is founded on the idea of an apartment in the Tower, shut up for ages, in which are assembled the ghosts of all those persons whom history relates to have been murdered in that prison, and of a murdered royal family, whose story is lost in the lapse of time. We could not deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting our readers with the whole of this fragment, in our poetical department. From that they will perceive, that our commendation is not partial or exaggerated.

"*Florio*, and the *Bas Bleu*, two poems, by Hannah Moore," are distinguished by sensible observations, lively descriptions, and good-humoured satire. In the first poem, the effects of modern modes of education, and the sentiments and taste of young men of fashion, and affluent fortunes, are justly ridiculed and exposed; and ancient and modern love are admirably contrasted. The *Bas Bleu* contains a panegyric on the well known blue stocking society, in which we have a history of learned ladies, from the time of *Aspasia* to the present day; and meet with many brilliant passages, and entertaining remarks. Those who have received instruction from the useful moral poems which Miss Moore formerly published, will not be displeased at the opportunity of being agreeably amused by the same pen.

Mrs. Cowley's Poem called "*The Scottish Village, or Pitcairne Green*," owes its origin to the accidental perusal of a newspaper, in which were described the ceremonies lately used at *Pitcairne Green*, in Scotland, on marking out the boundaries of an extensive village, to be erected for the purpose



pose of introducing the Lancashire manufactures into that part of the kingdom. The account of this transaction suggested to the poets an opportunity of describing the beauties of rural innocence and simplicity which are supposed at present to prevail, contrasted against the refinements and artificial manners of polished life, which may gradually be introduced into that place. Our authoress is well known to the public, from a variety of productions, which have met with their approbation. And in the piece before us, the reader will frequently meet with pleasing imagery and sentiment. But we do not think, that Mrs. Cowley's excellencies are displayed to the best advantage, in poetical description.

Wakefield's edition of "The Poems of Mr. Gray, with Notes," is a work which exhibits the beauties of that author in a striking point of view; and abounds with many pertinent and judicious critical observations. The editor's remarks, particularly on Pindaric poetry, are excellent. The parallel passages, likewise, which he hath collected from ancient authors, discover an intimate acquaintance with the best classical writers, and are selected with taste and judgment. And in his grand object of defending his favourite poet against the animadversions and strictures of Dr. Johnson, we think that he hath fully succeeded: while we cannot but express our disapprobation of the unbecoming and violent language in which he censures the criticisms of that biographer.

Pinkerton's "Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print," form a very curious and entertaining collection, for which the public owe their thanks to that ingenious gentleman. These poems have been

selected, with great care, from the Maitland collection, in two vols., which were presented by the duke of Lauderdale to Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; who, at his death, bequeathed them, with other curious MSS., to Magdalen College, Cambridge. Of the authenticity of these poems there can be no doubt; and many of them possess an elegance of sentiment and expression, rarely to be met with in such ancient productions. Prefixed to them, we are presented with an Essay, by Mr. Pinkerton, on the Origin of Scottish Poetry; and a List of all the Scottish Poets, from Thomas Lermont, who flourished about the year 1270, to Alexander Ross, who was living in 1768. At the end of the second volume, we have many copious notes, and a glossary, explaining the obsolete words which occur in them. In the Essay, and the editor's remarks on the merits of the respective poets, he discovers a considerable degree of historical knowledge and hath prepared for his readers much information and entertainment. But he betrays, at the same time, too great a fondness for unnecessary digressions, that he may attack the fame and character of some of our best writers and books; and a weak, illiberal affectation of infidelity. When he confines himself to facts, he is ingenious and instructive; but when he deviates into the wilds of speculation, he forfeits the honour due to impartial and unprejudiced investigation.

Burns's "Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect," are the productions of a man in a low station in life, which he composed "to amuse himself with the little creations of his own fancy, amid the toil and fatigues of labour; to transcribe the



various feelings, the loves, the griefs, the hopes, the fears in his own breast." And many of them are elegant, simple, and pleasing. Those that are written in a more serious strain have much poetical merit; but the humorous and satirical pieces appear to have been most congenial to the author's feelings, and turn of mind. Such as are of the descriptive kind contain faithful and pleasing delineations of the simplicity of manners, and engaging scenes to be found in a country life. Upon the whole, we think that our rural bard is justly entitled to the patronage and encouragement which have been liberally extended towards him.

In Dr. "Fordyce's Poems," we meet with the same evidences of good sense, and knowledge of mankind, that appear in all his other writings. The sentiments are of an useful and moral tendency, and are conveyed in verse that is correct, easy, and perspicuous. But we cannot think that the Dr. is entitled to a very respectable rank among the sons of Parnassus. "Young Fancy flown away," he could not expect to arrive at excellence. He informs us, indeed, "that the utmost to which he pretends is, to exhibit his ideas in a shape, not too common nor familiar, yet neither forced nor extravagant, with the addition of some melody to please the ear, some description to strike the fancy, and some sentiment to affect the heart." And in attaining this object of his modest wishes he hath fully succeeded.

The "Ode to Superstition, &c." is a bold and spirited poem, in which the author hath collected several historical facts, illustrating the dominion and tyranny of that demon, and pictured the evils which

she hath occasioned, in language that is truly poetical and energetic. The smaller pieces, likewise, which accompany this Ode, are elegant and pleasing poems.

Thomas's "Poetical Epistle to a Curate," discovers marks of genius and cultivated taste; and will dispose the public to receive with considerable prepossessions any of the future productions of his Muse. His *Apostrophe to Retirement*, more especially, will be found highly poetical.

A new edition of Mr. Jermingham's "Poems," hath been published this year, in which several new pieces have been introduced by him, written in the same tender strain with most of his other productions.

Courtenay's "Poetical Review of the Literary and Moral Character of the late Dr. Johnson," is distinguished by some marks and traces of poetic fire; but on the whole, it is a heavy and uninteresting performance. To the merits of Johnson the author pays a proper respect: and in his peculiarities and weaknesses we concluded that he would have found ample scope for the exercise of his wit and pleasantry. But we must confess ourselves to have been greatly disappointed.

From Peter Pindar's prolific Muse we have received frequent entertainment during the present year. His "Farewell Odes for the year 1786," are, as usual, exceedingly severe on the royal Academicians, and contain several humorous stories, and laughable descriptions. In his "Poetical and Congratulatory Epistle to James Boswell, esq. on his Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," he is equally unsparing of his lashes on the journalist and his friend; and in his "Bozzi and Piozzi, or the British Biographers,"  
a Town



a Town Eclogue," his powers of ridicule have been called forth with uncommon success.

Among the other poetical productions of the year, some of which would deserve to be distinctly noticed, if our limits would admit of it, we find a second volume of "The Asylum for Fugitive Pieces;" Christian's "Progress of War;" "A Poetical Address to Edward Gibbon, Esq. occasioned by his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" "The Triumph of Benevolence;" Humphrey's "Poem on the Happiness of America;" "The Progress of Fashion;" "The Children of Thespis;" "The Mirror;" "The Patriad;" "The Vale of Innocence;" "An Epistle from Johnson's Ghost to his Four Friends;" "A Poetical Sketch of the Revolutions in our Planet;" Busby's "Age of Genius;" Walter's "Ode on the Immortality of the Soul;" Mr West's "Poems;" and "St. Peter's Lodge."

Of the Dramatic Publications, we shall, as usual, content ourselves with mentioning only the names. In Tragedy, Mr. Jodrell's "Persian Heroine," "The Captives," by Dr. Delap, and Mr. Boyce's "Harold," are the only ones upon the list. The Comedies have been more numerous; of these have appeared "I'll tell you What," by Mrs. Inchbald; "The School for Grey Beards," by Mrs. Cowley; "The Heiress," by General Burgoyne; "He would be a Soldier," by Mr. Pilon, and "The Baroness of Bruchsal," translated from the German of Mr. Lessing, the Shakespear of Germany. The Comic Operas and Farces were, Mr Cobb's "Strangers at Home," "The Peruvian," Mrs. Inchbald's

"Widow's Vow," and "The Fool," by Edward Topham, esq.

Under the head of Miscellaneous Publications, we meet with but a few articles of which it may be expected that we should take some notice. In this number is "The Miscellaneous Companion; by William Matthews; in 3 vols." The first of these volumes contains a Sentimental Tour through a part of South Wales, intermixed with thoughts on education, and thoughts on hunting, in which there appears much good sense and benevolence. The second volume consists of thoughts, maxims, and dissertations on useful and grave subjects, which, excepting when the author discovers his peculiar tenets as a Quaker, will be acceptable and edifying to most serious readers. The third volume is composed of similar papers, with the addition of three dialogues in the world of spirits; the first between Theophilus, Zelotes, and Purgatius; the second, between Henry the Eighth, and the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland; and the third between the apostle Paul and a Protestant Martyr.

The "Lucubrations; consisting of Essays, Reveries, &c. in Prose and Verse, by the late Peter of Pomfret," we will venture to recommend, as containing several valuable hints of instruction to readers of every class, and much innocent amusement. The poetical talents of the author do not, indeed, display much strength or brilliancy, but they are meritoriously employed in the service of virtue, and of religion.

Mrs. Trimmer's "Fabulous Histories, designed for the Instruction of Children, respecting their Treatment



ment of Animals," are admirably adapted to entertain and improve the minds of young children, and to excite in them a proper compassion and tenderness towards the brute creation. Sincerely do we wish, that the excellent principles and moral conclusions conveyed in this little work, could be communicated to readers of every age, and of every class in society.

To the same lady are we also indebted for "Easy Lessons for young Children," designed by her as a Supplement to her little Spelling Book for children, which appear to have been judiciously composed by our excellent preceptors.

"Pogonologia, or a Philosophical and Historical Essay on Beards," translated from the French, contains a curious history of "the capillary honours of the chin," and of the various fashions to which they have been subjected; in which many anecdotes are introduced, which cannot fail to entertain and divert the reader.

The "Address to the Clergy of every Denomination and Degree, &c." is written on the model of Swift's Advice to Servants, and contains much severity of satire, expressed with no small share of humour. In some instances, however, we highly disapprove of the application of our author's powers of ridicule, as he descends to obvious and illiberal personalities.

Among the Novels and Romances of the year, we must place "The Works of the Chevalier de Florian," and "Tales, Apologues, Anecdotes, &c." selected from the works of different French writers. Both these publications have been deservedly esteemed, on account of the beautiful simplicity and excellent moral tendency of the stories

they contain, from which may be derived considerable entertainment and instruction. Of the English Novels, "The Recess, or the Tale of other Times," by Miss Lee, "Caroline of Litchfield," and "The Rambles of Fancy" by the author of the History of the Six Princesses of Babylon, have met with a very favourable reception from the public. — Of the following we have only read the names. "The Rochfords;" "Rajah Khifna;" "Edwin and Anna;" "Theodosius and Arabella;" "Elfrida;" "Emily Herbert;" "Henry and Acasto;" "The Convent;" "The Tour of Valentine;" "Zoraida;" "The History of Charles Frankland;" "The Cacicque of Ontario;" "Arpasia;" "The Innocent Rivals;" "The Kentish Curate;" "The Minor;" and "Olivia."

We shall conclude our account of Domestic Literature, with bringing into one short view, the publications which have appeared respecting the slave trade, and the situation and treatment of the negroes in our West India plantations.

And the first that we shall mention is Mr. Clarkson's "Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African, translated from a Latin Dissertation which was honoured with the first Prize in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785; with Additions." This ingenious performance is divided by the author into three parts. In the first, he gives a concise and learned history of slavery, ancient and modern; and describes, in animated and pathetic language, the cruelties and barbarities perpetrated at the instigation of the Europeans, in order to collect a sufficient number of wretches to supply their markets.



kets. In the second part, the author offers satisfactory reasons to prove the iniquity and injustice of such a commerce, from the natural rights of mankind, and the end and intention of government. In the third part of this Essay, he gives an account of the situation of the unfortunate Africans from the moment of their embarkation for the West Indies ; of their treatment on board the ships ; of the numbers that perish in the voyage, and before they are seasoned to their labour ; of the hardships they undergo, and the excessive severity with which they are treated. These accounts are succeeded by a rational and manly confutation of the arguments brought by the purchasers of the negroes, in vindication of their conduct. Having, on a former occasion, delivered our free sentiments on the subject which engages the attention of Mr. Clarkson, we have only to express our warm approbation of his sensible and dispassionate performance ; and to recommend the frequent perusal of it to those who are disposed to offer any pleas in favour of the barbarous and wicked traffic of the human species.

The same subject hath again employed the pen of Mr. Ramsay, who hath published "A Letter from Captain J. S. Smith, to Mr. Hill," which confirms the account which that gentleman had formerly given

of the cruelties exercised on the negroes, by the testimony of an eye-witness. To this letter Mr. Ramsay hath added a farther vindication of himself, from the attacks of his adversaries, and some ingenious and judicious remarks on free negroes.

Mr. Gordon Turnbull, the author of "An Apology for Negro-Slavery, &c." labours with much ingenuity, in endeavouring to prove, that the practice which he wishes to palliate and defend, is founded in good policy, and is productive of considerable national benefits. But the principal part of his pamphlet is employed in vindicating the West India planters from the charges of inhumanity, which had been brought against them, in the representations of Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Clarkson. These, he contend, are founded on ignorance, or malice ; and boldly appeals against them to facts, and authentic testimony. We should be happy if we had perfect conviction, that the general condition of the negroes were as easy, and the universal treatment of them as humane, as this apology would represent. But that conviction could not alter our ideas of the injustice and impiety of a practice, which, in its most lenient forms, we must ever reprobate and detest, as men and as Britons.



## FOREIGN LITERATURE,

Of the Year 1786.

**I**N giving our short and imperfect account of Foreign Literature, we have another opportunity of announcing to the public, two of the literary productions of Catherine the Second, empress of the Russias. Of these the subjects only have been transmitted to us, which are, "The Nobility of the Russian Empire," and "The Citizens." From these subjects it is most probable, that they are intended for a part of the materials for a Russian history, which are collecting under the auspices of her imperial majesty. And from the zealous, minute attention which this princess pays to every circumstance that can contribute to the diffusion of knowledge among her subjects, we may expect to find considerable light thrown, by these disquisitions, on the political character and importance of those different classes in her empire. The example of that princess in turning her attention to objects of literature and science, hath been followed by several among her courtiers, and by some of her own sex. The princess Dashkew, a lady of the bed-chamber, and adorned with the order of St. Catherine, hath entered so warmly into the spirit and views of her mistress, that she hath been appointed principal, or directress of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg. And it doth not appear, from the information we

have received, that she hath been preferred to this situation as an honorary distinction, or a compliment to the sex of her royal patroness, but as the just reward of literary merit. This princess devotes particular attention, at present, to the production of a grand Etymological and Critical Dictionary of the Russian language, of which a part hath already been presented to the world. Among other things, she hath lately gratified the Academy with "A Definition of Virtue," which is spoken of with the highest applause, and is intended to form an article in their Literary Communications.—Monsr. Pallas, an eminent member of the Imperial Academy at Petersburg, hath also announced, in "An Advertisement addressed to the Public," a vast and arduous design, conceived by the empress of Russia, and undertaken by her order; which is, the publication of an "Universal and Comparative Glossary of all Languages." This grand plan, for facilitating the progress of science, is already begun, by enquiries into the numerous languages and idioms of the Russian empire.—Dr. Hedwig, hath also published, at Petersburg, an admirable botanical treatise on the "Theory of the Generation and Fructification of the Plants belonging to the Class Cryptogamia of Linnæus, entirely founded on the Obser-



Observation and Experiments of the Author." It is impossible for us to give a distinct idea of the experiments related in this scientific work. They appear, however, to have been performed by the author with the utmost patience, ingenuity, and success; and from the result of them, we may safely predict, that he will derive great and lasting reputation. But it is to be wished, that, in his future publications, Dr. Hedwig will pay more attention to his style, and endeavour to render it accurate and intelligible.

In Sweden, Dr. Thunberg, the successor of Linnæus, hath prepared us to expect from him a valuable publication on Japan and its inhabitants, by a specimen which he hath given in his "Speech, concerning the Japanese, delivered before the Royal Academy of Sciences, when he resigned the office of president. Our author enjoyed uncommon advantages for obtaining information from his appointment to the situation of physician to the Dutch factory in Japan, and the introduction which his professional skill gave him to an intimate acquaintance with the natives. And how well those advantages were improved by him, the public have already been enabled to determine, from his *Flora Japonica*, and other papers in the Swedish transactions. We recommend the present publication, as containing the best general account which we have seen of the dispositions, manners, dress, houses, public buildings, agriculture, manufactures, chronology, literature, and religion of the Japanese.—Dr. Faxe, physician to the admiralty of Carlscroon, hath announced to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, an invention of what he calls "Stone-pasteboard." The purposes to which this invention

may be advantageously applied are, to cover houses, as it is light and solid, and not liable to be affected by the air; to line them within and without, in order to preserve them from fire and moisture; for ornaments, since this paper may be cast into figures; to preserve powder in arsenals, and on ship-board; to line the ships, and wooden piers in harbours, to preserve them from worms; and to line the shoes of soldiers, who are obliged to march in rain. From the report of the commissioners, who were appointed to examine the properties of this substance, it appears, that Dr. Faxe's discovery, is deserving of every merit which he claims for it; and that it is applicable to a variety of important uses, besides those which have been already mentioned.—Mr. Skeele hath likewise distinguished himself by curious "Experiments on the Earth of Rhubarb," and his accurate analyses of other vegetable substances.

Of the few literary productions which have appeared in Denmark, the most important which we have to announce is, Mr. Thorkelin's "*Diplomatarium Arna-Magnæanum, &c.*" or a collection of charters, and other writs, relating to Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, from the valuable legacy of Arnas Magnæus to the university of Copenhagen. Of this grand and expensive work, two volumes are already published, which contain the Danish and Norwegian Charters, from 1085, to 1299, with plates of seals, and chronological tables of the writings. It is impossible to bestow too much praise on Mr. Thorkelin, for the great industry and accuracy with which he hath edited these volumes, which must prove of such vast utility in illustrating the History of the Danish dominions.



And we are happy to learn, from some of our public prints, that the same indefatigable antiquary intends to publish, in the Islandic original, with a literal English version, an History of the Kingdom of Northumberland, from the eighth century to the tenth, when it was finally subjected to the English crown; a period, of which our best accounts are exceedingly confused and perplexed.—Mr. Langebek hath also published “A Collection of the Writers of Danish History, who lived in the Middle Ages; one part of which is now published for the first time, and the other re-published more correctly, and enriched with Notes.” This collection, which is principally written in Latin, contains the productions of national and foreign writers, relative to the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, their chronicles and history, their monarchs, illustrious men, and topography.—From Mr. Johnstone, chaplain to his Britannic majesty’s envoy at the Court of Denmark, we have been favoured with “The Norwegian Account of Haco’s Expedition against Scotland, A. D. 1263, now first published in the original Islandic, from the Flateyan and Frisian M.S.S. with a literal English Version and Notes.” To the same Gentleman we are indebted for the “*Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*,” abridged by Camden, and now first published complete, from the original M. S. in the British Museum;” and “*Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ*,” all of which works have been printed at Copenhagen. These performances have been compiled by the author from original records, and various historical writers of credit, and will be an acceptable present to the historian and antiquary, as they tend to throw considerable light on some

of the darkest periods in the history of Britain, and preserve curious specimens of the Poetry and Language of Northern Europe, about the tenth and twelfth centuries.—At Kiel, M. Ehlers, professor of law, hath published “Advice to good Princes, to those who are charged with the Education of Princes, and to the Friends of the People.” The Advice is contained in five Dissertations. The first is on the curious question, How far it is adviseable to carry the instruction of the people, and in what respects their being well informed is useful and expedient? The remaining dissertations are on the disadvantages which may arise to any state, from inconsiderate regulations with respect to toleration; on the methods most proper to prevent the introduction of such religious opinions, as may be pernicious to the well-being of a state; and on the principles and maxims that ought to determine the degrees of toleration, that may be granted to societies, distinguished by the denomination of Religious Orders.—The subjects of these dissertations are discussed by our learned and ingenious author with great ability and shrewdness; but we cannot subscribe to his doctrine respecting the expediency of insisting on Confessions of faith, to be adopted by persons of all communions who settle in any country; and the limits which he prescribes to toleration, are inconsistent with our ideas of natural liberty.

In the United Provinces, Teyler’s Theological Society at Haarlem, have published the fourth and fifth volumes of “Prize Dissertations relative to natural and revealed Religion.” The subject of the dissertations in the fourth vol. is this: What were the opinions of the ancient philosophers, from Thales and Pythagoras to



to Seneca, concerning the Life and the State of the Soul after the Death of the Body? The first prize was decreed to Dr. Wyttenbach, Professor of Greek, Belles Lettres, and Belgic History, in the academical school of Amsterdam. And the knowledge and abilities discovered in his very sensible and ingenious performance, fully justified those appointed to decide on the merits of the respective pieces, in adjudging that reward of excellence to the worthy professor. Nor are the other dissertations in this volume destitute of considerable merit. They discover a great acquaintance with ancient literature, and contain many excellent observations, which justly entitle the authors of them to the honours which they have received. The first of these is written by M. Jeronymo de Bosch, first clerk to the secretaries of Amsterdam; the last by an anonymous author.—The subject discussed in the fifth volume is, an Enquiry into the State of Christendom; particularly in the Eastern Church about the time of Mahomet; and whether this did not greatly contribute to the rapid propagation of his religion. On this subject four dissertations are published. The first by Mr. Michael Pap Szathmari, professor of divinity and ecclesiastical history, in the protestant college at Clausenburg in Transylvania, is not distinguished by any striking evidences of judgment or liberality. The second dissertation, which we think possesses superior merit to the first, is the production of the sensible and well-informed M. Jeronymo de Bosch; who would stand still higher in the estimation of literary men, if he were more attentive to order and precision in his compositions. The third dissertation is by the Rev. M. P. A. C. Hugenholtz, minister

at Yffelstein, which, though short, is sensible and well written, and contains just and liberal views of the subject. The last dissertation, by M. Valentine Slothouwer, head master of the grammar school at Leeuwaarden, is a clear, methodical, and masterly performance, which shews the author to be possessed of much historical information, and an intimate acquaintance with the human heart.—The second and third volumes of “Transactions of a Physical and Medical Society at the Hague,” are each of them divided into two parts, the former containing meteorological, and the other medical observations made in various parts of the United Provinces. In the first part also, we meet with some curious remarks concerning the influence of the moon on the weather, and repeated trials of the prognostics of Mr. Sennebier, and professor Toaldo, which have generally proved favourable to them. The Medical Observations containing accounts, by different physicians and surgeons, of the diseases which occurred in different cities and districts during the years 1780 and 1781, many of which are drawn up with great judgment and perspicuity, and will be found particularly useful to practitioners who live in low and marshy situations.

“Positiones Physicæ, or a Syllabus of a Course of Lectures in Natural Philosophy, by J. H. Van Swinden, Professor of Philosophy, Mathematics, and Astronomy in the Academical School, Amsterdam, vol. I.” is a laborious and useful work, in which each branch in the science of natural philosophy is explained with sufficient minuteness, and the late discoveries are regularly inserted, so as to render it, as far as the author hath gone, a complete system of physics. To this work are prefixed two Introductions; the one



one mathematical, containing a selection of theorems with which the student ought to be well acquainted; and the other philosophical, relating to the study of physics in general, the objects and extent of this science, and the methods and rules of philosophizing.

Dr. Martinus Van Marum hath published at Haarlem, "A Continuation of Experiments performed with the Electrical Machine in Teyler's Museum." The design of several of these experiments is to prove, that the supposed analogy between the electrical fluid and fire, is founded only in hypothesis, and not supported by accurate observation. In making these experiments several curious phenomena presented themselves, favourable to the theory of Mr. Lavoisier, respecting the calcination of metals, which were particularly examined by the Dr. and confirmed him in his attachment to the opinion of that philosopher. These experiments were followed by several others made on different kinds of air; and on balloons filled with inflammable air, by which he hath illustrated some phenomena observed in thunder storms; such as a sudden elevation of the clouds, and the violent showers of rain and hail which often accompany them. This work is rendered exceedingly interesting to the electrician, by the largeness of the scale on which the experiments have been made, and by the well-known abilities and accuracy of Dr. Van Marum.—At Amsterdam, proposals have been printed "for publishing a Dutch Cyclopædia, or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, by a Society of learned Men." This work, in the execution of which the abilities of several of the most eminent literary characters in the Seven Provinces are to be combined, is to be published

by subscription, and is intended to consist of forty quarto volumes of letter press, accompanied by several volumes of engravings.

With respect to German Literature, our account of it will not be found so various and interesting as on some former occasions, since the list of books which have come within our knowledge is, comparatively, but small, and particularly defective in theological, biblical, and critical productions.—An anonymous author, at Breslaw, hath published a work "On the Nature and Progress of Science, of Writing, and of Sacred Language among the first Inhabitants of the World; or an Explanation of the Fables and obscure Traditions concerning Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, designed to illustrate several important Symbols, and mysterious Doctrines both of ancient and modern Times." This work is rather to be admired for the great labour and industry which it displays than for its utility; for the author's ingenuity in the adaptation of his symbolical representations, than for the satisfaction which he affords his readers respecting the origin of the fabulous histories which he undertakes to explain. The philologist, however, will be gratified in perusing his critical observations on the cabalistic fables. Van Bergen's "Critical Observations and Emendations of Ovid, Lucan, Phædrus, Terence, Cicero, Cor. Nepos, and Q. Curtius," convince us that the author is a learned and ingenious commentator; and that, in many instances, his proposed alterations will be useful to our attaining a more perfect acquaintance with the spirit and meaning of the original. But they are sometimes too fanciful, and inconsistent with the rules of sound criticism.—

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For Frieseman's edition of "The Geography of Rufus Festus Avienus, with the Notes of various Commentators," we can see no good reason, as its value is superseded by more perfect and accurate modern performances.—Professor Dittmar's "Observations on the Country of the Chaldeans," published at Berlin, compose a curious and interesting treatise, which deserves to be recommended to the attention of our readers. And when we consider that it is only a specimen of a larger work relating to the geography of ancient Asia, we are led, from the manner in which it is executed, to form very high expectations of the information and pleasure which we shall receive from the completion of our author's labours.—At Stendal, M. Gerken hath published an useful geographical work, called "Voyages in Suabia, Bavaria, Switzerland, Franconia, and the Provinces of the Rhine and Moselle, Part second." This intelligent author hath paid particular attention in correcting mistakes which have been committed by some of the best German writers: and as the countries which he describes, are so imperfectly known, a translation of his work into our own language, would prove a valuable addition to our stock of geographical knowledge.—M. de Baezko's "Manual of the History and Geography of Prussia," is deserving of public patronage, not only from its excellence and accuracy, but from the peculiar situation of the author, who hath been a cripple from his birth, and, who at the age of twenty-one became totally blind; but whose extraordinary merits under these discouraging circumstances, have rendered him a worthy object of the support and countenance of the literary world.—At Gottingen,

1786.

professor Kaestner hath published "Commentaries on the Optics of Boerhaave and Haller." The intention of the professor is, to contest a passage in one of Boerhaave's works, in which he says, that in fixing the eye on any object, we perceive only a very small physical point, directly in the axis; and that other points are only seen when we change the direction of the eye. His observations on Haller are confined to the explanation of an intricate passage in his physiology, where he speaks of concave glasses used by near-sighted persons. In these Commentaries he reasons on just mathematical principles, and deserves the attention of the disciples of those illustrious masters.—The "New Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Berlin, for the Year 1783," include, as usual, the history of the academy for that year, in which we meet with curious extracts from the correspondence of several learned men, on the subjects of astronomy, meteorology, and medicine. The memoirs themselves relate to experimental philosophy, mathematics, speculative philosophy, and belles lettres. Under the head of experimental philosophy, the most valuable memoirs are those of Mr. Achard, in one of which he gives an account of a series of laborious experiments confirming his objections to the hypothesis of Mr. Cavendish, concerning the composition of water, which hath been supported by M. Lavoisier. An enquiry, by M. Cothenius, into "The Nature and Qualities of the Red Quinquina," the superior virtues of which he zealously maintains; and a long and interesting treatise, by M. Gerhard, on "A New Manner of manufacturing Glass." Of the mathematical papers, those by M.

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de la Grange are the most considerable and important. Under the head of Speculative Philosophy, we meet with but few papers, and those not very interesting. But the department assigned to belles lettres is peculiarly enriched, by the baron de Hertzberg's observations "On the Population of States in general, and that of the Prussian Dominions in particular," of which we have given an account in our History of Domestic Literature; by an entertaining and instructive piece of biography "Concerning I. A. de Thou, by M. Wagnelin;" and by a learned and ingenious Memoir "On the Causes of the Diversity of Languages, by the abbé Denina."—Dr. Walter's well known skill in anatomy and physiology, render it proper that we should mention, in this place, his "Annotationes Academicæ," published at Berlin, which deserve the thanks of his medical readers, on account of the labour and ingenuity which he hath displayed in his Treatise on the Uterine Polypi, and the Liver and Gall-bladder.—The volume on the Elements of Chemistry, considered in its Relation and Application to the useful Arts, by M. G. Ad. Suckow, Leipzig," is a commendable attempt to render the sciences applicable to the uses and wants of life, by enabling artists and tradesmen to conduct their operations upon scientific and solid principles.—At Leipzig also have been published several numbers of a periodical work, called "Chemical Annals, dedicated to the Lovers of Natural History, Medicine, Domestic Economy, Manufactures, &c." under the direction of Dr. Crell, which is a very respectable publication, and promises to contribute largely to the improvement and diffusion of chemical knowledge.—

Mr. Cramer, professor of mathematics in the ducal college of Hildesheim, hath published, at Bremen, "A Treatise concerning the Origin of the Aurora Borealis, or northern Lights;" the cause of which he considers to be phlogiston, collected about the pole; an hypothesis which he supports with much plausibility.—Fr. M. H. de Trebra hath likewise published, at Dessau and Leipzig, a pleasing and ingenious work, called "Observations on the interior and exterior Structure of Mountains," which contains a variety of excellent remarks on this branch of natural history, illustrated by several beautiful and costly plates.—We shall conclude our article of German literature, by announcing to the adepts in anatomical studies, "The Secrets of Nature revealed, with respect to the Work of Generation, and the Method of accomplishing the Desire of the Parents with respect to the Sex of their offspring," by M. John Christian Hencke, organist of the church of Hildesheim; which is a scientific performance, supported by the literati of Germany, and abounding in curious, if not in well established observations.

In Switzerland, Natural History hath received considerable improvements from Dr. Girtanner's "Observations on the Mountains of Switzerland;" which include many ingenious remarks on the Tourmalin, which he found there in great perfection; on the draba pyreniaca of Linnæus, which the observant Haller was unacquainted with, as the product of the Swiss mountains; and on the marmotte or mus alpinus, and the bouquetin of Buffon.—M. Bourrit hath, likewise, published at Geneva, a third volume of his "New Description of the Glaciers or Ice Mountains and Val-  
lies



lies of Savoy, &c." In this volume the author gives a most magnificent view of these tremendous mountains, which he describes with philosophical accuracy and precision; while the various situations in which he appears in his dangerous and fatiguing excursions, render his publication peculiarly interesting. To these descriptions he hath added an account of a road recently discovered by which future naturalists may ascend the mountains with greater ease and safety.—“The Literary History of Geneva, by the Rev. M. John Sennebier, in three volumes,” is a publication that will be very acceptable and entertaining to the scholar, and to the philosopher. The whole work is divided into four books. In the first, the author carries down the literary history of Geneva from its origin, which he dates about the middle of the fourth century, to the conclusion of the sixteenth. In the second, he brings it down from that period to the Reformation; an æra distinguished by a vast number of learned and eminent men, by useful discoveries, and great improvements in general knowledge. The third book is chiefly employed on an historical portrait of John Calvin, whose virtues and faults are fairly and equitably appreciated; and on interesting particulars respecting Beza, the Stephens’s, and other eminent men. The fourth book gives an account of many learned men still alive, or lately deceased, whose character and writings do honour to Geneva. With this admirable work are connected two essays, one “On the Utility which the Inhabitants of a Country may derive from the Knowledge of its Literary History;” the other “On the Influence of Letters on Religion, Commerce, Arts, and Manners, especially in Geneva,”

which do great credit to the judgment and taste of the learned author, and are deserving of the attention of men of letters in every country.

It is with great pleasure that we are able to announce, in the beginning of our catalogue of Italian Literature, a second volume of M. Rossi’s “Various Readings of the Old Testament, drawn from a great number of M.S.S. and Versions, &c.”, and our hopes of seeing this important work soon brought to a conclusion. This volume contains the Books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. — Biblical learning in this country hath also derived considerable acquisitions from a laborious “Commentary on the unpublished Greek Commentaries of Gazeus, on the Heptateuch and Canticles, by J. Christ. Gottlieb Ernesti;” and from “Dahler’s Animadversions on the Proverbs of Solomon, from the tenth to the twenty-fourth chapter,” according to the Greek Version, lately published at Venice.—Nor ought we to omit mentioning in this place, the “Fasciculi of Fragments, from the Remains of the Egyptian Books in the Collection of Signior Nani,” many of which contain curious specimens of the Thebaic and Sædic languages, from which may be derived many considerable advantages in the study of sacred philology.—The Pleasures of the learned Tuscans, of which we took notice on a former occasion, suggested to F. Fontani, keeper of the Riccardi Library, the design of forming “A New Collection of the Pleasures of the Learned,” consisting of anecdotes and treatises, drawn from the treasures of antiquity, to be elucidated by notes, and a commentary. The first article contains a Dissertation on Photius the Patri-



arch of Constantinople, about the end of the ninth century, and his writings; in which several questions on ecclesiastical subjects are discussed. This is followed by four Epistles of Michael Glicas, a Silician annalist, who probably flourished in the thirteenth century.—In Natural Philosophy, the following work is much applauded, and strongly recommended by good judges: “General and particular Views of Natural Philosophy, in several Essays, by Father Carlo Barietti, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Padua, in four volumes.” The first of these volumes contains an Analytical Essay on Heat; the second, the Principles of Meteorology; the third, the Principles of Aerology and Optics; the fourth, preliminary Discourses on general Physics: and two Lectures on the same subject, which is to be continued in future volumes.—F. Scipio Brieslai’s “Mineralogical Observations, &c.” contain an accurate account of the fossils, minerals, and other natural curiosities, in those of the Pope’s territories, which lie between the Apennines and the Mediterranean. This beautiful part of Italy has been explored by our learned author, with a curious and philosophical eye; who concludes, from the number of volcanic productions found in every part of it, from the structure, situation, and strata of the hills and rising grounds, that the whole was formerly covered by the sea, and elevated above it by the efforts of submarine volcanos.—The “Philosophical Theses concerning the Nature of Fire, by Count Charles Resta, Patrician of Milan,” derive their principal merit, from the author’s judicious arrangement of materials for a complete Treatise on that Element, in his reasonings on the experiments which have been

made by Priestley, Black, Crawford, Bergman, &c.—The abbé Fontana in “A Letter to the Chevalier de Lorgna,” gives an account of several experiments which he had made, with the utmost care and accuracy, relative to the decomposition of water. The result of them has been a conviction, that Mr. Cavendish and Mr. Lavoisier, have been mistaken in their conclusions; that the water in passing through heated iron tubes, does not undergo any decomposition; and that the addition of weight gained by the tubes, arises from the water lost in the experiment, which has entered into the substance of the iron, and not, as was supposed, from dephlogisticated air. This question remains yet undecided; and since the accuracy of Mr. Cavendish’s experiments, and his reasonings from them have been disputed, a number of combatants have entered the field, among whom we find the respectable names of Messrs. Giorgi and Ciogni of Florence, M. de la Metherie, M. Adet, M. Meunier, and M. Berthollet.—The abbé Fortis, hath published at Vicenza, “A Memoir concerning the Bones of Elephants and other Natural Curiosities found in the Mountains of Verona,” which will be an acceptable and entertaining paper to the fossilologist.—The “Physiological Letters” of Dr. Rosa, President of the College of Physicians at Modena, afford us additional testimony of the application and abilities of that learned character. They contain accurate accounts of several of his experiments, and the results of his attentive observations, which tend to throw considerable light on that useful science.—Professor Mascagni of Sienna, hath published “A Prospectus of a Work of Lymphatics, illustrated by three plates,” which



which is evidently the production of an intelligent and industrious anatomist. The present specimen therefore, will, we hope, be favourably received by the profession, that the author may be encouraged to lay before them the remaining fruits of his attentive studies.—At Rome, M. Fulgoni hath suggested “A new method of Treating certain Disorders under Chirurgical Inspection, in four Dissertations.” The first of these Dissertations treats of aneurisms in the lower extremities; the second, of the fracture of the collar-bone; the third, of the fracture of the knee-pan; the fourth, of the use of camphor in the cure of external wounds. To these Dissertations, are prefixed several just critical reflections on chirurgical practice, and historical accounts of several learned practitioners. We rejoice to find learned men in all countries, breaking loose from the shackles of authority and long confined practice, and zealously contributing their labours towards a rational and philosophical improvement of this necessary art.—Dr. Baldini’s “Observations on the Medical Uses of the Lizard,” prescribe an extraordinary and disgusting remedy for obstinate cancerous, venereal, and scorbutic complaints; the eating of lizards, from which the head and tail have been cut off, and the entrails taken out, raw and warm. Without declaring an implicit faith in the effects of such a remedy, we think, that the serious manner in which it is recommended by the Neapolitan and Spanish physicians, and the effect of their reports on the Royal Society of Medicine at Paris, will not justify us in declaring ourselves quite incredulous; and that they will warrant professional men in giving it a fair trial.—“The Historical and Critical Treatise con-

cerning the Epidemical Disorder among the Horned Cattle, in the year 1784,” by Dr. M. Zeno Bongiovanni of Verona, contains an account of several experiments made by him and other physicians, to dispel the alarming apprehensions which had been entertained, respecting the dangerous consequences that might arise from slaughtering cattle for food, which had caught the contagion. These experiments are related with order and perspicuity; and satisfactorily prove, that no fatal effects can possibly follow from receiving into the stomach, the most infected fluids of such animals.—“The Eulogy of the celebrated Abbé Frizi, delivered at a public meeting of the Arcadian Academy, by F. Jacquier,” is a just and impartial tribute of respect to the memory of one of the most eminent mathematicians of the present age. His vast genius and extensive knowledge are fairly appreciated, and the panegyric on his merit is drawn with the warmth of genuine friendship; while his failings are censured with proper and becoming freedom. To this learned and pleasing piece of biography, is added an account of the Manfredis and other eminent Italian mathematicians, who were connected with the subject of this eulogy.—The object of Dr. M. Theodore Kiriatti, in his “Historical Memoir concerning Cerignola,” is to prove, that it is the Gerionum of the ancients, which was founded by the Ausonians; and to point out the present state of Apulia, with respect to population, agriculture, commerce, industry, towns, and public buildings, compared with the flourishing state in which it was when Hannibal made himself master of it. This part of his work will be interesting to the historian and the anti-



antiquary; as well as his account of the natural history of the country, and the experiments which he made to explode the absurd fable respecting the venom of the tarantula.—The Treatise by Count J. B. Gherard D'Archo, "Concerning the Country in which the Arts of Design and Painting were first cultivated," is a learned and elegant work, which will be equally instructive and entertaining to the antiquary and to the artist. The grand object of our author is, to maintain, in opposition to ancient tradition, and the opinions of most learned moderns who have written on the subject, that the fine arts took their rise in Italy, among the Hetrurians; who transplanted them into Greece, and assisted them in their progressive improvements in that country. In pursuing this object through his first two chapters, the count discovers a vast profusion of real and extensive learning; and a skill and dexterity in repelling the attacks of his adversaries, and in turning their own arms against them, that seem to promise him a complete victory. In the third chapter, he displays a fund of geographical and topographical knowledge, in proving, that the seat of the fine arts in Italy, in the remotest times, was the city of Mantua. He must be an ingenious writer indeed, who shall be able to overthrow the hypothesis of our learned author, or to explain away the stubborn facts by which he confirms it.—M. J. M. Astori's "Mémorial, concerning encaustic painting with Wax," is an ingenious endeavour to recover the method of the ancients, in which he hath improved on the attempts of former virtuosos, particularly, in having been able to revive their arts of preserving their colours thickened with wax, in a constant state of

fluidity.—The "Dissertation on the useful Sciences, and those that have Only Pleasure for their object, considered in their relation to the Happiness of Man," printed at Venice, is a sensible and ingenious pamphlet, which deserves recommendation, on account of the just reasonings and useful moral observations with which it abounds.—Of the Italian "Translations of the Iliad of Homer," by the abbé Cesarotti of Padua, that which is in prose, is a literal translation; the other, which is poetical, is made with a freedom fully equal to that of our favourite English translator. To these translations there is prefixed a preliminary discourse on the life and writings of Homer. But the principal value of the work before us arises, from the immense treasure which it contains of historical, critical, and grammatical learning, collected from the best ancient and modern critics and philologists, and designed to illustrate a variety of subjects relative to the Iliad. At the end of the volume, Mr. Cesarotti has presented his readers with the most considerable various readings of the Greek scholiasts, which are in the library of St. Mark, at Venice.—The translation of "The Poems of Ossian," by the same gentleman, hath been received with high applause by his countrymen, and renders many of the most beautiful passages in that curious work, with great felicity of spirit and expression. To this work there is very properly prefixed a general account of the Celtic mythology.

In turning our attention to the literature of France, we have met with no publications of any consequence in biblical and critical learning. The first work in order, that claims our notice is, "A Defence of Religion, against the Attacks on modern



modern Infidelity; containing a Summary of Sacred History, and some Preliminary Reflections, relative to the Design of this Work." Of this valuable and useful performance, we cannot but speak in the highest terms of commendation, on account of the solid conclusive reasoning, the extensive learning, and the spirit of genuine moderation by which it is distinguished.—And we are happy to observe, that the friends of truth and piety among our neighbours, are roused to emulate the character, by which the writers of our own country have been for a long time eminently known, as the defenders of religion and morality.—The treatise "On the Œconomical Spirit of Government, by M. Boesnier de L'Orme," was written with a view to assist the honest statesman in the great object of establishing public happiness.—The subjects on which the author treats, are, the right of property, and the origin of society, agriculture, arts, manufactures, commerce, and the different operations of government. Though we may not entirely approve of the sentiments of this writer, we think that many of his observations deserve the attention of persons who sustain public characters.—"The Elementary Lectures on Mechanics, by the Abbé Jantet, Professor of Philosophy in the College of Dole," are remarkable for their clearness and precision, and the accurate and extensive knowledge of his subject, which the author displays. The general laws of the balance he deduces from one single proposition. On the principle of equality of pressure, he founds the laws of the equilibrium of incompressible elastic fluids, and the laws of the equilibrium of fluids with the solid bodies which are immersed in them. And he

concludes his useful work with a general view of hydraulics, with some of the plainest doctrines relative to the motions of fluids in water-works.—In directing our attention to the productions in Natural Philosophy, we shall begin with "The History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1783," which were published 1785. The divisions of this work are, general physics, natural history and botany, chemistry, meteorology, and astronomy. In general physics, we have a striking instance of the zeal of M. Lavoisier for useful discoveries, in the patience with which he has gone through some of the most disgusting experiments, in order to arrive at truth.—In Natural History, Mr. Daubenton's "Memoir on the Causes which produce the Representation of Trees, Shrubs, Plants, and other rustic Figures, on certain Stones," is particularly interesting.—In Chemistry, the communications of M. Lavoisier and M. Berthollet, are the most numerous and valuable; and in astronomy, the theory of the attraction of spheroids and of the figure of planets by M. de la Place, the memoir on the duration of the solar year by M. de la Lande, and the dissertation on the origin of the zodiac, and the manner of explaining the twelve signs, by M. le Gentil. Prefixed to this volume we find the eulogies of Sir John Pringle, Messrs. D'Anville, Bordenave, Daniel Barnoulli, De Montigni, Margraff, Du Hamel, and Vaucanson, drawn with that elegance and nice discernment of character which always distinguishes the biographical sketches of the marquis de Condorcet.—"The History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris for the Year 1783," have also appeared, in which we have the noble secretary's eulogies on Messrs.



Messrs. Hunter, Euler, Bezout, d' Alembert, count de Tressan, and M. Wargentin. The eulogy on M. d' Alembert has been composed with particular attention, and contains a judicious and concise view of the principles of his philosophy, and a candid discussion of the censures which have been passed on his opinions. Of the Memoirs, the principal include the experiments of the abbé Tessier to shew the effect of light on certain plants; reflections on phlogiston, as an illustration of his theory on combustion and calcination and the action of fire, animated by dephlogisticated air, on the most refractory mineral substances, by the indefatigable M. Lavoisier; a continuation of the researches of M. Vieq d' Azyr concerning the structure of the brain; on the Figure of the Earth, by M. de la Place; and tables of the births, marriages, and deaths at Paris, for the years 1781 to 1784, and through the whole extent of France during the years 1781 and 1782, by the last mentioned gentleman.—The first and second parts of the “New Memoirs of the Academy of Dijon, relative to the Sciences and Arts” contain, among many other instructive papers, an admirable Memoir on Medical Electricity by M. Camoy; an Easy Method of measuring the Quantity of Acid Mephitic Gas, which is contained in Water, by M. de Morveau; on the contagious Qualities of some kinds of Fluxions on the Breast; and on the remarkable Mist that happened in June and July 1783, by M. Maret, Secretary of the Academy.—As we should be carried beyond our limits if we were to give a particular account of all the works in natural philosophy, which have appeared in France, we shall con-

tent ourselves with barely mentioning the names of some of them, that would, otherwise, be entitled to distinct specification. Such are, “An analytical Essay concerning Pure Air, and different Kinds of Air, by M. de la Metherie, M. D.; “An Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Mephitic Vapour, that arises from Necessary Houses by M. Hallet;” “Enquiries concerning the Direction of the magnetic Fluid, by M. Bruno;” “Phytological and philosophical Enquiries concerning Sensibility, or Animal Life, by M. de Seze, M. D.” “Concerning the Origin and Nature of animal Matter, by M. Rochaute;” and “The practical Science of navigable Canals, or the Theory of their Construction, by M. de Fer.”—In Natural History, M. de Bournon's “Essay on the Lithology of St. Stephen, in Fores, and on the Origin of Stone-coal; with Observations on Flints, Jaspers, &c.” is a very important work, which announces a new and curious system respecting the origin of bituminous substances, and crystallizations. That of coal he attributes to an immense quantity of moluscae and zoophytes, the acid of which animals, combining with their oily matter, forms a bitumen, which penetrates the strata adapted to receive it, and changes them into coal. But we have not room for an analysis of the whole of his theory.—M. de Saussure hath published at Paris and Geneva, the second volume of his philosophical “Travels through the Alps; together with an Essay on the Natural History of the environs of Geneva.” Of this work, the great and deserved reputation of the author hath led the public to entertain very high expectations; and we will venture to say, that they will not be disappointed. In many of



of his journeys he was accompanied by Messrs. Trembley and Pietet, who greatly assisted him in his travels, particularly in his experiments, relating to the heights of the mountains.—“The Study of Nature, by J. Henry Bernardin de St. Pierre,” is a very curious and original production, which, notwithstanding its many eccentricities, discovers striking marks of great native genius, and accurate judicious observation. It is, at the same time, recommended by a style that is peculiarly elegant and animated.—“The Memoirs of Agriculture,” published by the Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris, for the year 1785, contain several valuable papers, calculated for general use, by M. Parmentier, the Marquis de Bullion, M. Ardoin, and Messrs. Thoin and Broussonet.—In Historical writing, the able Groisier’s “General Description of China, containing an Account of the present State of that Empire, &c.” is a curious, instructive, and entertaining work. The author appears to have consulted the best memoirs that have been published by the missionaries, sent to that distant country, and to have compressed their voluminous accounts with such judgment, that while he hath avoided unnecessary details, he hath retained an account of every thing that is interesting to Europeans.—M. Bailly, who hath distinguished himself by astronomical and geographical descriptions of this globe, and enquiries into the state of its inhabitants, in periods previous to tradition, hath delivered to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, a “Memoir on the Chronology of the Indians.” This chronology he considers to be authentic; and not inconsistent with the European, to which he endeavours to reconcile it. We cannot

pursue our author through his ingenious calculations; but we will present our readers with one of his observations, by which those who are fond of such studies, may have an opportunity of examining into the probability of his success; which is, that in the Indian language, the same word signifies a year, a month, and a day.—The “Account, accompanied with Engravings, of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and other contemporary Nations; in which the private Life, the Customs and Ceremonies, the Arts and Sciences, the Political and Military State of the Ancients are amply discussed, vol. I.” is part of a work in which we are promised a valuable collection of antiquities. And though we think that the specimen before us possesses too many marks of affectation and obscurity, we are willing to do justice to the abilities and knowledge of the author, and to recommend his labours as a source of instruction and entertainment.—The “General Collection of particular Memoirs relative to the History of France,” is still continued, and exhibits a circumstantial view of many interesting characters, events, and revolutions. Those already published come down to the first Book of the Memoirs of Philip de Comines.—The abbé Gerard’s “Letters from a Father to his Son, concerning the most interesting Facts and Events of Universal History, vols. I. and II.” contain an admirable selection of such circumstances, in the history of the world, as are most worthy of attention, from the creation to the year 1209 before Christ. The facility with which he conducts his reader through the labyrinth of antiquity, his learned and judicious illustrations of every interesting period and object, and the useful moral lessons which he



continually inculcates, entitle his labours to a very high share of commendation. We shall be happy to attend our ingenious author through the remaining volumes of his agreeable and instructive work.—M. de la Place's collection of "Fugitive Pieces in History and Literature," do not appear to us to deserve the applause which hath been bestowed upon them. They are light and trifling; and the authenticity of some of the anecdotes which are inserted in them, can be admitted only by the most weak and credulous minds.—M. Mayer's "Travels through Switzerland," published at Paris and Amsterdam, are distinguished by many sensible remarks, and just reflections, particularly, on the Helvetic constitution; and deserve to be classed with the best descriptions which we have of that country. It must at the same time be acknowledged, that he hath taken liberal advantage of the observations which have been made by preceding travellers.—In Classical Translation, M. Larcher's French version of "Herodotus, with historical and critical Observations and Remarks, &c." is a work of great merit, which is deserving of, and will doubtless obtain the approbation of the public.—Part of a new edition of Brumoy's "Grecian Theatre, augmented by the entire Translation of the Greek Tragedies and Comedies, accompanied with Comparisons, Observations, and critical Remarks," hath been published at Paris, by Messrs. de Rochefort, and du Thiel. This edition is particularly valuable, on account of the learned and judicious observations of M. de Rochefort on the genius and spirit of the Greeks in respect to the drama, and his life, of Æschylus. We are sorry, however, to learn, that this excellent critic renounces all

further connection with this undertaking.—From Count Turpin de Crissé, lieutenant-general of the king's armies, &c. the French nation hath received a translation of "The Commentaries of Cæsar," enriched with historical, critical, and military annotations and remarks, in three volumes, quarto. In this splendid and valuable work, the text of Cæsar is taken from the edition of Dr. Clarke; and the translation is that of Wailly, with corrections. The learned and lively author confines his remarks, chiefly, to the expeditions of his hero; in which he is led to point out his genius, capacity, and talents, the interests and objects which he had in view, and his progressive steps in the accomplishment of them. In an introductory discourse, our author engages, with great spirit, in maintaining the honour of the military profession.—We shall conclude our account of French literature, with announcing the publication of two elegant and beautiful performances, intended for the instruction and amusement of the younger classes of readers. The first is "Numa Pompilius, Second King of Rome, by M. de Florian." This work is written in imitation of Telemachus; and is intended to represent the life of a young prince, seduced for a time, by ambition and love, recovering from his delusion, convinced of his offences against virtue and true glory, and becoming a wise and pacific sovereign. The incidents in this piece, are entertaining and affecting; and it delivers lessons of pure morality, in a pleasing and agreeable form.—The other publication to which we referred, consists of "Idyls, or Rural Stories by Mademoiselle Levesque." These idyls describe in unaffected and charming



charming language, the innocence and happiness of rural life; and are adapted to cherish the lovely affections of virtue in the tender mind.

In Spain, the spirit of enquiry and improvement, is making a rapid and uncommon progress. Of this fact we have satisfactory testimony in the patriotic encouragements offered by the Economical Society at Madrid, for the best publications on subjects of national benefit and importance. Though it be not in perfect consistency with our plan, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of laying before the public, two of the subjects which they have proposed, as they contain striking marks of the revolution in sentiment and taste, which is taking place in that kingdom. The first is delivered in the following question; What is the true Spirit of a Legislation favourable to Agriculture, Industry, Arts, and the Commerce of a great Kingdom? The other is for a dissertation which shall shew, in the most satisfactory manner, the prejudice which a perpetual entail of a funded debt will bring on a

kingdom; and which will point out the best means to check and repair this misfortune most conveniently, without producing greater evils.—With respect to Spanish literature, we have to announce a continuation of the “Memoirs on Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Economy, and experimental Chemistry,” by D. Michel Jerome Suarez, and “The V. and VI. volumes of the Spanish Flora,” originally undertaken by D. Joseph Quer, and continued, since his death, by Don Cazimir Gomes de Ortega. These works are executed on a large scale, with uncommon industry and care. The former, in particular, is exceedingly interesting and valuable.—Beside these, we have received an account of a “Memoir of the Abbé Cavanilles, of the kingdom Valentia, reciting his Experiments on the Fibres, &c. of malvaceous Plants,” of which he has made useful cords and twine. The pieces which he found best adapted to his purpose were, the fida abutilon of Linnæus, and the malvacrispa.

**F I N I S.**



















